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Frontispiece.

HISTORY OF PLYMOUTH

FROM THE

Earliest Period to the Present Time.

BY

Richard
R. N. WORTH, F.G.S.,

AUTHOR OF THE

'HISTORY OF DEVON;' 'HISTORY OF DEVONPORT;' 'TAVISTOCK PARISH RECORDS;' ETC., ETC.



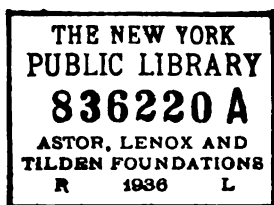
1. c. -
13 'Tis a notable old town.—*Longfellow.*

PLYMOUTH:

WILLIAM BRENDON AND SON, GEORGE STREET.

1890.

GS



ROY WEN
3.18.19
WABLL

PREFACE.

THE first edition of this work, issued in 1872, was the first published history of Plymouth. Having for some time been out of print, a new issue has been called for; and in the course of preparation that new issue has become essentially a new work. Partly as the result of the appearance of a complete history of the old town; partly in consequence of continued research; and partly owing to fortunate accidents which have brought to light sources of information lost for centuries, the materials for the history of Plymouth are far bulkier and more trustworthy now than they were twenty years ago. Moreover, the Archives of the Corporation, which are and must remain the most important of our authorities, have been systematically examined and arranged, and are more easily accessible. Hence floods of light have been thrown upon some of the most obscure points of local history, correcting many errors due to imperfect information, and filling in the details of many a picture hitherto sketched in faintest outline.

For nearly a quarter of a century the author has been engaged in the elucidation of the local record. The subject has been continuously before him. And whether from the Municipal Archives; from the State Papers of various classes; from deeds and other documents in private hands; or from works of reference tested by material facts; he has been constantly adding to his historical data.

The result is given in the present volume, mainly rewritten, twice the size of its predecessor. It would have

Revised 5 May 1936

been more easy to have made it much larger: but there is such a thing as historical proportion; and to enlarge upon topics of minor importance simply because more information is available concerning them, or because they seem to bulk more largely in a nearer view, would be out of place in dealing with a civic life of centuries.

Wherever possible the statements made are based upon original and contemporary documents; and Local Records are the authority for three-fourths of the following pages. Many an error in assertion or inference would have been avoided could these Records have been examined fully and accurately half a century ago; and their recent accessibility has made correction a plain duty.

As a rule, proper names are spelt as in the authorities cited; and a little repetition has been found desirable to maintain historic connection in different sections of the narrative.

With few exceptions the numerous additional illustrations are reproductions of original drawings by the author's son, Mr. R. Hansford Worth, C.E., prepared specially for this work.

Where such a multiplicity of details is dealt with absolute accuracy is unattainable; but it is hoped that present errors will be both few and unimportant; and that the main points in the history of Plymouth may at length be regarded as resting on secure foundations.

Christmas, 1890.

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HISTORY OF PLYMOUTH.

CHAPTER I.

BEGINNINGS OF HISTORY.

The ghost of ages dim.—*Howitt.*

LIKE the history of most nations, but unlike that of most towns, the history of Plymouth begins in the region of myth and legend. There is no certain record of its existence much before the Norman Conquest; but tradition, in connection with its most prominent physical feature, the Hoe, would carry us back to extremely remote antiquity.

Brutus the Trojan.

To Geoffrey of Monmouth, least trustworthy of the old chroniclers, we owe the story of the settlement of Britain by Brute or Brutus, the Trojan, somewhere about 1200 B.C. Brutus and his companions are said to have landed at Totnes, then included in the kingdom of Cornwall; and to have found the country so pleasant that, despite its giant dwellers, they determined to make it their abode. One day, when Brutus and his friends were holding a festival to the gods, they were attacked by the giants in force. After a terrible struggle the Trojans got the upper hand, and killed all their assailants except the leader, Goemagot, who was preserved for a combat with Corinæus, one of the chiefs of the Trojan party. Goemagot was 'twelve cubits high, and of such strength that with one stroke he pulled up an oak as it had been a hazel wand.' Nevertheless Corinæus, 'holding it a diversion to encounter giants,' met him manfully. Goemagot broke three of his opponent's ribs, and this so enraged Corinæus, that, taking the giant upon his

shoulders, he ran with him to the shore, and 'getting upon the top of a high rock, hurled down the savage monster into the sea, where, falling on the sides of craggy rocks, he was torn to pieces, and coloured the waves with his blood.' This high rock was the Hoe, thence called Lam-Goemagot or 'Goemagot's Leap.' There is, however, a version that the struggle took place at Dover.

Drayton quaintly rhymes the legend in his *Polyolbion* :

Then, foraging this Ile, long promis'd them before,
 Amongst the ragged Cleenes those monstrous Giants sought :
 Who (of their dreadful kind) t' appall the Troians, brought
 Great *Gogmagog*, an Oake that by the roots could teare :
 So mightie were (that time) the men who liued there :
 But, for the vse of Armes he did not vnderstand,
 (Except some rock or tree, that comming next to hand
 Hee raz'd out of the earth to execute his rage)
 Hee challenge makes for strength, and offereth there his gage,
 Which *Corin* taketh vp, to answer by and by,
 Vpon this sonne of Earth his vtmost power to try.
 All doubtful to which part the victorie would goe,
 Vpon that loftie place at *Plinmouth*, call'd the *Hoe*,
 Those mightie Wrastlers met ; with many an irefull looke
 Who threatned, as the one hold of the other tooke :
 But, grapled, glowing fire shines in their sparkling eyes.
 And, whilst at length of arme one from the other lyes,
 Their lusty sinewes swell like cables, as they striue :
 Their feet such trampling make, as though they for't to driue
 A thunder out of earth ; which stagger'd with the weight :
 Thus, eithers vtmost force vrg'd to the greatest height.
 Whilst one vpon his hip the other seekes to lift,
 And th' aduerse (by a turne) doth from his cunning shift,
 Their short-fetcht troubled breath a hollow noise doth make,
 Like bellowes of a Forge. Then *Corin* vp doth take
 The Giant twixt the grayns ; and voyding of his hould
 (Before his combrous feet he well recouer could)
 Pitcht head-long from the hill ; as when a man doth throw
 An Axtree, that with sleight deliured from the toe
 Rootes vp the yeelding earth : so that his violent fall,
 Strooke *Neptune* with such strength, as shouldred him withall ;
 That where the monstrous waues like Mountaines late did stand,
 They leapt out of the place, and left the bared sand
 To gaze vpon wide heauen : so great a blowe it gaue.
 For which, the conquering *Brute*, on *Corineus* braue
 This horne of land bestow'd, and markt it with his name ;
 Of *Corin*, *Cornwall* call'd, to his immortall fame.¹

And so Spencer in the *Faerie Queene* :

That well can witness yet unto this day
 The Western *Hogh*, besprinkled with the gore
 Of mighty *Goemot*.

¹ The two gigantic figures in the Guildhall of the city of London, popularly called Gog and Magog, really present Corineus and Goemagot.

Few in the present day will contend for the truth of this story. Once it was a cardinal point of historical belief, and strengthened by arguments which somewhat remind us of the citation of the bricks laid by Jack Cade's father in the chimney of Smith's house, for proof of Cade's royal descent.

Carew,² who nevertheless had his doubts about the whole business, backs up the claims of Plymouth as the scene of this 'wrestling pull' against Dover. The statements that Brutus landed at Totnes in Cornwall, and that Cornwall was the province bestowed upon Corinæus, he holds to imply that 'this wrestling was likely to have chaunced ther sooner than elsewhere.' He considers also that the great activity of Devon and Cornishmen in the faculty of wrestling seems 'to derive them a speciall pedigree from that grand wrestler *Corinæus*.' He adds—and here we first light upon fact in connection with the story—'Moreover upon the Hawe at *Plymmouth*, there is cut out in the ground the pourtrayture of two men, the one bigger, the other lesser, with clubbes in their hands (whom they terme *Gog Magog*), and (as I have learned) it is renewed by order of the Townesmen when cause requireth, which should inferre the same to be a monument of some moment.' The Corporation records confirm this, containing entries referring to the re-cutting and renewal of these figures as early as 1494. The effigies were incised in the turf, after the fashion of the famous White Horse in Berkshire, whose 'scouring' *Tom Brown* celebrates.

Westcote (1630), also mentions their existence. 'Here [the Hoe] the townsmen pass their time of leisure in walking, bowling, and other pleasant pastimes, in the side whereof is cut the portraiture of two men of the largest volume, yet the one surpassing the other every way; these they name to be Corinæus and Gogmagog; intimating the wrestling to be here between these two champions; and the steep rocky cliff affording aptitude for such a cast.'³

This interesting memorial of antiquity was destroyed when the Citadel was erected, about the year 1671.

It is not easy to define the exact connection between the figures and the story; but whether they sprung out of the legend or the legend out of them, they are undoubtedly traceable to remote antiquity. Inasmuch, however, as Geoffrey himself makes no allusion to them, it must be assumed, either that he did not know of their existence, or that they did not then exist. The latter being the more

² *Survey of Cornwall*, 2.

³ *View of Devon*, 383.

reasonable supposition, it may with some confidence be concluded that they were first cut soon after Geoffrey's *Chronicle* became current; unless, as is possible, they had a different origin, and were associated with the wrestling story in later days. The name given to the giant—Goemagot—is conclusive testimony that the legend, as we have it, is not so old as the introduction of Christianity into this country; or—if the story were indeed taken by Geoffrey from Armorican manuscripts—into Brittany. There is just one morsel of evidence which possibly connects the legend with very early times. Geoffrey states that the place whence the giant was precipitated was called Lam-Goemagot = 'Goemagot's Leap.' Now Lambhay Hill⁴ is the traditional scene of the occurrence, and *lam* in old Cornish being 'leap,' Lambhay might mean the 'leap-field' or close.⁵ So too an ancient name of the Hoe (Saxon = *hou*, a 'hill'; *heah*, 'high') was Wynrigg, and Wynrigg might be derived from the Saxon *winnan*, to 'struggle,' and *hric*, 'ridge'

Of course neither Lambhay nor Wynrigg compel belief in the legend, even if thus interpreted correctly, any more than the Devil's 'gaps' and 'leaps,' so common in mountainous districts, are still supposed to have anything to do with that personage. But the coincidence is curious; and were it safe to raise any superstructure upon such very slight foundations, we might venture on the following suggestion:—That the legend in the first place did refer to something that occurred at or near the Hoe; that it was carried to Brittany; that in Brittany, under the mingled influences of half-understood classical history and of religious sentiment working through the monastic mind, it developed into the full-blown myth of Brutus the Trojan; and that when it returned to England, and was made known under the auspices of Geoffrey of Monmouth, the Plymouthians perpetuated the memory of what they undoubtedly believed to be sterling fact, by cutting the figures of the two champions on the greensward. This however is purely hypothetical, and is put forward simply as an effort to arrive at whatever kernel of truth there may be in the first event recorded in connection with Plymouth. Moreover, it assumes that Geoffrey's authority was Armorican, whereas it is perfectly clear that he mainly depended on the Welsh *Bruts*.

⁴ An ancient chart in the British Museum places the 'Lammy' on the extreme south-eastern point of the Hoe, at Fishers Nose.

⁵ The Rev. W. Beal derived Lambhay from 'Lamh,' the hand or arm, in memorial of the reputed strength of Corinæus.

The *Chronicle* of Geoffrey cannot be accepted as sober history; but he certainly did not invent the story of Brutus, and it may be one of the few grains of wheat to be winnowed from his huge pile of chaff. 'Stripped of the dress in which it was decked out by Geoffrey, improving on his predecessors; deprived of its false lustre of classicism; cleared from the religious associations of a later day—the myth of Brutus the Trojan loses personality, but becomes the traditionary record of the earliest invasion of this land by an historic people, who, in their assumed superiority, dubbed the less cultivated possessors of the soil whose rights they invaded, "giants," and extirpated them as speedily as they knew how.'

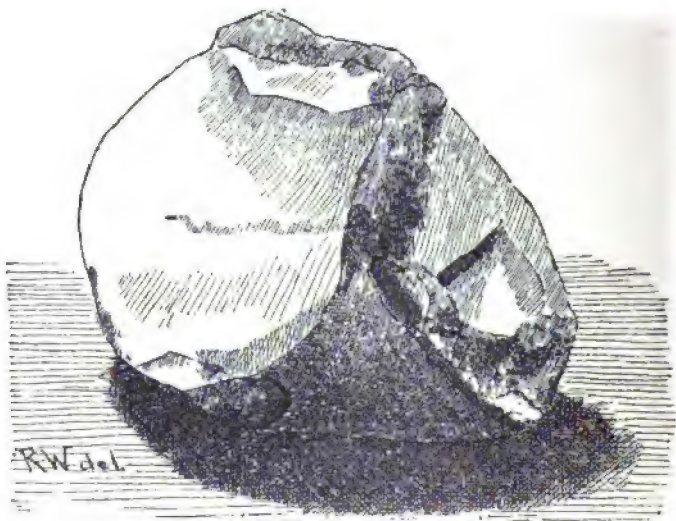
The local bearing of another allusion in Geoffrey's *Chronicle*, has been lost by the absurd identification of 'Hamo's Port,' either by Geoffrey or by his mediæval editor, with Southampton, after 'a crafty Roman named Hamo.' But Hamo's Port is clearly the estuary of the Tamar—the modern 'Hamoaze.' Made by Geoffrey 'the fitting centre of some of the most stirring scenes in the traditional national life, the Hamoaze best suits the reference.' The statement that Maximian, the senator, when invited by Caradoc, Duke of Cornwall, to be king of Britain, lands at Hamo's Port, leads to the inference that it was on Cornish territory. So the Armoricans sent to the help of Arthur, land at Hamo's Port; and it is from Hamo's Port that Arthur sets sail on his expedition against the Romans—a fabulous story indeed, but still helping to indicate the commodiousness and importance of the harbour intended. The port of Plymouth was well known to the Armorican Britons as the Hamoaze, in the troublous times that followed the departure of the Romans; and it may well have been that the independence retained by the Dunmonii (otherwise Danmonii, Domnonii, Damnonii, and Dumnonii) during the Roman occupation placed them in a position of leadership.

When we turn from legend to history we find the earliest reference to the locality in Ptolemy's citation of the Tamar river. There is no allusion to Plymouth or its site before the Norman Conquest, though the Saxon monastery of Plympton is mentioned in a deed *circa* 904. By this Eadward of Wessex (Eadward the Elder, son of Ælfred the Great) granted to Asser, Bishop of Sherborne, and the convent at that place, three properties: Wellington (Somerset), consisting of six manors; Buckland (West), and Lidiard (Bishops), consisting together of twelve manors—by way of exchange for the

monastery, 'which in the Saxon tongue is called Plymentun' (Plympton), to be held on either side by the grantee and his successors in perpetuity.

Prehistoric Times.

But we are not dependent upon record to show that from very remote antiquity the shores of Plymouth Sound have been the seat of human occupation; and that long before Plymouth itself was founded there were settlements of importance in the neighbourhood. The discovery in 1887, of remains of human beings in a cave at Cattedown, in association with the bones of rhinoceros, lion, hyena, and other extinct British mammalia with ashes of their fires,



FLINT NODULE, CATTEDOWN CAVE.

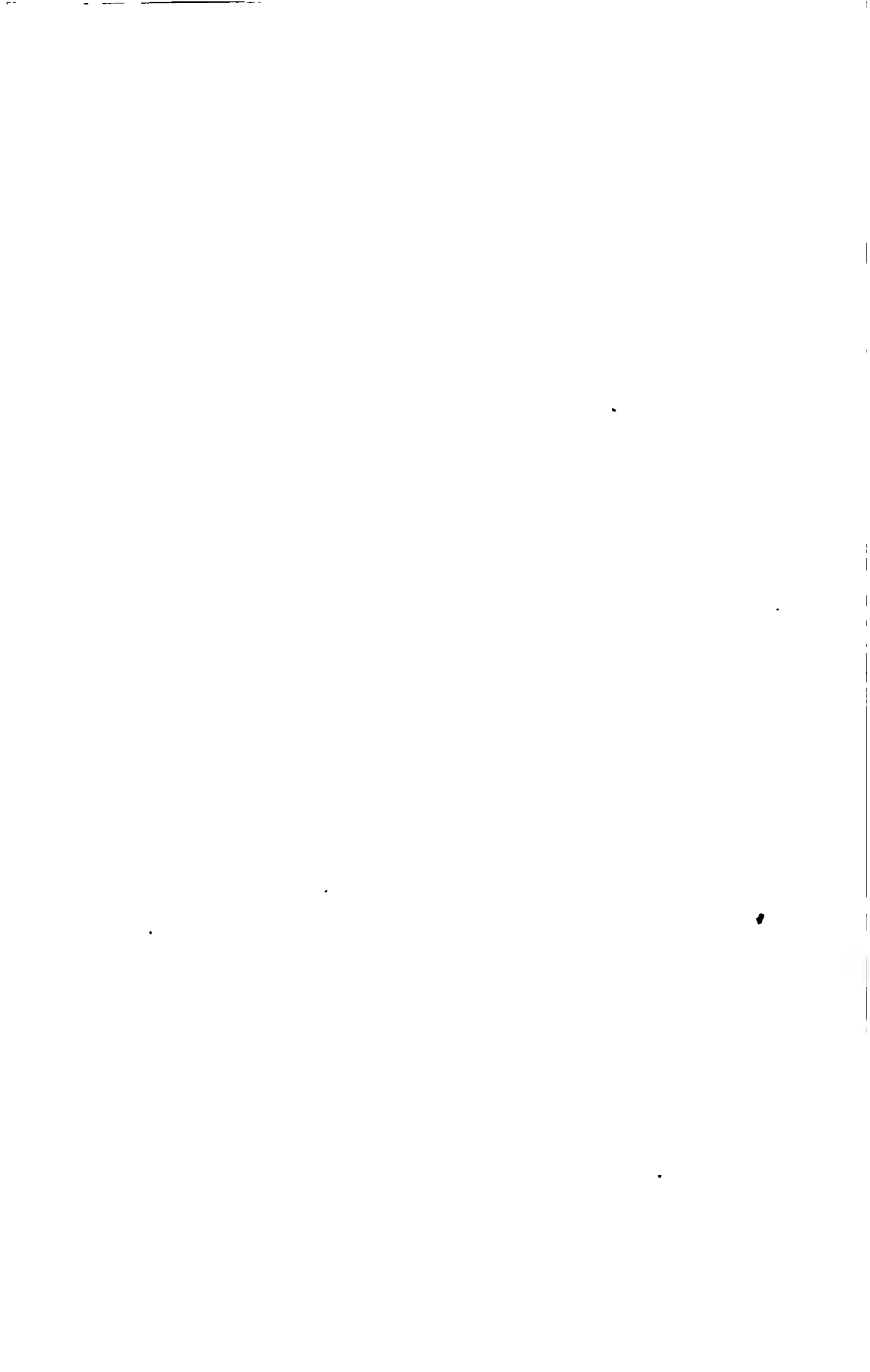
and a rudely-chipped flint nodule, carries back the residence of man on the site of Plymouth itself to palæolithic times.⁶ Mr. F. Brent, F.S.A., has found on Staddon and Maker Heights 'many specimens of flint, consisting of almost all the varieties of the smaller implements, with a number of unwrought pebbles, and many fragments or pieces.'⁷ Flakes and cores have been yielded by the Hoe, with a beautifully-shaped arrow head, discovered by Mr. Brent. A large and

⁶ *Trans. Plym. Inst.* x. 10-38.

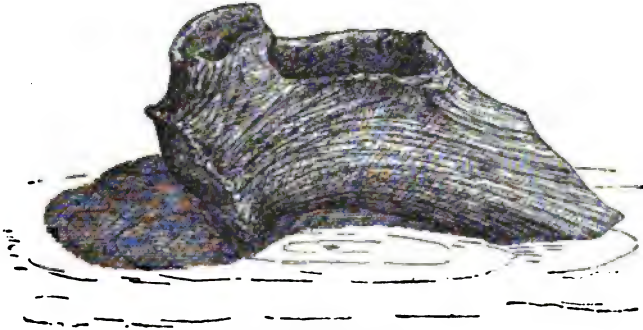
⁷ *Trans. Dev. Assoc.* xvii. 72.



PALAEOLITHIC PLYMOUTHIAN—CATTEDOWN CAVE.



finely-polished chert axe, now in the Museum of the Plymouth Institution, was unearthed at Houndiscombe in 1887. The head of a deer-horn pick was found in the mud in excavating for the Keyham Docks.⁸



DEER-HORN PICK, KEYHAM.

Belonging to the Stone Age also, but now associated with relics of later date, are the remains of a very extensive kitchen midden on the isthmus at Mount Batten. Marine shells, chiefly of the littoral type, are the most prominent feature—the limpet and periwinkle predominating. But there is evidence of a wider range of diet in the presence of bones of fish, long-fronted ox, deer, pig, and dog. Fragments of rude pottery, and portions of funeral urns, have likewise been found.

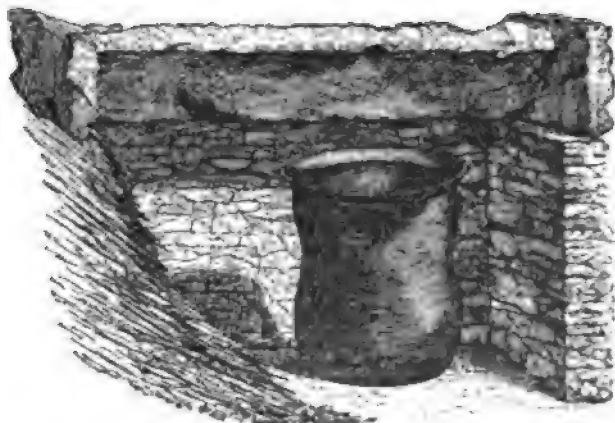
More direct illustrations of early interment have been yielded by Plymouth itself. Mr. Henry Woollcombe recorded the discovery in 1815, near the old turnpike gate between Stonehouse and Plymouth, which stood at the corner of Phoenix Street, of a kistvaen. It was of an early type—six slabs of stone forming a chamber three feet six inches long, two feet two inches wide, and two feet three inches deep; and it contained some fragments of bones, and a rude urn of baked clay holding a quantity of ashes.

Mr. F. Brent in 1881⁹ described a kistvaen containing an urn, found beneath an old house in Stillman Street. The kist was very peculiar—eighteen inches deep, two feet wide, and three feet long, excavated in the rock, lined with slabs of dunstone, and roofed gable fashion with two other stones, the ends being closed in. The urn was of black ware, finer

⁸ *Trans. Dev. Assoc.* xvii. 78.

⁹ *Trans. Dev. Assoc.* xiii. 99.

than ordinary British, and contained ashes. Shells were scattered through the adjacent soil—mostly oyster, periwinkle, cockle, and mussel.



STILLMAN STREET KISTVAEN.

Stadio Duentia.

Relics of the Bronze Age are so numerous and important as to indicate the presence of a comparatively large and active population, eventually attaining the highest stage of British pre-Roman civilisation.

In 1868 a hoard of bronze weapons—sixteen celts, a chisel, three daggers, and a spear head—was discovered near Pomphlett.

In 1884 three implements of similar character—two palstaves and a socketed celt—were found at Torr Lane, Weston Peverel, on the line of the ancient British road to the passage of the Tamar at Saltash.

But the local remains of the Bronze Age to which chief importance attaches were disinterred on the eastern shores of Plymouth Sound, in the angle next the Cattewater. In March, 1832, a quarryman found in a crevice of the rock at Mount Batten, five gold and eight silver coins, which Col. Hamilton Smith, F.R.S., pronounced to be British of the earliest type. Since then similar coins have been found near the same spot; and the date may be regarded as fixed by Mr. J. Evans, F.R.S., who has conclusively shown that there was a British coinage at least 150 years B.C. Some of

these coins were placed in the Museum of the Plymouth Institution, but long since passed into private hands.



No feature however in the early archæology of Plymouth has such interest as the Bronze Age Cemetery, opened in 1864, between Fort Stamford and Mount Batten, and investigated and described by Mr. C. Spence Bate, F.R.S.¹ Here, on the slope facing Cattewater, a number of graves were found, which contained numerous articles in bronze, earthenware, glass, a few of iron; and particularly a couple of bronze mirrors. These, with other matters thence, are now in the Museum of the Plymouth Institution; and in character and ornament are all but unique.

In most localities such remains, continuing from the Bronze into the Iron Age, would suggest a post-Roman origin. The earlier culture of the West of England renders that conclusion here unnecessary. Some-what similar graves



MIRROR, STAMFORD.

were found in 1833 at Trelan, St. Keverne, one of which contained a bronze mirror of kindred type; and all the characters are Keltic, not Roman. These relics are really the latest and most perfect developments of the vanishing Age of Bronze. Instead of being Romano-British, they are the final types of an older pre-Roman civilization—though not necessarily of supreme antiquity, nor free from foreign influence.

¹ *Archæologia*, xl. 500-10.

The existence of a great cemetery is conclusive proof of the presence or contiguity of a large population; and these graves were naturally thought to afford a clue to the site of Ptolemy's Tamara. The solution of the problem was nearer at hand. The *Stadio Duentia* of the Anonymous Chorographer of Ravenna, twelfth on his list of British *civitates et castra*, is simply an inflected form of Staddon (*i.e.* *Stad-io Duen-tia*). The ancient community must have survived in some form until after the Saxon occupation, though lost so long that, but for opening up the Cemetery, this identification, in the absence of material relics of the Ravennat's city, would have seemed idle.

The Roman Period.

History is silent on the presence of the Romans in the chief harbour of the West. Not many years since there was no more evidence for their visits, than for the hypothesis of Phœnician trade in the waters of the Tamar and the Plym. Mr. J. C. Bellamy, indeed, recorded that the remains of a Roman galley had been found in excavating in Newnham Park² but with no proof of identification (another account—more reasonably—calls the vessel a canoe); and it was commonly believed that the Romans had something to do with the old Ridge Road, whence Ridgeway takes its name—that ancient British track of which Mr. R. J. King wrote:—

The Ridge Road ran from Totnes to the Tamar, and so onward into Cornwall. It was for many centuries the main line of road eastward from Plymouth, and in how many stirring events and 'passages' must it not have borne its part. Roman spears and helmets have glittered there in the sun. Fierce Saxons and fiercer Danes; the destrier of the Norman knight, and the Benedictine abbot's ambling mule, alike have passed along it. There rode the captive King of France with the Black Prince at his side, when after Poitiers he landed at Plymouth, and proceeded thence to London, feasted by all the great towns in his way. There the Princess Katharine of Arragon looked for the first time on English fields and orchards as she passed onward to meet her chequered destiny. There King Charles has ridden both triumphant and despairing, and there fled 'the most worne and weak, pitiful creature in the world,' the poor Queen Henrietta, after the troops of Essex had all but prevented her escape from Exeter. The spurs of Fairfax and his banda, the plumes of

² *Nat. Hist. South Devon*, 116.

Hopton and his Cavaliers, alike have jingled and fluttered there. What hopes and what fears—what changes and chances—has not that forgotten road-line witnessed. The cloud shadows that sweep along it, or the lights stealing through the boughs that overhang it, are scarcely more varied or more countless.³

Until 1888—setting aside this more than doubtful galley—the only distinct traces of the Romans in the neighbourhood, were the casual occurrence of a few coins; and of some fragments of pottery, found while the Stamford Cemetery was explored, and identified as Roman by Mr. A. W. Franks, F.R.S. The coins had been mainly found adjacent to the ancient shore line; they sufficed to shew presence and intercourse, but in themselves could not fairly be held to indicate occupation.

They included examples (single unless others are specified) of Alexander Severus, found at Mount Batten and Cattedown; Antoninus Pius, Mount Batten and Cattedown; Carus, Millbay; Constantine, Mannamead, Prospect Street, Prince Rock; Constans, Mount Batten; Domitian, Mount Batten, Battery Hill; Faustina, Hoe; Hadrian (two) Cattedown; Magnentius, Millbay; Nero, Mount Batten, Prospect Street; Probus, Devonport Park; Trajan Decius, Mount Batten; Vespasian, Mount Batten; Victorinus, Staddon; three undetermined, Prospect Street; two ditto, Plympton; several, no particulars, Millbay and Prince Rock, and some at Torr. A silver denarius of Hadrian is also said to have been found in George Street.

In April, 1888, however, a Roman bronze was dug up in a garden at Hooe, Plymstock—a figure of Mercury—god of merchandise and patron of merchants. It is two and one-eighth inches in height, and one and a quarter inches in extreme breadth over the extensions of the hands; and the thickest part of the body just a quarter of an inch. Light for its size, it weighs precisely two-thirds of an ounce. The right foot has been long lost, but with that exception it is perfect. The modelling is somewhat rude, yet, so far as the attitude goes, vigorous, and not without merit. The left arm slopes outwards and downwards, the hand holding the emblematic purse. The right arm is extended outwards and upwards, with the hand raised, and the fingers as in benediction.

The left wing on the cap is much larger than the right.

³ *Dartmoor and its Borders*, x. xi. But the references to King John of France and Queen Henrietta are not historical.

The right leg is straight, the left bent as in motion, and the feet-wings are fixed on the outer sides of the calves, immediately above the ankles. The figure is for the most part thickly patinated. Some of the mould-marks are visible, but it appears to have been carefully trimmed after it was cast. There is full reason to believe that this figure was one of the gods of a Roman merchant; and the little landlocked harbour of Hooe at once suggests itself as admirably adapted for a trading post.

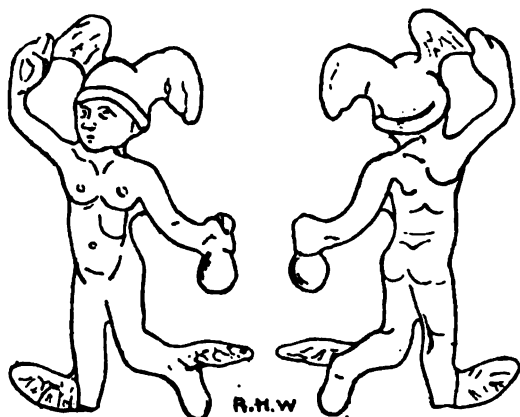
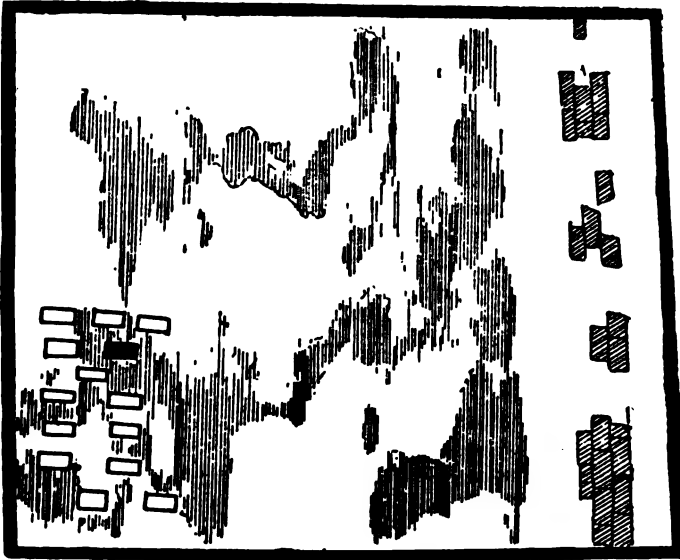


FIGURE OF MERCURY, HOOE.

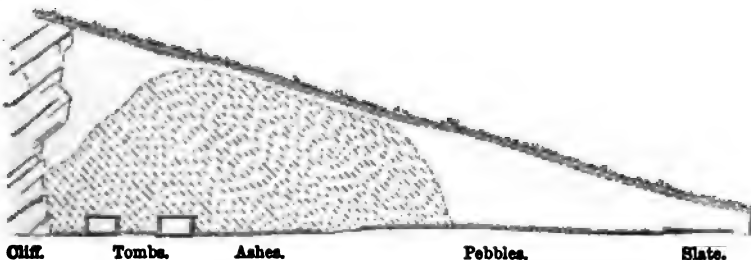
In 1888, also, there came to light, through the energy and investigations of Mr. Stenteford of Hooe, certain facts attending the destruction in 1882 of an ancient burial-place in Newport Street, Stonehouse. While excavating for the erection of four cottages, there was found on the southern shore of Stonehouse Creek, between the ancient limestone cliff and the water, less than six feet above high-tide level, essentially on the beach, an area brokenly paved with pebbles (at least fifty feet square), with a pavement of slate slabs bounding it on the north. In one corner of this area was a group of little tombs of brick and stone, arranged in rows. Upon this pebble pavement, and covering these tombs, there lay, under ordinary made ground, a heap of ashes containing an enormous quantity of infra-human bones, and the usual broken pottery and other constituents of a later refuse heap, some of the contents of which dated themselves the early part of the seventeenth century.

The tombs were built of thin tile bricks, and covered with slate slabs. They averaged four feet to four feet six inches in length; two to two and a half feet in height; were two and a half feet in width; and ran lengthwise north and south. Fourteen or fifteen in all were found, grouped in one corner of the area, after the following plan:



PLAN OF BURIAL-PLACE, STONERHOUSE.

A section of the ground excavated, which had long been used as a garden, gave these details.



SECTION OF BURIAL-PLACE, STONERHOUSE.

The fact that the tombs ran north and south is not unusual in Roman interments, while wholly at variance with Christian practice. Another important point is that they were mere kistvaens, not big enough for interment by ordinary inhumation; and showing in their construction an approach to Roman characteristics. The evidence is thus against Christian interment; while the structural detail of the tombs forbids an earlier date than that of Roman intercourse. In the unavoidable absence of personal investigation, it would be unwise to give positive judgment; but there is nothing to militate against the possibility of having here the remains of a late Roman ustrinum. These ustrinæ were simply places where bodies were burnt and interred. They were not large, averaging about 300 feet in compass, and the Stonehouse area certainly exceeded 200. If this were a Roman burial-place, it gives the first distinct evidence of Roman residence in the Three Towns' area, and supplies a clue to the very remarkable distinctive name of Stonehouse, the occurrence of which, so early as *Domesday*, shows that the spot must have had an edifice far in advance of neighbouring manors. The remains of a Roman dwelling would supply an adequate interpretation.⁴

Saxon Settlement.

Plymouth does not find place in any contemporary Saxon record; and beyond the Plympton deed already cited, there is no definite Saxon reference to the locality. We have indeed an incidental proof of the insignificance of any settlement that may have then existed, in the statement of the *Saxon Chronicle*, that in 997 the Danes sailed up the Tamar, assailing Lydford, and burning the minster at Tavistock. Had there been opportunity for special ravage on the way it would hardly fail to have been recorded. The only associated historical fact of the Saxon period is the defeat of the Danes in 851 at Wicganbeorge. If we identify this place with Wembury, the 'Viking's earthwork' seems fairly acceptable as a rendering of the name in its original form, and thus affords additional witness to the event. But Okenbury and Wickaborough are also claimants.

Where information is so scanty we gladly welcome light from any quarter, however faint the rays; and somewhat may be gleaned from the evidence afforded in place-names,

⁴ See further the chapter on 'The Town.'

and surviving customs, of the conditions of the earlier Saxon settlements.

The names of all the rivers in the district, and of many of the smaller streams, are Keltic: and the fact that they have been handed down proves lengthened intercourse between Kelt and Saxon, and continued intercourse from Keltic times. But the names of local manors (and manors were at first merely the homesteads or clearings of the individual or the family) are nearly all Saxon. Either, then, the population in Keltic times was very small, the country comparatively unsettled, or most of the Keltic sites must have been abandoned and their names and memory lost. The latter hypothesis cannot be accepted to the extent required to explain the disappearance of so many traces of a numerous Keltic race.

We conclude therefore that it was not until Saxon times the locality commenced to assume a fully settled aspect; and that the majority of the *tuns*, *hams*, *leys*, *stocks*, and *worthys* are of direct Saxon origin and date. Making the fullest allowance for the substitution of new names for old, the district, at the Norman Conquest, must thus have been far more populous than in Keltic days. And a fact to be specially borne in mind is the great preponderance of names of a peaceful class—the simple enclosure of the ‘*tun*’ largely predominates, and the more defensible ‘*stocks*’ are few and far between. Probably the ‘*stocks*’ represent the earlier settlements, when the need of defence was greater, and thus afford some clue to the sites where the Saxon first planted himself. The distribution of the places so named somewhat favours this idea; and it may be that Plymstock became the Saxon continuant of the ancient and important pre-historic, thence Keltic, settlement on the eastern shores of the Sound.

No corner of Devon yields so many distinct general Saxon place-names; and the traces of Norse influence if few are unmistakable, as in the familiar *ness*, and the less frequent *hangr* (= ‘mound.’) All points to a wide immigration from many sources.

Vestiges of the old Teutonic tenure of the ‘*mark*’ favour also the inference that this South-West Devon was the scene of active Saxon colonization from the sea, long before the county passed into Saxon hands. These vestiges were first noted in the examination of a number of deeds belonging to the Plymouth Corporation. References were found to fields ‘lying in landscore’ and to ‘landscore land,’ and further

enquiry shewed that these landscores were portions of undivided fields. Some such properties retained a mixed and complicated ownership to very recent days.⁵

There is thus evidence of the occupation by man of the shores of Plymouth Sound, so far back as the days of the cave-dwellers; and fair presumptive proof that this occupation has been continuous to the present day.

⁵ One of the most interesting references is in a lease of 1604, by which George Whyte grants Nicholas Dymond 'all those his parts p'plies & porcons (to weete) the third pte of one peice or poell of land . . . scituate & lyinge in Lanscowre wthin a close there called the Thissell pke on the westr syde . . . And also fyve pte of some other third pte of the same peice or poell of Lanscowre land.' What was known in Plymouth by the name of landscore was a strip of unenclosed land; and a tenement which lay in landscore consisted of a series of these unenclosed scores or shares. Such tenements are traceable in every quarter of the borough. One which was enclosed in the latter part of the seventeenth century went by the name of 'Roper's piece.' Of a landscore by the Laira the dimensions are given. It consisted of 136 yards of land at 36 feet the yard.

CHAPTER II.

DOMESDAY: THE SUTTONS.

The King sent his men over all England into every shire, and caused to be ascertained, what or how much each man had who was a holder of land in England, in land or in cattle, and how much money it might be worth. So very narrowly he caused it to be traced out, that there was not one single hide, nor one yard of land, nor even—it is shame to tell, though it seemed to him no shame to do—an ox, nor a cow, nor a swine was left that was not set down in his writ.—*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.*

The Domesday Record.

IN opening *Domesday Book* we for the first time feel, in relation to Plymouth, that we tread upon firm historical ground. There is, indeed, a statement by Risdon,¹ that, in the life of St. Indractus, Plymouth is named Tamarworth; but this rests upon no sound authority, and in any event has little significance. Tamarworth may fairly be interpreted the 'island of the Tamar'—island being one of the usual renderings of many-meaninged 'worth'; and in such a case would by no means imply the existence of a town of that name. Moreover, had there been such a settlement, how can we account for its total disappearance at the Norman Conquest?

Plymouth appears in *Domesday* under the name of Svdtone = Sutton; belonging to the Conqueror in succession to the Confessor; and appendant with Macretone (Maker), and Tanbretone (Kings Tamerton) to the manor of Walchentone (Walkhampton), the original head of the hundred long known as Roborough.²

The translation of the Exchequer entry runs:—

The king holds Svdtone. In the time of king Edward it paid geld for one virgate of land. There is land for six ploughs. In demesne is half a plough with one serf, and there are four

¹ *Chorographical Description of Devon*, 201.

² The other Svtone given in the *Devon Domesday*, has nothing to do with Plymouth.

villeins and two bordars, with five ploughs. There are two acres of meadow and twenty acres of pasture. It renders twenty shillings by weight.

The Exeter Book supplies the additional facts that the king had half a virgate and half a plough in demesne; the villeins half a virgate with their five ploughs; and that there were fifteen sheep.

Since the area here given is 742 acres only, it is clear that Svdton did not comprise the whole of modern Plymouth—even when every allowance is made for land reclaimed from the sea on the borders of Sutton Pool, and in the inner reach of Millbay, long known as Surpool, which extended along the Plymouth section of Union Street eastwards, and to the rising ground beyond King Street northwards. The remainder of the municipal area must be sought chiefly in the two manors of Lisistone (Lipson) and Leuricestone. Lisistone had belonged to Godwin, but had passed to the Count of Mortain, half-brother of the Conqueror, and was held under him by the most important Norman 'tenant' in the district, Reginald of Valletort. It had gelded for half a hide, but contained three plough lands, one virgate of pasture, an acre of meadow, and six acres of coppice. The enumerated population was one serf, three villeins, and four bordars, who had one plough team. The live stock totalled five head of cattle, twenty-eight sheep, and thirty goats; and the value had fallen from twenty shillings a year to ten shillings.

Leuricestone had belonged to Saulf, but had passed to the great Norman baron, Judhel or Joel of Totnes. It had gelded for one virgate, consisted of two plough lands, with three acres of meadow and eight acres of wood; had an enumerated population of one serf and two villeins; no live stock beyond two plough teams; and remained of the same value in 1086 as in 1066—ten shillings a year.

If we add the 487 acres of Lisistone and the 251 of Leuricestone to the 742 of Sutton, the total of 1480 comes very near to the 1394 acres of the municipal borough. It may be suggested that as there are two Lipsons—Higher and Lower—Leuricestone has merged in the one and Lisistone in the other; but part of Lipson is not within the corporate limits; nor is part of the ancient Sutton. And in any case Sutton alone is not of sufficient area for the modern town.

The *Domesday* manors bordering Plymouth were Stonehouse (Stanehtvs) on the west, which had passed from Alwyn the Saxon to Robert the Bastard; Stoches on the

north, which still retains in its distinctive suffix as Stoke Damerel, the name of its Norman lord, Robert of Albemarle, who had succeeded the Saxon Brismar; the two little manors of Modlei (Mutley) on the north-east, held by Judhel in succession to the Saxons Godwin and Alwyn; Contone (Compton Gifford) on the east, which had passed from Osulf to Judhel; and finally on the south-east a corner of Bochelard, another possession of Judhel, which still preserves in its distinctive prefix, as *Egg* Buckland, the memory of its dispossessed Saxon owner, Heche.

We can fix the position of Sutton with some precision. The southern boundary was the Sound, the northern the inlet now known as Stonehouse Creek and Deadlake; but of old time in its upper waters, from Pennycomequick downwards, as Stoke Damarel Fleet. West and east the line is not so clear. There are fair grounds for believing that the Stonehouse of *Domesday* did not comprise the portion of the township north of the line of High Street; and that the bulk of the land now occupied by the Royal Naval Hospital formed part of the old manor of Sutton. The Charter of Incorporation expressly excludes a parcel of the hamlet of Sutton Vawter or Valletort; and there are deeds in existence which mention 'The Vawters' as being in the neighbourhood of what is now Noplace.

On the east the bounds are yet more uncertain. Sutton extended to Sutton Pool; but there is nothing to shew that it went beyond. The position of Lisistone is fairly indicated by the modern Lipson; but Leuricestone is lost to our nomenclature. There is just this suggestion to be made. It may have included the Cattedown district. The first syllable unquestionably gives us the *Lar* of Lary (now Laira) and the remainder hints the old name of Cattedown; namely, Hingstone.³

And there was a distinct manor between the modern Lipson and Sutton so late as the middle of the seventeenth century, associated with Lipson, and in its name of Lulyetts Fee quaintly if faintly recalling the long-lost Leuricestone. Among the muniments of the Plymouth Corporation is a book recording the courts leet and courts baron of John Giffard and Alice Giffard, his widow, for the manor of

³ Cattewater in the Act-Charter is 'the Catte [cp. Cattegat] to Hingstone'; and in a sixteenth-century map the southernmost angle of Cattedown is Hingston Point, a name continuing into the seventeenth century. Hingstone, as elsewhere, possibly indicates the former existence of a hanging stone or cromlech. (Cp. Stonehenge.)

'Uletts ffee als Lulytts Sparke als Lulettis ffee,' with a parcell of the manor of Lypston or Lipson. The first court recorded was held 16th July, 1st James I. (1603), and the last 13th Charles I. (1638). Uletts Fee certainly reached from Bilbury Street to North Hill, and so far east by Briton Side as the Whitefriars. The Headlands, otherwise described as a close by the Maudlyn, was part of the manor; so was Hampton Shute or close ('als Gilwell parke'), on part of which Charles Church stands; and so was a certain unnamed close in the occupation of Thomazine Gibbons (Gibbons Fields), and which, as the rent paid to the lord averaged 3s. 6d. an acre, may be taken as about four acres in extent. Probably the manor had been to a certain extent dismembered; for besides Bilbury Street and East Cross Street there is mention of a tenement in Looe Street. Moreover the list of free tenants in 1603 reaches a total of thirty-six, all but three of whom are entered as heirs of former tenants, while in subsequent years they do not muster a fourth of that number. In the same year there are recorded six conventional and customary tenants for Uletts Fee, and six conventional tenants for Lipson.

Domesday thus gives no colour to the idea that Plymouth existed as a town, in the modern sense, before the Conquest. The total enumerated population of the three manors is but eighteen. It also disposes of the pretence accepted by Leland in his statement—'The chirch and much of the ground whereon Sutton now caullid Plimmouth was builded was longing to one of the Prebendes titulo S. Petri and Pauli of Plympton, a collegiate chirch, alias *Capella libera dni. Regis*, before the Conquest.'⁴

Domesday is utterly silent touching any such holding of the Saxon college. Leland does not quote his authority; but we may fairly assign it to the Priory. Monkish legends, however, are not always to be trusted; and monkish forgeries of title deeds are not unknown.

Nor can we turn to *Domesday* for confirmation of the finding of a jury empanelled by the Sheriff of Devon in 1318, who declared, as we shall see more at length hereafter, that before the foundation of the town of Sutton there was a place within its limits where the King's Courts were held and tolls levied on fish offered for sale. This must have been subsequent to the Great Survey; unless the gerin of the story is the existence of the ordinary manorial courts.

⁴ *Itinerary*, iii. 43.

It would greatly help the elucidation of the earlier history of Plymouth, if we could account for the name Sutton = 'South town.' What more important place lay immediately to the northward? Many suggestions have been made—the legendary Tamarworth, the mythical Tamara, among the number. The most feasible hypothesis assigns the reference to Stoke, shown by its name to have been a defenced 'strength,' and possessing at the time of the Survey the unusually large enumerated population of twenty-five—the virtual head of the immediate district. The occurrence of the allied relative name Weston, at Weston Peveril, strengthens this view.

The Valletorts.

The Valletorts were the first to stimulate the fortunes of Plymouth. Henry I. gave the manor of Sutton, with those of Maker and Kings Tamerton, to Reginald of Valletort; and either Reginald or his successors made it a place of residence. This is set forth in a grant by Ralph of Valletort, who mentions a way to Surpole by the corner of his garden of Sutton, '*anglo gardini mei de Suthtona.*' The actual site is indicated in a couple of deeds among the muniments of the Earl of Mount Edgcumbe, dated 1370 and 1373. In the first of these James Vautort, lord of Sutton, releases in fee to Stephen Durnford, 'Vautordis park atte Pole,'⁵ at the west part of Churcherhull, the way from Sutton to Stonhous lying north, the meadow of William Cole south, and the land of Thomas Cok called Romisbery west. By the second deed John Vyncent and John Holcomb grant the same land to Stephen and his wife Cecilia, the boundaries being the same, with the important addition that the highway to Soure-polemylle lay to the east. This enables us to fix the site with absolute precision. Churcherhull is Church Hill—the hill on which stands St. Andrew Church. The highway to Stonehouse ran fairly along the line of what is now Bedford Street, Frankfort Street, King Street (a little north to avoid the edge of Surpool) to Fore Street, Stonehouse, where it turned sharply south to the ferry at Cremill (now Devil's) Point—then, as long after, the chief thoroughfare from this part into Cornwall. Romisbery indicates the existence of an old earthwork, probably near the end of the Western Hoe; William Cole's meadow lay on the northern slope of the Hoe adjacent. The highway to Soure-polemylle—Millbay—is

⁵ The variations in the spelling of proper names follow the documents cited.

either that mentioned in various old deeds as running from Sutton Pool thither, or a branch thereto from the Old Town. The garden and park of the Valletorts thus lay in the angle of the two roads; and the residence would be nearly adjacent to the church.

Here, by the side of the mansion of its Valletort lords, the germ of ancient Plymouth, for centuries distinctively known as Old Town, was planted and grew. The day came when Sutton Prior beat it in the race; but the village of the Valletorts was the real beginning of Plymouth town; and its superior antiquity was visible at Leland's visit, when he found it 'sore decayed.' 'Old Town' has been fussily modernised into 'Old Town Street'; but the memory of the original site is happily preserved.

In process of time the original Sutton gave place to three—Sutton Valletort, Vaward, or Vautier; Sutton Prior; and Sutton Raf or Ralf. Sutton Vautier lay on the north; Sutton Prior on the south, forming the 'middle and heart' of the growing town; Sutton Raf, later given as Radcliff, on the east. Sutton Vautier was the original from which Sutton Prior, and probably Sutton Raf, had been severed, though the evidence on the latter head is not so clear as could be wished. Sutton Prior became a distinct manor by the grants of the Valletorts to the Priory of Plympton. The severance of Sutton Ralf must have been a matter of family arrangement. It is significant of the varying development of the three that in 1440 we find them described as the *town* of Sutton Prior, the *hamlet* of Sutton Vawtier, and the *tithing* of Sutton Raf.

The grant of Sutton to the Valletorts was made within fifty years of the compilation of *Domesday*, since Henry I. died in 1135. Reginald of Valletort in 1086 had his chief manor at Trematon, whence he exercised rights over the waters of the Tamar; and among his estates was the Cornish Macreton, or Maker, which, with Trematon and many others, he held under the Count of Mortain. He had a son called Roger, who was father to a second Reginald, and a second Roger was living in 1195. Whether the grant of Sutton was made to the son or the grandson of the first Reginald is uncertain; for both Roger and Reginald are given as the name of the grantee. But other family interests had been created in Sutton by the middle of the twelfth century. In a deed, *circa* 1150, we find Philip of Valletort holding lands here, and the names of the first Plymouthians on record are given as witnesses—Roger de

Fletehenda, Gilbert cycharista, William pistore, John Boscher, Reginald de veifer.

The earliest grant to Plympton Priory now traceable was by Reginald of Valletort, of all his fishing rights, whether in Tamar or in Lynher, with the waters belonging thereto—*'concurrentibus tractibus'*—save and except the pool *'sub aula de halton.'* The copy of this grant in the *Black Book* of the Corporation of Plymouth is undated;⁶ but it was probably made not long after the manor passed into the hands of the Valletort family.

Still greater benevolence was shown by Ralph of Valletort, son and heir of Reginald, who granted to God and the church of St. Peter and St. Paul of Plympton and the canons there, in perpetual alms for the welfare of his soul and the souls of his ancestors and successors, a convenient place next Surepole, with right to erect a mill and mill dam, and all the mill toll of his manor of Sutton, with a suitable way thereto—that was to say, by the corner of his garden of Sutton, as anciently they were accustomed to go to the fishery of the canons at Surepole (*'piscarium canonicorum de Surepola'*).

It is important to notice that by this grant the Priory received distinct manorial rights, in connection with the mills at Millbay (whence that inlet took its modern name, Surpool being reserved for its inner reach) which thereafter were appendant to the manor of Sutton Prior. The reference to the length of time during which the canons had held their fishery would appear to place the grant of Reginald early in his ownership; for although there is an undated grant by John or Joel of Stanhust (Stonehouse) to the canons of free fishery *'per totam terram meam,'* Surpool, as an inlet from Millbay, has always been treated as part of the Duchy rights under the honour of Trematon which the Valletorts held. John or Joel of Stanhust, who may have been a grandson of the Reginald of *Domesday*, in granting the canons free fishery throughout his lands, attached a condition about the division of the fish: *'qd si Batilli nostri pprij ædiuvire sibi obtenuerunt in piscando in terra meo per equalis porcus captura piscum inter nos dividati.'* One other Valletort grant to the Priory is recorded—that by Walter of Valletort of the island of St. Nicholas (*cum cuniculus*) with the rabbits thereon.⁷

⁶ All the Valletort grants here cited are set forth in the *Black Book* of the Corporation.

⁷ An ancient error in copying this record made it read *'cum caniculus.'*

Possibly there were others, but the final result was this—that while in the reign of Henry I. the entire manor of Sutton belonged to the Valletorts, in the reign of Edward I. (1281) the 'ville of Sutton' was held by the Prior, who claimed to have held it in the preceding reign. We shall see in the chapter on Municipal Government that the manor of Sutton Prior passed to the Corporation.

The descent of Sutton Vautier and of Sutton Raf is undefined. The history of the Valletorts has yet to be written; but Browne Willis was wrong in asserting that the Valletort estates escheated to the Crown on the death of Roger of Valletort in 1290; and there is no definite corroboration of the tradition preserved by Leland, that the greater part of their lands had been confiscated 'for a murder done by one of them.'

From the *Inquisitions Post Mortem*, and from the muniments of the Earl of Mount Edgcumbe, enough can be gathered to show that the family continued to the reign of Henry VIII.; dealing with property at Sutton long after their assumed extinction. Richard Vautort is mentioned as lord of Maker, one of the manors granted to his ancestor with Sutton, so late as 1426; and John Vautort leases lands in South Millbrook in 1433.

The *Nomina Villarum* of 1314 mentions only the 'Burgus de Sutton' as belonging to the Prior, and 'Sutton Rauff' as the property of John de Dalecurta (= Valletort). Sutton Vautier is not named. Only three years later we find the Prior claiming to be lord of two parts of Sutton, and two Valletorts, both named John, of Clyst and of Modeton (Moditonham) respectively, acting as joint-lords of the other third.

It is a fair assumption, therefore, that Sutton Vautier had then ceased to be Valletort property. There is no suggestion beyond the statement that the Prior held two-thirds of the town that it belonged to the Priory; but had it done so, and continued an ecclesiastical possession, it must have gone with Sutton Prior to the Corporation at the Incorporation of 1439-40. There is better reason to believe that it had passed to the Courtenays,⁸ in the fact that Baldwin of the Isle, the last Redvers Earl of Devon, obtained a market grant for Sutton in 1257 (42 Henry III.) with certain manorial powers; and that Courtenay rights were saved under the charter of Henry VI.

After this uncertain interval we find Sutton Vautier in the

⁸ LELAND's statement may suggest the explanation why.

Nereys family; while about the middle of the fourteenth century it was sold to William Cole. On his death it remained for some years in the hands of feoffees; the Specotts subsequently becoming the owners. In the thirty-fourth year of Henry VIII. Sir Hugh Pollard sold it to William Hawkins, father of the celebrated Admiral, for 1,000 marks.

In 1637 it was purchased by the Corporation of John Hawkins, his descendant, as is shown by the following entry in the Receivers' Accounts:

Item for a present given Mr. Risdon to procure out of his hands such writings as concerned Vauter's Fee, lately bought by the Towne of Mr John Hawkyns, and a man and two horses two Journyes to fetch the sayd writeinges v^{li} iiij^s

When and why the Corporation parted with the manor there is no trace; but it is said that in the reign of James II. it had become the property of Edward Spoure, of whom it was purchased by Thomas Bewes. It has remained in the Bewes family ever since. As a manor it has long been extinct, and of late years most of the land has been sold in lots for building purposes.

Sutton Raf yields somewhat better history. The distinctive title is the name of the first Valletort lord under whom it came into separate existence; and it appears to have been included among the properties transferred by James Vautort, lord of Sutton, to Stephen Durnford, *circa* 1370. As the manor of Radclyffe it came with the heiress of the Durnfords to the Edgcumbes, in the reign of Henry VII. The position is practically shown by the mention of Little Saltram as one of the tenements. Down to within the present century the reputed manor of Sutton Pill (= Pool), including portions, if not the whole of Cattedown, appeared in part to continue the succession. No manorial rights have now been exercised in Plymouth, however, for many years, beyond those of the Duchy of Cornwall in foreshore and fundus; and those of the Corporation in the market.

CHAPTER III.

RIISING FAME AND FORTUNES.

Some achieve greatness.—*Shakspeare.*

THE general history of Plymouth may be divided into three sections: (a) Prehistoric and Legendary, extending down to the compilation of *Domesday*; (b) Uncertain and Fragmentary, dating from *Domesday* down to the incorporation of the existing borough by Act of Parliament in 1439; and (c) Consecutive, from 1439 onward to the present time. Of the second section, which covers 350 years, we know less than of the history of any town in England of equal importance, over so long a period. There is but one single contemporary document among the Corporation archives within its range, though there are copies of others, and must once have been many. Probably the bulk perished when the 'towne's evydence' was destroyed by fire in the assault of the Western Rebels in 1548. And yet during these three centuries and a half Plymouth grew from a mere fishing hamlet to a port so famous that it took a principal part in the wars of the Edwards against France; that it was the rendezvous of a fleet of 325 ships in 1287; that it stood third on the list of contributories to the Calais fleet in 1346; and that in 1377 the poll tax returns assign it a taxable inhabitancy of 4,837, and thus give it the rank of the fourth town in the kingdom—London, York, and Bristol, alone taking precedence.¹

The Priory of Plympton.

The old couplet applied with variations to so many places in the kingdom, and locally running:

Plympton was a borough town
When Plymouth was a vuzzy down,

¹ The chief authorities for this chapter are State Papers in the Record Office, and the Municipal Archives.

is true so far as the relative antiquity of the two places is concerned, although Plymouth had ceased to be a 'vuzzy down' when Plympton was chartered by Baldwin of Redvers in 1241. Plympton at the time of the Conquest had long been the head of the district; although we have no mention of it, any more than of Sutton, in the record of the defeat of the Danes at Wembury.

The importance of Plympton in early days centered in the monastery, which, as we have seen, finds documentary notice in the opening years of the tenth century. We have no certain knowledge of its origin, but *Domesday* speaks of its members as canons, and notes incidentally in connection with Robert Bastard that it was dedicated to St. Peter; while the Exeter book states that the ecclesiastical land there belonged to St. Peter of Plintona. There was a very old tradition that the house was founded by King Eadgar, and this was regarded as established in an early suit between the Crown and the later Augustinian Priory. According to the deed already cited, the community must have been in existence long before Eadgar's time. It consisted of five members—a dean and four prebendaries, and no doubt Plympton was one of the prebends.

Cause has already been shown for discarding Leland's further assertion, that another of the prebends was that of Peter and Paul at Sutton.

Whenever begun, the Saxon house came to an end in 1121, being dissolved by Bishop Warelwast (who founded the college at Boseham, in Sussex, in substitution), and replaced by what afterwards became the famous Augustinian Priory of the Blessed Mary and Saints Peter and Paul. Leland states that the old house fell because the canons would not 'leave their concubines'; in other words, would not give up their wives; but this story smacks of later origin.

Within a very few years of the new foundation, the first Valletort grant to the Priory was made; and the connection began which was to continue some three centuries. The brethren soon felt their power, for when John of Valletort, about the middle of the twelfth century, claimed to present to the benefice of Sutton, the Prior successfully established his right. This seems to have been their only quarrel with the Valletorts.

The Priors continued lords of Sutton Prior until the Act of Parliament Incorporation in 1439, and under their government the community flourished. The Crown, however,

questioned their claim to certain privileges and immunities, and at length, under an Exchequer writ, issued in the year 1313, a jury was summoned to determine the points in difference. By their decision the Prior, in consideration of a fee farm rent, was confirmed in the exercise of various powers—particularly those of granting leases of houses as lord of the fee; having a view of frankpledge; an assize of bread and beer; a ducking-stool and pillory; and the right of fishery of the waters from the entrance of Cattenwater to the head of the Plym. In the reign of Edward the Third, John of Eltham, as Earl of Cornwall, claimed the fishery of the waters as ancient demesne. This claim occasioned new disputes; but on the declaration of a special jury that the privileges enjoyed by the Prior and his tenants were bestowed by a charter of Henry the Third, the decision made in the time of Edward the Second was again confirmed. After the earldom was erected into a duchy, and conferred upon the Black Prince, there was another inquisition anent Sutton Pool. The Prior claimed a share successfully; and although the Pool proper remained until 1890 part of the Duchy estate, the Corporation, as representatives of the Priory, are the proprietors of certain quays.

The monks of Plympton appear to have been fully alive to the value of their property at Sutton, and to have neglected no opportunity of developing its resources. Leland remarks: 'Al such as hath by continuance sines the Tyme of Henry the Second builded houses in Sutton Prior, now the greatest part of Plymouth, take Licence of the Priorie of Plympton as of their chief Lord.' From other sources we learn that by giving privileges, and by granting leases at small fines, successive Priors did all they could to encourage people to take up their residence in the growing town.

There was a ferry in the water of Plimmouth, between Sutton and 'hole' (Hooe) so far back as 1281, worked by a barge belonging to John Beaupre, the toll being a half-penny for horse or man.

Plymouth under the Edwards.

Sutton, or, as it had already come to be called, Plymouth, began to make its mark in the history of England six hundred years ago; and the capabilities of its magnificent harbour soon brought it into prominence. The first important historical fact connected with the town is the assembly

in 1287 of a large fleet of ships—325 in number, under the command of the Earl of Lancaster, brother of Edward I, which sailed for Guienne. A few years later Plymouth had attained such importance as to be called upon to send deputies to Parliament. Since, according to Leland, it was in the reign of Henry II. 'a mene thing as an Inhabitation of Fischars,' it must therefore have made very rapid progress.

There are a few traces left of the stages by which the port became known; such for example as the brief note in the *Annals of Tewkesbury* that in 1230 the body of Gilbert of Clare, Earl of Gloucester and Hertford, who died at Penhros, in Brittany, was landed at Plummue.

In 1348 the Sheriff of Devon was directed to assemble thirty bowmen at Plummouth to conduct Johanna, the King's daughter, to Gascony. This was in February. Forty ships had been ordered to be pressed for the same purpose in the previous December, and a further order to press was made in March. In March, 1354, proclamation was made that all ships, from London even unto Plimmouth, were to assemble at the latter port to transport the Prince of Wales and his followers to Gascony. In July, 1362, orders were given to gather ships at Plymouth to convey the Prince of Aquitaine and Wales to support the King's right in Aquitaine; while in the month of August, Robert Monk and others were ordered to repair to Plymouth to assist in passing over the King's 'beloved son, John, Duke of Burgundy, to Brittany.'²

How many times Plymouth was attacked by the French and Bretons is uncertain—the *Black Book* of the Corporation says that it was burnt by them three times—in 1377, 1400, and 1403, but the first recorded descent was in 1339, in retaliation for the advance of the claims of Edward III. to the French throne. The French then did very considerable damage, destroying great part of the town; but were eventually repulsed by the men of Devon under their Earl. A few years passed and the gallant seamen of Plymouth had their revenge. To the siege of Calais in 1346 Plymouth sent 26 ships, manned by 603 men;³ Millbrook 1, with 12 men; Hooe 2, with 24; and Yealm 2, with 47. In

² Several writs to the bailiffs and other officials are cited in the chapter on Early Municipal History.

³ Fowey sent the greatest number of any port in the kingdom, 47, with 770 men. Yarmouth came next; and Dartmouth next, with 31 ships and 757 men. London only sent 25 vessels; Bristol 22 ships and 608 men.

1350 the French again returned to the charge, after having burnt Teignmouth, but according to Stow⁴ found the place so well defended that they were only able to destroy 'some farms and fair places' in the neighbourhood.⁵

Edward the Black Prince made Plymouth the head-quarters of his operations against France. He landed in the port in 1348, and honoured the Prior with his presence at dinner. In 1355 it became the rendezvous of the English fleet. 'Heere [says Carew] the never inough commended black Prince, attended by the Earles of *Warwick, Suffolk, Sarisbury,* and *Oxford*, the Lord *Chandos* and others, committed himself to the sea, with a navy of 300. bottoms for landing and maintayning his fathers right in France; and hither after his glorious battell at Poitiers he returned, with the captiue French King and his nobles.' Other accounts make the Prince land at Sandwich. Yet Izaacke⁶ repeats the story thus: '*Prince Edward* brought over into *England John*, the *French King*, and sundry of his Noblemen, all as Prisoners, who landed at *Plymouth*, and from thence came to this *City* [Exeter], where they were honourably received, and so conveyed to *London*.'

The Black Prince was detained at Plymouth before he set sail upon this expedition forty days by contrary winds. A highly interesting document at Mount Edgcumbe, contains a record of the first acts done by him as Duke of Cornwall. Many of these are noted to have been done at Plympton Priory or at Plymouth, during the forty days of detention. There then existed an officer called the havener, acting for the Duchy; and the Duchy rights and dues were by no means of an unremunerative character. Thus early, therefore, the commerce of Plymouth was of some importance. A couple of amusing entries relate to the ferries. One is a grant to a follower of the Prince of the ferry at Asche (Saltash), in consideration of his services and his disfigurement by the loss of an eye in battle. The other is the complaint of the master of a foreign trader—a Hamburger—that his boat had been taken for the use of the ferry at Cremill, while the Cremill boat had been taken for Saltash, whilst the Saltash boat was under repair; and his grievance appears to have been, not so much that the boat was taken, as that he had not received the tolls during its use. The

⁴ *Annals*.

⁵ Perhaps this was the occasion when West Stonehouse, a hamlet at Mount Edgcumbe, was destroyed. Carew says the ruins were to be seen in his time.

⁶ *Antiquities of Exeter*, 54.

same document contains the record of a grant by the Prince to certain 'poor brothers' at Plymouth.

A subsequent entry by Izaacke records in 1371: '*Edward the Black Prince* returns sick from *France* with the *Princess* his *Lady*, and *Richard* their son (who was afterwards *King of England* by the name of *Richard the Second*), and arrived at *Plymouth*.' And this was undoubtedly so.

Plymouth received important privileges from Richard II. In 1384 it was named as one of the places at which passports to depart the realm might be had. In 1389, it was ordered that with the exception of known merchants and soldiers, and others going to Ireland, no persons should without license depart the realm elsewhere than at Dover or Plymouth. These two ports, moreover, were named as the only legal places of transit for pilgrims to cross the Channel.

Descents and Reprisals.

In the opening years of the fifteenth century Plymouth was attacked on sundry occasions by the French and Bretons, and much damage done. But the accounts are confused and contradictory. An attempt to fire the town in 1399 is said to have been repulsed, with a loss of 500 men, by the inhabitants. And then it is stated that in the following year a French fleet, under James of Bourbon, Count de la Marche, put into Plymouth on its way to Wales, and destroyed a considerable portion of the town, but that a gale wrecked some of his largest ships, while the rest escaped with difficulty.

This is, however, an inaccurate version of an event set forth in detail in Wylie's *Henry IV*. It was in 1403 that Bourbon came over with his brothers Louis, Count of Vendôme, and John, Lord of Clarency. They chased seven trading vessels, which tried to make Plymouth in vain, and were abandoned, the crews escaping. 'The people crowded into the town in wild alarm,' and the Plymouth folk, by doubling the price of provisions for outsiders, drove them out again, but did nothing else. The attack was made on the afternoon of Lammas-day, August 10, when large bodies of Bretons, under the Sieur du Chastel, Lord of Chateau Neuf, near St. Malo, landed about a mile from the town, which they entered at the 'bak haf,' and burned and plundered at will until ten the next morning. Upwards of 600 houses were burnt at the spot thence called Briton Side (now part of Exeter Street), but the castle and the

higher parts of the town (Old Town) held out; and many of Chastel's men were killed or mutilated, while others were captured.

Reprisals quickly followed. Sir William Wilford, 'born nigh Plymouth, a valiant and successful seaman,' with a fleet drawn from Plymouth, Dartmouth, and Bristol . . . 'took forty ships on the coast of the *Britains*, and burnt as many at Penarch, repaying the Monsieurs in their own coin.'

The presence of the Dartmouth contingent so incensed Du Chastel, that he in turn retaliated by a descent upon that town in 1404, but found unexpected resistance. The townsfolk and the country people joined their forces, and 'the women like Amazons, by hurling of flints and pebbles, and such-like artillery, did greatly advance their husbands' and kinsfolks' victory.' Du Chastel and many others were slain; but three lords and twenty knights of note were saved, as many more might have been had not ignorance of the language confounded the cries alike of indignation and pity. The King gave the captors much 'golden coyn' for their captives. Thus Speed.

The destruction of 600 houses in this descent of the Bretons helps us to accept the statement of the Subsidy Roll touching the populousness of the town in 1377. It shows further that the townsmen had good ground for the plea in their petition for incorporation, that they had been 'nyghtly and dayly spoyled.'

Not that they themselves were by any means blameless. We find, in January, 1403, one Henry Don, of Plymouth, summoned to appear before the Privy Council to answer a charge of piracy. Was this the Henry Don whom Owen Glendower called upon to join him?

However some steps had been taken for local as well as national defence. An undated paper in the Record Office of about this period sets forth a list of ships and barges in ports in the South and West of England under the Admiralty:—Otymouth, 1 barge; Exon, 2; Teignmouth, 2; Brixton (Brixham), 2; Dartmouth, 7 ships and barges; Portlhmouth, 7 ships and barges (not Portsmouth, which is only down for one barge); Yealm, 1 barge; Plymouth, 10 ships and barges; Saltash, 2 barges; Looe, 1; Fowey, probably a barge; Lostwithiel, 2 ships and barges; Falmouth, 2 ships and barges; Padstow, 1 barge; Barnstaple, 6 ships and barges.

In 1442 it was decided to have upon the sea continually eight ships from Candlemas to Martinmas, one with another

150 men each. Every ship was to have a barge and balynger attending her. At Plymouth was to be procured a barge called the *Mangeleke* in the water of Saltash; and at Saltash itself a barge called the *Slugge* barge. Dartmouth had to furnish two ships.

Early Commerce.

The proceedings and ordinances of the Privy Council during the fifteenth century contain numerous references to Plymouth, which supply some indication of its importance at that period. Thus we find Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Lincoln, with the Earls of Somerset and Worcester, who had been sent to escort the second wife of Henry IV., Joan of Navarre, to England, writing from Plymouth in December, 1402, to say that they had been driven back from the coast of Brittany by stress of weather. Subsequently we find the same bishop, then on his way to the Holy Land, writing from Bruges to the Bishop of Durham, as Lord Chancellor, concerning a grievance of the burgomaster and echevins of that city. Certain goods belonging to them had been seized on board a Genoese carrack at Plymouth, and Beaufort asks that these might be restored, remarking that if they were not, ten times their value would be taken.

The port at this time was frequented by vessels of all maritime nations, and of some that were hardly considered maritime until a much later period. Thus we have in 1417 a memorandum to speak to the king about the release of a Prussian ship lying there.

Under 1419 there is a most amusing entry. The King has learnt that Thomas ap Reece, and other merchants of Bristol, have 'taken to the port of Plymouth certain carracks and other vessels charged with good merchandise of Janevois (Genoese) and others our enemies'; and having a fancy for certain of the goods he asks that they may be sold to him, promising that he will most faithfully pay.

In 1423 the Mayor of Plymouth, in conjunction with the Mayors of London, Bristol, Hull, Lynn, and Yarmouth, is ordered to proclaim to all persons who may wish to buy certain great ships, that they are for sale at Southampton.

The date of this entry, being sixteen years antecedent to the Act of Parliament Incorporation of the town, is one proof among others that there existed a Corporation of some kind before that period.

In 1433 we find the 'customers and comptrollers' of

Plymouth and other ports ordered to appear at Westminster with their accounts. The subsidies on wool were then 3s. a ton, and 12d. in the pound. Customers and comptrollers were not the only representatives of royalty at Plymouth during this period. Henry VI. appointed John Hampton, Esquire, water bailiff of Plymouth in 1434; the office, with the rangership of the forest of Kingare, being valued at £5 annually.

Entries which shew the prominence of the port in national affairs at length become almost of yearly occurrence. In 1451 'moustres' for Lord Lisle's expedition to Guienne were directed to be made either at Plymouth or Dartmouth. March 28th, 1452, it was ordered that as many ships as possible from Plymouth and other ports should rendezvous at Sandwich before the last day of the ensuing February, which may be regarded as ample notice; and yet in 1453 the King, intending to despatch a 'great and notable armee' to France finds himself constrained to write to the 'mayors and customers' of Dartmouth, Plymouth, and Fowey, 'preying heretely that by all the weyes and menes possable unto you, ye on our behalve sture, moeve, trete, and enduce all the oweners and maisters of the shippes and vessailles that belonge unto youre porte to be ready to go.'

York and Lancaster.

In the Wars of the Roses Plymouth leant somewhat to the Lancastrian side. It was either at Plymouth or at Dartmouth (authorities differ) that the Earl of Warwick, with the Duke of Clarence and the Earls of Pembroke and Oxford, landed in 1470; and commenced the revolt which caused the temporary restoration of Henry VI. Proclaiming Henry at Plymouth, they proceeded to London, and caused Edward to fly into Burgundy within eleven days after Warwick had set foot in England. And the claims of Plymouth have been set up against Weymouth, as the port where Margaret of Anjou landed in the following year with her son Edward, and the French auxiliaries annihilated at Tewkesbury.

In later years Lancastrian feeling was no doubt stimulated by the adherence of the town's most powerful neighbour, Sir Richard Edgecumbe, to that side, though for the time the Yorkists bore the sway.

Carew heard the inhabitants of Cawsand report 'that the Earle of *Richmond* (afterwards *Henry* the seuenth), while hee houerred vpon the coast, here [Cawsand] by stealth

refreshed himselfe; but being aduertised of streight watch, kept for his surprising at *Plymouth*, he richly rewarded his hoste, hyed speedily a shipboord, and escaped happily to a better fortune.' The substantial accuracy of this statement is borne out by a royal proclamation directed against Henry in 1483, which sets forth that 'the said Henry callyng hymself Erle of Richemond, and Jasper, callyng hymself Erle of Pembroke, and their adherents, beyng Enemyes to oure said Sovereigne Lord, came falsely and traiterously with a greate Navye and Armye of Straungiers' to Plymouth, 'and there falsly and traiterously to have arrived and destroyed our said Sovereigne Lord's most roiall p'sonne, his true subgetts, and this his Reame.'

Towards the end of the year 1497 the Warbeckian insurrection excited much commotion in the West. Plymouth does not appear to have been much concerned, although 'Robert Warweke of Plymouth, yeoman,' subsequently figures in a proclamation as one of the rebels. He was a man of some means, having lands in Plymouth and Exeter worth £5 16s. yearly. Warbeck landed at Whitsand Bay, near the Land's End, not at Whitsand Bay, near Plymouth, as from the identity of name has sometimes wrongly been inferred.

There are a few entries concerning this matter in the Receiver's Accounts of the Corporation for 1496-7.

Item p ^d to aman y ^t was send vnto Exetr when the Captyn	
was at Exet ^r to Spy tydyngs	ij ^s vj ^d
Item delyv ^r yd vnto viij mē y ^t wer send by y ^e mayer to	
my lord of devonshyr in Cornewalle to defende pkyn	viiij ^s iiij ^d

They were dressed in 'Grene Jaketts,' which cost 8d. the yard. It is curious to note 'defend' used here in the sense of oppose, which has continued to the present day in France. [So in 1598 money raised to defend the town against Sir Ferdinando Gorges is said to be to 'defend Gorges.']

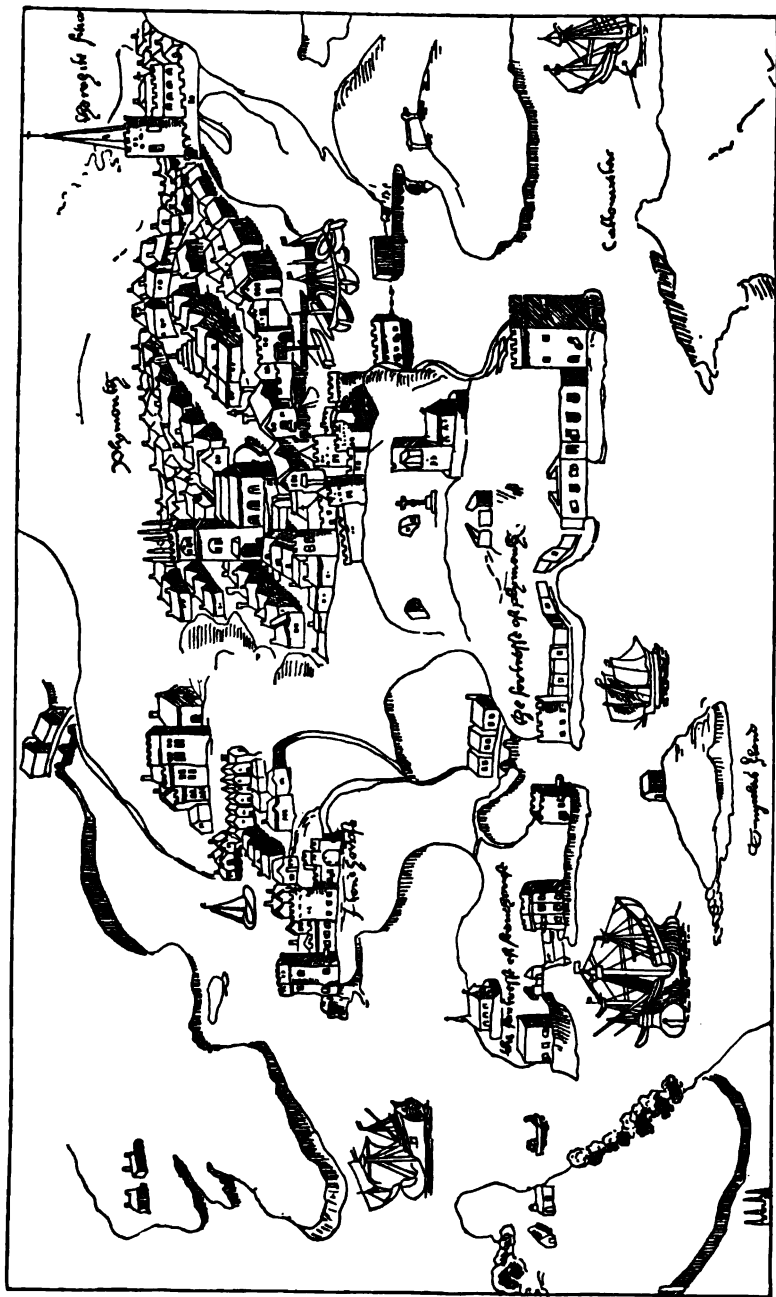
Landing of Katharine of Arragon.

On the 2nd of October, 1501, amidst the heartiest demonstrations of popular rejoicing, Katherine of Arragon, landed at Plymouth Barbican on her way to wed Prince Arthur. 'Had she been the Saviour of the world,' wrote the Licentiate Alcares, she could not have had a more enthusiastic welcome. The voyage had been boisterous and uncomfortable, for the ship was laden with plate and jewels,

and crowded with the members of her household. Immediately on landing she went to church in procession to return thanks for her preservation. She was lodged in the 'goodly house towards the Haven' of a rich merchant named Paynter, which has been traditionally identified with the fine old building of Palace Court, pulled down to give place to the Palace Court Board Schools. Hither flocked, during her stay, all the nobility and gentry of the neighbourhood, to pay her homage, and look upon the veil which covered her features, and which her duenna, Donna Elvira Manuel, persistently kept down. That this did not damp the loyal enthusiasm of the Corporation, the amount of their expenditure shows:

Itm p ^d to Richard Gewe for vj oxen the wich wer psented to my lady prynces	vj ^{li} vj ^s viij ^d
Itm p ^d to Gelan Mellow Bocher for xx shepe the wich wer psented to my lady prynces	xxxiiij ^s iiij ^d
Itm p ^d to Willm Chapyn for iiij shepe that wer psented to my lady prynces	viiij ^s viij ^d
Itm p ^d for ij hogeshedds of Gaston Wyne wich was psented to my lady prynces	xl ^s
Itm p ^d to Mr. Yogge for a hogshed of clarett wyne psented to my lady prynces	xvj ^s viij ^d
Itm p ^d for a pipe of meskedell psented to my lady prynces	xlvj ^s viij ^d
Itm delyu ^r yd to my lady prynces ys amner [almoner] to wryte oure supplicacion yn Spaynysch and in latyn and to be owre salucyt'	x ^s
Itm a Reward to the prynces ys mylstrells	ij ^s
Itm to the Erle ys mylstrells of Spayne	xx ^d
Itm to the prynces ys ij fotemen at his deptyng	ij ^s

From Plymouth Katherine rode to London by way of Exeter, being met by Lord Willoughby de Broke, Steward of the Household, and curiously enough High Steward also of Plymouth. Izaacke's note concerning her entertainment in the ever-faithful city is too amusing to be omitted:— 'In the month of *October*, the Lady *Katherine Prince Arthur's Spouse* arrived at Plymouth, unto whom forthwith resorted the Gentry of the Country, and conducted her hither, and lodged her in the *Dean's House*, and had such entertainment as did belong to so honourable a Personage; whilst she remained here the Weather proved stormy, and the Weathercock on *St. Marys Steeple*, kept such a noise, that the Princess could not sleep, which occasioned the taking down of the said cock, which was erected again on her departure, and shortly thereafter the whole Steeple was taken down.'



PLYMOUTH, TEMP. HENRY VIII., FROM A MAP IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

The Western Rebellion.

Some local references to the Western Rebellion for the restoration of Catholicism will fittingly bring this chapter to a close. There is a note by Carew that during this rising St. Nicholas Island 'yeelded a safe protection to diuers dutyful subiects, who there shrowded themselves,' and it is clear from the statements in the local records that the attack on Plymouth was serious.

The entry in the *Black Book* (1548-9) runs :

In this yere was a greatte insurrecyon throughoutte all the Royallme of England and eespecialy in the Countiees of Devon and Cornwall in w^{ch} tyme the Cytee of Excestre and the Castell of Plymothe were valyently defended and kept from the Rebelles vntyll the comyng of the Lord Russel . . . then was our stepell burnt wth all the townes evydence in the same by Rebelles.

Plymouth followed up its defence by pursuing the attacking force into Cornwall.

The following items in the Receiver's Accounts are clear and grim enough. There is no clue to the identity of the unlucky traitor :

Itm delyured to henry blase for hym & his companye the viij th of Aprell when they Rode w ^t Sir Richard Eggecombe into Cornewall agaynst the Rebells there	xxvj ^s viij ^d
Itm paid for a dowsen of bowestryngs for them	v ^d
Itm pd for a dowsen of faggots & a quart of rede for doying thexecucyon vpon the Trayto ^r of Cornewall	vij ^d
Itm for tymbre for the gallowes	xij ^d
Itm for makyng the gallowes & for workynge at the howe	xiiij ^d
Itm paid to John Wylstrem for doying execucyon vpon the Traytr	vj ^s
Itm to lands man for leadyng the horse when the traytr was drawn to execucon	iiij ^d
Itm for ij pooles to putt the hede & qrt ^r of the said trayto ^r vpon & for ij Crampys of Ieron for to staye the pole vpon the gyldhall	x ^d
Itm pd for the dyn of the vndershyryff of Cornewall beyng here when the trayter was putto execucyon	v ^s
Itm paid to John Mathewe for Caryng a quart ^r of the trayto ^r to Tavystoke	xij ^d
Itm paid to Wyllm Byckford for wyne at the Recevyng of the Traytr of Cornewall	xvi ^d

We also find that some of the town guns were taken to the Maudlyn (North Hill), to repel the assailing force.

CHAPTER IV.

'THE DAYS OF GOOD QUEEN BESS.'

The brave old men of Devonshire !
'Tis worth a world to stand
As Devon's sons on Devon soil,
Though infants of the band,
And tell old England to her face,
If she is great in fame,
'Twas stout old heart of Devon oak
That made her glorious name !—*Capern.*

IT was the Plymouth of the days of Elizabeth, Drayton had in mind when he sang—

Upon the British coast, what ship yet ever came
That not of Plymouth heares ? where those brave Navies lie,
From Canons' thund'ring throats that all the world defie ?

In the latter half of the sixteenth century Devonshire was the foremost county in England ; and Plymouth its foremost town. Even the old Edwardian fame was eclipsed. Elizabeth called the men of Devonshire her right hand, and so far carried her liking for matters Devonian, that one of the earliest passports of Raleigh to her favour was the fact that he talked the broadest dialect of the shire, and never abandoned it for the affected speech current at court.

Contemporary writings abound with references to the note of Elizabethan Plymouth. Camden says : ' The town is not very large, but it's name and reputation is very great among all nations ; and this, not so much for the convenience of the harbour as for the valour and worth of the Inhabitants.'¹

Pole remarks : ' Plymouth from a small town is now one of the greatest.'²

Carew soars far above the level of his quaint, shrewd, gossiping style, in sounding its praises : ' Here, [says he] mostly, haue the troops of aduenturers, made their *Rendez vous* for attempting new discoueries or inhabitations : as, *Tho.*

¹ *Britannia* (Gibson's ed.), i. 84.

² *Collections.*

Stukeleigh for Florida, *Sir Humfrey Gilbert* for Newfoundland, *Sir Rich. Greynuile* for Virginia, *Sir Martyn Frobisher*, and *Master Davies*, for the North-west Passage, *Sir Walter Raleigh* for Guiana, &c. Here Count *Mongomery* made forth, with a more commendable meaning, then able meanes, or well-speeding effect for relieving the hard-besieged, and sore-distressed Rochellers. Here, *Sir Fra. Drake* first extended the point of that liquid line wherewith (as an emulator of the Sunnes glorie) he encompassed the world. Here, *Master Candish* began to second him with a like heroicall spirit, and fortunate successe. Here, *Don Antonio*, King of Portugall,³ the Earles of *Cumberland*, *Essex*, and *Nottingham*, the Lord Warden of the Stanneries [*Raleigh*], *Sir John Norrice*, *Sir John Hawkins* (and who elsewhere, and not here ?) haue euer accustomed to cut sayle, in carrying defiance against the imaginarie new Monarch [the King of Spain]; and heere to cast anker, vpon their returne with spoyle and honour. I omit the infinite swarme of single ships, and pettie fleetes, dayly heere manned out to the same effect. And here, in eightie eight, the foreremembred Lord Admirall expected and set forth, against that heauen-threatening Armado, which, to bee tainted with the shamefuller disgrace, and to blaze our renoume with the brighter lustre, termed itself Inuincible.'

Westcote, when another half-century had passed, declared, 'Whatever show it makes in description, it is far larger in fame, and known to the farthest and the most remote parts of the world. . . . In a word, I think it second to no town in England for worth every way; yea, it is so esteemed of our neighbours the Cornishmen, that they would by few very slender reasons claim it from us as their own.'

Adventure and Discovery.

Plymouth attained this position by no accidental, no sudden means. From the beginning of the century her seamen had borne their part in the new work of Western adventure and discovery. One at least, *Martin Cockrem*, sailed with *Sebastian Cabot*, the discoverer in 1497, with his father, of the mainland of America, and in after years the explorer of the River Plate, whither *Cockrem* accom-

³ *Izaacke's* note on the arrival of *Don Antonio* at Plymouth in 1584 runs: 'In the month of *September*, *Don Anthonio* King of *Portugal*, being driven out of his own Countrey by *Philip* King of *Spain*, arrived at *Plymouth*, and upon *St. Michael's* Day came to this City [*Exeter*], who with his retinue (during their abode here) were lodged in this Mayor's house [*John Davy*], and by him very liberally entertained.'

panied him. And when another Plymouth worthy, old William Hawkins (in the words of Hakluyt, 'a man for his wisdom, value, experience, and skill in sea causes, much esteemed and valued of K. Henry the 8,') became the pioneer of English adventure in the South Seas, and sailed in 1530 in the *Paul* of Plymouth, on one of his three famous voyages to Brazil, Cockrem went also, and was left in pledge with the natives for the safety of one of the 'savage kings,' whom Hawkins brought back with him to England. Unhappily the poor Brazilian died ere he could return; but the natives believed in the good faith of the English people, seeing that Hawkins had 'behaved wisely' towards them, and restored Cockrem—the first Englishman who ever dwelt in South America—to his friends. Cockrem outlived his old captain, and was living still, the patriarch of Plymouth seamen, the last link between the old times and the new, long after his old captain's son, Sir John, had proved a worthy inheritor of his father's skill and daring.

Advanced by such means, it is no exaggeration to say that, during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, Plymouth was the foremost port in England. The history of the relations of Elizabeth with Spain, and the general history of the town during her reign, are so connected that the one includes the other. If any person desired to see her English worthies, Plymouth was the likeliest place to seek them. All were in some fashion associated with the old town. These were days when men were indifferent whether they fought upon land or water; when the fact that a man was a good general was considered the best of all reasons why he should be a good admiral likewise. '*Per mare, per terram*,' was the motto of Elizabeth's 'true-born Englishmen,' and familiar and dear to them was Plymouth—with its narrow streets, its dwarfish quays, its broad waters, and its glorious Hoe.

The roll of Plymouth's naval heroes begins with the name of 'Wyllm Hawkyngs,' thus set down fifth on the oldest extant list of Plymouth freeman. He was son of John Hawkins,⁴ of Tavistock, and Joan, daughter of William Amadas, of Tavistock or Launceston. His wife was Joan, daughter of Roger Trelawny. His eldest son was another William Hawkins; his second Sir John Hawkins, the most renowned of Plymouth worthies. These Hawkinsons were a remarkable race. 'Gentlemen' as Prince⁵ quaintly phrases,

⁴ The occurrence of the name in a rent roll of 1491 appears to show a connection with Plymouth before Tavistock.

⁵ *Worthies of Devon*.

'of worshipful extraction for several descents,' they were made more worshipful by their deeds. For three generations in succession they were the master spirits of Plymouth in its most illustrious days—its leading merchants, its bravest sailors, serving oft and well in the civic chair and the Commons House of Parliament. For three generations they were in the van of English seamanship, founders of England's commerce in South and West and East, stout in fight, of quenchless spirit in adventure—a family of merchant statesmen and heroes to whom our country affords no parallel.

The early voyages of Sir John Hawkins were to the Canary Isles. In October, 1562, he made his first expedition in search of negroes to sell in Hispaniola, and his second in October, 1564. While preparing for a voyage in 1567, at which time he was admiral of the port, an amusing incident occurred, which has found record in the pages of Froude. As the tale is told by his son, Sir Richard, Hawkins simply meant to teach politeness. A Spanish vessel entered Plymouth waters without lowering her flag or striking her topsails, and Hawkins gently reminded her captain of his want of courtesy by sending a cannon ball crashing through his galleon's sides. The other side of the story may seem more to the purpose. The ship had entered Cattewater with a number of Low-Country prisoners on board. Hawkins 'imagined' she came with bad intentions, fired upon her, and in the subsequent tumult the prisoners got free. Another ship was boarded and prisoners released, and a third driven away and lost. Of course the Spanish ambassador complained; equally of course Elizabeth asked Hawkins what he meant by such proceedings; and Hawkins in turn was mightily astonished she should be displeased at the protection of the honour of her realm.

If we are to believe all that the Spanish ambassadors had to say of Plymouth in the early part of the reign of Elizabeth, the port certainly had a very doubtful character. That Hawkins fired upon the Spaniard was a small matter. For nearly a century later even English vessels entering Cattewater were fired at from the fort if they did not salute; but in 1631 this was forbidden, on the plea that the ships themselves were floating forts of the king.

William Hawkins, John's brother, had a vessel under the commission of the Prince of Conde, one of a fleet of Huguenot craft which made Plymouth their head-quarters, and scoured the Channel in search of Catholic ships. It

must be noted too that the Hawkinses had a private grievance against France, since in 1556 the *Peter* of Plymouth, belonging to them, had been taken by the French before war was proclaimed. The ships captured by the Huguenot cruisers were carried into Plymouth, and the spoil divided. Flemish ships frequently met a like fate. In 1569, a French ship commanded by M. de Bordela, plundered two hulks in the sight of the whole town. Flemish ships were treated as Spanish; but neither French nor English cruisers were particular. So Francesco Diaz, captain of a Spanish treasure-ship, found when he visited Plymouth in 1568. William Hawkins was mayor, and chief purchaser of the spoil as it was brought in. He searched the Spanish and Flemish vessels in the port, seized sixty-four chests of silver which Diaz had, and placed them in the Guildhall—of course for safety. All that the Spanish ambassador could do was to protest, and that right, at least, was never denied him.

Sir John's voyage of 1567 was the 'most important expedition that had ever been made by the English nation beyond the coasts of Europe. . . . It was the first occasion on which English keels furrowed that hitherto unknown sea, the Bay of Mexico.'

Of this voyage, the turning-point in Hawkins's career, we have a brief narrative from his own pen. He left Plymouth, October 2nd, 1567, with a fleet of six ships—the *Jesus of Lubeck*, *Mynion*, *William* and *John*, *Judith*, *Angel*, and *Swallow*. The *Jesus* and the *Mynion* were 'the Queenes Maiesties,' the other four were Hawkins's private venture; and the *Judith* is memorable from the fact that she was commanded by Francis Drake.

The expedition ended in disaster. Treacherously assailed in the port of San Juan de Ulloa, Hawkins lost all his vessels save the *Mynion* and the *Judith*, and brought back but a hundred of his men. When his brother William heard of the disaster he begged Elizabeth to allow him to make reprisals on his own account; and when John returned it may fairly be said that Plymouth declared war against Spain. Hawkins and Drake thereafter never missed a chance of making good their losses. The treachery of San Juan de Ulloa was the moving cause of the series of harassments which culminated in the destruction of the Armada. For every English life then lost, for every pound of English treasure then taken, Spain paid a hundred and a thousandfold. John Hawkins led the way with one of the boldest acts of Machiavellian statesmanship on record.

The plaint, blunt sailor set his wits against those of King Philip and all his Court, and bent them to his will like puppets. With the full knowledge of Burghley, he pretended treachery; obtained the release of his captured seamen; pardon and titles for himself; and what was of more account, a large sum of money, which was immediately laid out in works of defence.

In 1573 Hawkins was chosen by the Queen 'as the fittest person in her dominions to manage her naval affairs'; and for twenty-one years he 'toiled terribly' as Treasurer of the Queen's Marine Causes and Comptroller of the Navy. It was he who prepared the Royal fleet which set forth against the Armada. Faithful in the least, as well as in the greatest, 'when the moment of trial came he sent her ships to sea in such a condition—hull, rigging, spars, and running rope—that they had no match in the world.'⁶ The royal vessels that sailed out of Plymouth Sound to beat the Armada were perfectly equipped to the minutest detail, though Hawkins bitterly felt the straits to which he had been put. Sir John died in November, 1595, whilst employed in the joint expedition with Drake to the West Indies, which cost England the lives of both these great captains. His sickness began upon the news of the taking of one of the vessels, called the *Francis*; and Drake's, as we shall see, was caused in a similar manner.

Sir John Hawkins's elder brother William, the patriarch of the port, was Mayor of the Armada year; and in February preceding the attempted invasion directed the preparations at Plymouth, where several great ships were made ready for sea. The work was 'very chargeable, being carried on by torchlights and cressets in the midst of a gale of wind.'

Next to Sir John, however, the most prominent member of the Hawkins family was his son Sir Richard, the 'complete seaman,' who in 1593 sailed from Plymouth with five ships on his memorable expedition to the South Seas, which, after his rediscovery of the Falkland Isles—Hawkins's *Maiden Land*, ended in his capture by the Spaniards. From various causes the fleet was reduced to the single vessel, the *Dainty*, which he himself commanded. Manned by seventy-five men only, she was assailed by eight Spanish vessels with crews of 1300. Nevertheless this worthy son of a worthy sire kept up the fight three days, and did not surrender until he had himself been wounded six times, and then upon good terms, which the Spaniards broke by sending their prisoners to

⁶ FROUDE, *History of England*.

Spain. Hawkins remained in captivity several years, being ironed when he attempted to escape, and is one of several Englishmen wrongly credited with being the hero of the ballad—

Would you know a Spanish lady,
How she wooed an Englishman.

Sir John in terse nervous English penned an account of his disastrous voyage to San Juan de Ulloa; and we are indebted to Sir Richard's *Narrative of his Voyage to the South Seas* for a few graphic descriptive touches of the manners and customs of Plymouth sailors in the olden time. Before he could start on this expedition he and his friends the justices had to spend two days in hunting up his crew in lodgings, taverns, and other houses. When he left, the most part of the inhabitants 'were gathered together upon the Howe to show their grateful correspondency to the loue and zeal which I, my Father, and Predecessors, have ever borne to that place as to our naturall and mother Towne; and first with my noyse of Trumpets, after with my waytes, and then with my other Musicke, and lastly with the Artillery of my Shippes, I made the best signification I could of a kinde farewell. This they answered with the waytes of the Towne, and the Ordinance on the shore, and with shouting of voyces: which with the fayre evening and silence of the night were heard a great distance off.'

A third William Hawkins, son of William the Armada Mayor, and cousin of Sir Richard, did yeoman service for England in the East. As his grandfather established English trade with the South Seas, and his uncle pioneered the way into the Bay of Mexico, so he laid the foundation of our Indian empire. Sailing in 1607 to the East Indies in command of the *Hector*, in the third East India Company's voyage, in company with Capt. Keeling, in the *Dragon*, he established a trading house or factory at Surat, and went on to Agra as ambassador, attended by one Englishman—Nicholas Ufflett—and a boy. Here he won favour with the Great Mogul, the Emperor Jehangir, and at his desire married the daughter of 'Mabarique Sha,' a Christian Armenian.

Then we have Drake, a Plymouthian by adoption, though not like the Hawkinses by birth, whom Camden calls 'without dispute the greatest captain of the age;' and who is unquestionably the central figure of the sea life of these times. A kinsman of Hawkins, he was associated with

him in several daring enterprises. There were many giants in these days, but Drake with his bullet head, his dogged determination, his unflinching pluck, was held the typical Englishman of the age. Beloved at home, he was terrible abroad; and many a legend obtained ready credence among the Spaniards—and for that matter the English also—concerning his magical powers.*

Camden says of Drake that he, 'first, to repair the losses he had suffer'd from the Spaniards, . . . did as it were *block up* the *Bay of Mexico* for two years together, with continual defeats; and travell'd over the Straits of *Darien*; whence having descry'd the *South-Sea*, . . . it made such impression on his mind, that like *Themistocles* inflam'd with the trophies of *Miltiades*, he thought he should be wanting to himself, his country, and his own glory, if he did not complete the discovery.'

Drake was brought to the sea under Hawkins; and accompanied him on the voyage of 1567, which ended so disastrously, Drake losing all he had. His first separate expedition against his natural enemies the Spaniards was in 1572, in May of which year he set out, with the *Pascha* of 70 tons, and the *Swan* of 25, commanded by his brother John, the joint crews numbering 73 men, on his memorable expedition to *Nombre de Dios*. He returned on Sunday, the 9th of August, in the following year. The inhabitants were engaged in worship at St. Andrew Church; but when the news of Drake's arrival reached them, straightway the congregation swarmed out to the Hoe to welcome their hero home.

Four years later Drake started on his famous voyage of circumnavigation. His little fleet consisted of the *Pelican* (afterwards the *Golden Hind*) 120 tons, *Elizabeth* 80, *Swan* 50, *Marygold* 30, and *Christopher* 15; the crews mustering 164 men, all told.⁸ He sailed on the 15th of November, 1577, giving out that he was proceeding on a voyage to Alexandria; but was compelled to put back, and did not take his final

* Thus it is said that he brought the leat into Plymouth by pronouncing certain magical words over a Dartmoor spring, which caused it to follow the heels of his horse back to the town. There are likewise traditions that he made fire ships to destroy the Armada, by throwing chips of wood into the water; and that to prevent his wife's marrying in his absence, thinking him dead, he fired a cannon ball through the world which came up between her and her intended at the altar.

⁸ One of the most notable features of the English maritime expeditions of those days is the smallness of the vessels. Hawkins, Drake, and their fellows go voyages of discovery to the other hemisphere, and fight battles too, in craft which a modern trawler would despise.

departure until the 13th of December following. Nearly three years elapsed before he returned. Disaster and disaffection had broken up the little fleet, but he persevered, and on the 26th of September, 1580, brought the *Pelican* safely back to Plymouth again; the first English captain and the first English ship that had ploughed a furrow round the world. Great was the rejoicing. Plymouth turned out, headed by the Mayor and Corporation, to greet the dauntless sailor; the bells of St. Andrew rang merry peals the livelong day; and from far and near Devonshire men flocked to the town to welcome and honour their brave brother. The *Pelican* was crammed with treasure. Drake was allowed by the Queen an opportunity of helping himself; after which there remained on board, besides gold and plate, twenty tons of silver.

The thenceforward historic bark was taken round to Deptford, and on the following April Drake had the honour of entertaining the Queen on board; when she, with that rare appreciation of merit which she possessed, conferred upon him the highest honour in her power to bestow, that of knighthood. The Queen knew the value of these expeditions as well as any one in her dominions. It was her custom to make much of her seamen. Thus when Frobisher left the Thames on one of his expeditions, she bade him farewell, 'shaking her hand at us out of the window.'

In 1585, Drake with a fleet of twenty-five sail, made another expedition to the West Indies. His next exploit, performed in 1587, was what he jocularly called 'singeing the King of Spain's beard.' With his fleet he so ravaged the coast of Spain as to delay the sailing of the Armada for a year. In the account of this voyage the English are said to have satisfied themselves that the 'carracks were no such bugs, but they might be taken,' and that four ships 'made no account of twenty gallies.'

In August, 1595, Drake and Hawkins sailed together from the port to which they were never to return, with a fleet of twenty-seven vessels. Two months after Hawkins died (i.e., January, 1596) Drake died also, chagrin at the failure of an attack upon Panama producing his illness. 'He used some speeches a little before his death, rising and apprelling himself.'

Drake was a man of such activities, that when at home he could not remain idle. He became Mayor of Plymouth, and like Hawkins represented the town in Parliament. Moreover he was a capable man of business. The esteem in which he

was held by his contemporaries, and especially by fellow West-Countrymen, seems to have been unbounded. Witness the lines inscribed beneath his portrait in the Plymouth Guildhall:

Sir Drake whom well the world's end knew,
Which thou didst compasse rounde,
And whom both poles of Heaven ons saw,
Which North and South doe bound :
The starrs above will make thee knowne,
If men here silent were ;
The Sunn himself cannot forgett
His fellow Traveller !

Great Drake, whose shippe about the worlde's wide waste
In three years did a golden girdle cast.
Who with fresh streams refresht this Towne that first,
Though kist with waters, yet did pine for thirst.
Who both a Pilote and a Magistrate
Steered in his turne the Shippe of Plymouthe's state ;
This little table shewes his face whose worth
The worlde's wide table hardly can sett forth.

Prince describes Drake as low in stature, but set and strong grown, a very religious man toward God and His houses generally, sparing churches wherever he came, chaste in his life, just in his dealings, true to his word.

Only second to Drake and Hawkins as a seaman was Raleigh, the finished courtier, statesman, philosopher, and soldier, the very epitome of the spirit of the age, fated to be led away to the death to which the pedant tyrant James had doomed him, from the town which he had so often visited, and rarely without advantage to his country and credit to himself. Then Grenville the undaunted, the Bayard of his country and generation; the brothers Gilbert, with their manly piety and grand projects; Candish, the daring circumnavigator, who seems to have had local connections, from the frequent occurrence of this unusual form of the name in the South Hams in the sixteenth century; the unfortunate Oxenham, a Plymouth freeman, who made the marvellous overland march from Nombre de Dios to Panama, but lost both life and treasure by the wrangling of his company; 'loveable John Davis'; Frobisher, who ended his adventurous life at Plymouth in 1594, and part of whose remains were buried in St. Andrew Church; Fenner; and many another man of mark in these stirring times—all knew and loved Plymouth.

Such were the leaders, but we go deeper still. Hosts of unrecorded heroes made up the maritime population

of the western ports in these days, and heartily followed where the others led. A Drake, a Hawkins, a Gilbert, a Grenville, never looked in vain to Plymouth, or Dartmouth, or Bideford, for a crew. The twin spirit—love of adventure, hatred of the Spaniard—pervaded the whole community.

There is a statement that Philip of Spain, husband of Mary, once landed at Plymouth, and was entertained by the Corporation at a cost of £300. But the records are silent on this, and their silence is conclusive. In all likelihood the tradition originated in an incident recorded under 1505-6.

Itm p^d to the purcevant for bryngyng of the kyngs lett^r
when the Kyng of Castell landed here ij^a

This would presumably be Philip the Fair, who married Joanna, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, and who, after the death of the latter, succeeded in right of his wife. Probably he put in on his way from the Netherlands to Spain.

The Defeat of the Armada.

Passing by for the time the records of discovery and settlement in the far West, we come to the defeat of the Armada, the most memorable event associated with the history of Plymouth. Every one is familiar with Macaulay's ringing fragment. Plymouth strikes the keynote.

It was about the glorious close of a warm summer's day,
There came a gallant merchant ship full sail to Plymouth Bay;
Her crew had seen Castile's black fleet, beyond Aurigny's Isle,
At earliest twilight on the wave lie heaving many a mile.
At sunrise she escaped their van, by God's especial grace,
And the tall Pinta till the noon had held her close in chase.
Forthwith a guard at every gun was placed along the wall;
The beacon blazed upon the roof of Edgcumbe's lofty hall;
Many a light fishing bark put out to pry along the coast;
And with loose rein and bloody spur rode inland many a post.
With his white hair unbonnetted the stout old sheriff comes:
Behind him march the halberdiers, before him sound the drums.
His yeomen round the market cross make clear an ample space,
For there behoves him to set up the standard of her Grace.
And merrily the trumpets sound, and gaily dance the bells,
As slow upon the labouring wind the royal blazon swells.
Look! how the lion of the sea lifts up his ancient crown,
And underneath his deadly paw turns the gay lilies down.
So glared he when at Azincour in wrath he turned to bay,
And crushed and torn beneath his feet the princely hunters lay;
So stalked he when he turned to flight on that famed Picard field
Bohemia's plume, Genoa's bow, and Cæsar's eagle shield.

The Armada consisted of 129 ships, most of them of great size (the total tonnage being 60,000 tons), carrying 3165 guns, and manned by 32,000 soldiers, sailors, and volunteers. A return by Sir John Hawkins, preserved among the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum, places the total number of the English fleet, including victuallers, at 190 ships, of 31,985 tons, and manned by 15,272 men. Of these the vessels of 'Her Majesty' numbered 34, of 12,190 tons, manned by 6,225 men. The largest ship was of 1100 tons, and was commanded by Frobisher. Hawkins had the *Victory*, of 800 tons; Drake the *Revenge*, of 500. The Plymouth contingent was seven ships and a fly-boat. Hawkins writes that the charge 'of the army prepared against the Spaniard from the beginning of November, 1587, to the last of September, 1588, above the charges borne by the port townes throughout the realme, the victual excepted,' was £35,100.⁹

The English fleet was under the command of Lord Howard of Effingham as admiral, with Drake and Hawkins as vice and rear admirals, whilst all the famous seamen of the time held commands; and there they lay in Cattewater, 'a paltry squadron enough in modern eyes, the largest of them not equal in size to a six and thirty gun frigate,'¹ waiting the approach of the most stupendous force then known. The news that the Armada was off the coast was brought about four o'clock on the afternoon of the 19th July, but the fleet itself did not appear in sight of Plymouth until noon of the following day. The English had almost given up expecting the Spaniards, and consequently were somewhat unready.

Tradition has recorded that tidings of the approach of the enemy came to the captains whilst they were playing bowls on the Hoe. In language that makes the actors in the great drama live and move before us Canon Kingsley, though drawing largely on imagination for some of his portraiture, has described the scene:

In the little terrace bowling green behind the Pelican Inn, on the afternoon of the 19th of July, chatting in groups or lounging on the sea wall, which commanded a view of the Sound and of the shipping far below, were gathered almost every notable man of the Plymouth fleet, the whole *posse comitatus* of England's forgotten worthies. . . . See those five talking

⁹ Out of 10,000 'able men' in Devon 6200 were armed and 3660 trained; out of 7766 'able men' in Cornwall 3600 were armed and 1500 trained.

¹ There was a dock in Sutton Pool on the site of what is now Smart's Quay; and there is a record that the *Roebuck*, one of these vessels, was taken there subsequently to be 'amended.'

earnestly in the centre of a ring, whom every one longs to overhear, and yet is too respectful to approach close. The soft long eyes and pointed chin you recognise already; they are Walter Raleigh's. The fair young man in the flame-coloured doublet, whose arm is round Raleigh's neck, is Lord Sheffield; opposite them stands by the side of Sir Richard Grenville, a man as stately even as he, Lord Sheffield's uncle, the Lord Charles Howard of Effingham, Lord High Admiral of England; next to him is his son-in-law, Sir Robert Southwell, captain of the *Elizabeth Jonas*: but who is that short, sturdy, plainly dressed man, who stands with legs a little apart, and hands behind his back, looking up with keen grey eyes into the face of each speaker? His cap is in his hand, so you can see the bullet head of crisp brown hair and the wrinkled forehead, as well as the high cheek bones, the short square face, the broad temples, the thick lips, which are yet firm as granite. A coarse plebeian stamp of man: yet the whole figure and attitude are that of boundless determination, self-possession, energy; and when at last he speaks a few blunt words, all eyes are turned respectfully upon him; for his name is Francis Drake. A burly grizzled elder, in greasy sea-stained garments, contrasting oddly with the huge gold chain about his neck, waddles up, as if he had been born, and had lived ever since, in a gale of wind at sea. The upper part of his sharp dogged visage seems of brick-red leather, the lower of badger's fur; and as he claps Drake on the back, and with a broad Devon twang shouts, 'Be you a coming to drink your wine, Francis Drake, or be you not?—saving your presence, my lord,' the Lord High Admiral only laughs and bids Drake go and drink his wine; for John Hawkins, admiral of the port, is the patriarch of Plymouth seamen if Drake be their hero, and says and does pretty much what he likes in any company on earth; not to mention that to-day's prospect of an Armageddon fight has shaken him altogether out of his usual crabbed reserve, and made him overflow with loquacious good humour even to his rival Drake. So they push through the crowd, wherein is many another man whom one would gladly have spoken with face to face on earth. Martin Frobisher and John Davis are sitting on that bench, smoking tobacco from long silver pipes; and by them are Fenton and Withrington, who have both tried to follow Drake's path round the world, and failed, though by no fault of their own. The man who pledges them better luck next time is George Fenner, known to the 'seven Portugals,' Leicester's pet, and captain of the galleon which Elizabeth bought of him. That short prim man in the huge yellow ruff, with sharp chin, minute imperial, and self-satisfied smile, is Richard Hawkins, the 'complete seaman,' Admiral John's hereafter famous and hapless son. The elder who is talking with him is his good uncle William, whose monument still stands, or should stand, in

Deptford Church; for Admiral John set it up there but one year after this time, and on it recorded how he was 'a worshipper of the true religion, an especial benefactor of poor sailors, a most just arbitrator in most difficult causes, and of a singular faith, piety, and prudence.' That and the fact that he got creditably through some sharp work at Porto Rico is all I know of William Hawkins; but if you or I, reader, can have as much, or half as much, said of us when we have to follow him, we shall have no reason to complain. There is John Drake, Sir Francis's brother, ancestor of the present stock of Drakes; and there is George his nephew, a man not over wise, who has been round the world with Amyas; and there is Amyas himself, talking to one who answers him with fierce curt sentences—Captain Barker, of Bristol.

And so our Devonshire prose epic goes on to recount how the news of the approach of the Armada was brought by Captain Fleming, and how it was received by Drake and Hawkins, and the rest. The game of bowls was played out the Spaniards notwithstanding, and tradition has assigned to Drake the pithy sentence, 'There is time enough to play the game out first, and thrash the Spaniards afterwards.'

The circumstances under which the Armada was destroyed belong to the general history of the country, and need not be recited here. To one point, however, reference must be made. The only man of note among the English who fell, one Captain Cocke, or Cock, Fuller's 'cock of the game,' was a native of Plymouth. He was a volunteer, had fitted out a ship on his own account, and having taken a Spanish vessel died in the moment of victory.

In commemoration of the defeat of the Armada, it was the custom for the bells of St. Andrew to ring a merry peal annually on the Saturday night preceding the 25th of July. On the Sunday the Corporation used to walk to church in state. For more than two hundred years the anniversary was thus celebrated in Plymouth. It was reserved for the nineteenth century to put an end to this interesting practice.

On the other hand there has been recent compensation in the erection of a fine statue of Sir Francis Drake on the Hoe; and the provision of a memorial in connection with a celebration of the tercentenary of the Armada. The statue, a noble figure in bronze by Boehm, a replica of that given by the Duke of Bedford to Tavistock, was erected by subscription, and inaugurated in the presence of an immense gathering (February 14th, 1884) by Lady Fuller Drake, wife of Sir Francis Fuller Drake, a representative in the

female line of Drake's brother Thomas. The features are idealised.

The foundation stone of the Armada Memorial was laid on July 19th, 1888, by the Mayor, Mr. H. J. Waring, that



STATUE OF SIR FRANCIS DRAKE.

day being taken as the anniversary of the first sighting of the Armada from the Hoe, which did not occur, however, as already noted, until the 20th. Excursion trains were run and enormous crowds were present at the ceremony, and the occasion was made a public holiday, with a banquet in the Guildhall. The Memorial was inaugurated by the Duke of Edinburgh October 21st, 1890, with full civic pomp and imposing naval and military demonstration and ceremonial.

Mr. W. H. K. Wright was the originator and energetic secretary of both movements.

Another memorial of these stirring days is the fine historical picture by Seymour Lucas of 'The Game of Bowls'; itself in Australia, but familiar

by its frequent reproductions. The bowling story rests wholly on tradition, though old tradition; and while there is no reason to doubt the event itself, there is strong ground for believing that the Bowling Green, while near the Hoe, could not have been upon it.

Fleming, who reported the advent of the Armada, seems to have been subsequently employed in the port. In 1591 the *Dolphin* of Plymouth, commanded by one of that name, carried despatches to Howard at the Azores, at a cost of £200 12s. He impressed a pinnace laden for Rochelle, and in twenty-four hours unladed and fitted her out.

Plymouth the Elizabethan Rendezvous.

During the whole of Elizabeth's reign Plymouth continued the rendezvous of the various expeditions sent out against the Spaniard. It had been the resort of the ships of the Royal Navy throughout the century. A list of 1513 contains the names of the *Trinity* of Plymouth, of 50 tons and 183 men; and the *Jamys* of Saltash, 80 tons and 122 men, John Cornwallis captain. The *Mary Holway*, the property of William Holway of Plymouth, serving against the French in 1564, was no doubt one of these semi-piratical ventures which made Plymouth so hated abroad.

The next important event to the defeat of the Armada was the sailing of the expedition under Drake and Norris, to place Don Antonio on the throne of Portugal. Don Antonio is said to have visited Mount Edgcumbe in 1580, but the records there only refer to the visit of Diego Botelho, his 'Councillor of State and Chancellor of the Exchequer.' As a result, Piers Edgcumbe—described in the papers as 'Caualeiro Execom'—fitted out a squadron of ten ships in 1582, under letters of marque from Antonio, the fate of which is unknown. Antonio, we are told, again visited Plymouth in 1583 and 1584. The Corporation books do not mention him; but £4 is charged in 1581 for entertaining Botelho; so that if Antonio also had visited Plymouth some record might have been expected.

The expedition of Drake and Norris did considerable damage to the enemy, but could not take Lisbon. Half of the 20,000 volunteers who manned it perished by sickness, famine, fatigue, or the sword.

Then in June, 1595, was despatched the memorable expedition against Cadiz, of which Howard and Essex were the chief commanders. So many knights were made at Cadiz that the plentiful crop gave rise to the stanza—

A gentleman of Wales, a knight of Cales,
And a laird of the North countree;
But a yeoman of Kent with his yearly rent,
Could buy them out all three.

The last of the knights of Cales, Sir Robert Dudley, was knighted in the streets of Plymouth, as the Lords-General 'came from the sermon.' And we find from the Town Records that Captain Parker had 'a shippe y^t serued the towne in the Cales action.'

These Records contain frequent references under the head

of expenditure to the great men and events of these days. Thus we may cite:

1570-71 Itm payd for a bote & men to cary the proclamation aboard the prince of Orenge is shippes iij^a

As already seen, Plymouth was a great resort for Continental Protestant privateers; and there are many allusions to the visits of those of the Huguenots, or, as they are often called, 'Rochellers,' and the Dunkirkers. This proclamation was the order of Elizabeth prohibiting the supply of the Dutch patriots with meat, bread, or beer.

1582-3 Itm p^d for wyne gewen to the prince of Cundie [Conde] v^a x^d

Itm p^d to the drume^r to call the prince of Cundies company aborde xviiij^d

Itm p^d for the hire of a bote w^{ch} was sente to Cawson the xxviiijth of Auguste to knowe what the shippe was there ij^a

Itm p^d for victualls for the Bote w^{ch} was sente over into Brittain for the discoverie of the Spaunishe Fleete xxv^a i^d ob

1586-7 Itm p^d to certaine Laborers working at the dicke sente thither when the Brut [bruit = rumour] was of y^e Spanniards viij^a xi^d

The entries in the Armada year are not so numerous as might be looked for, and no doubt there was a separate account which has not been preserved; as with some other matters. We find:

Itm p^d to Robte Scarlette for goinge oute to discover the Spaynish Fleet vj^a

Itm p^d to John Gibbons and Henry Woode for watching at Rame hedd iij daies when the Spaynyerds were vppon the Coaste x^a

Itm p^d to Philipp Boyes in Consideracofi of certayne Treasure Trove xx^{ll}

Beyond this we have only some which refer to the ship and pinnace found for the fleet by the town and district, towards which Sir John Hawkins gave £20, while letters were written to the justices touching 'monie w^{ch} we should receue for fetting out of a shipp against the Spaniards.'

Itm paid to George Sterling for riding to Mr. Champnon [Champernowne] of Modberie wth Sir Fraunces Drake his lre for staieng of the monies w^{ch} hath ben gathered of Armenton hendred for fitting out of the Shippe xviiij^d

Itm to John Jope bestowed upon the shipp and the Pynnace that Served vnder the Lo: admirall iijj^a

- 1588-9 Itm paid to Edward Hill for rowing up to Howe
to adu'tise the Lo: Chamberlen of the Spaniard that
Cam into Bigberie Baie ij^a
- 1589-90 Itm pd for Charges of Spanyardes brought in by
the Rawe Bucke & Gallion dudeley for theire dyett &
sendinge theym & for theire guyde xxiiij^a

This last entry does not seem to agree with a statement that a number of Spanish prisoners were kept at Plymouth a year and a half, until ransomed.

There are numerous 'items' of feasting and entertainments of various kinds to 'Sir Richard Grayneville,' Sir Humphry Gilbert, the Earl of Bedford, Sir Walter Raleigh, 'my lord admirall,' and others; while gifts were made and salutes fired, *e.g.* :

- Itm p^d to Mr. Ric Hawkins for a Silver Cuppe w^{ch} was
geiven to the Lo Warden xij^{li}
- Itm p^d for iiij^{li} of powder spent at the cominge in of S^r
Fraunces Drake iiij^s vj^d
- Itm p^d for 4 pounce of powder to shoutte of the pieces in
the Church yarde iiij^s
- Itm p^d for 18 pound of powder that charged the 4 pieces
of ordynⁿce in the Castell at the landinge of Earle of
Essex xvij^s

Some of the humours of the times are indicated in the current phrase, 'a Plymouth cloak,' for a cudgel.

The Reverse of the Picture.

All this gives us the heroic side of Elizabethan Plymouth. But there was a reverse to the picture. The town was ill fortified; and the inhabitants had to see to their own defence. Until the fort was built on the 'hawclifts'—the old bulwarks being 'methodized into a fortification regular' in 1591-2—there was really nothing in the shape of a military garrison. When the Queen contributed, moreover, she exercised authority in the appointment of a captain of 'the fort and island,' and these officials were not always on the best of terms with 'the Mayor and his brethren.' The town lay so open to the enemy (though Sir Francis Drake and the Mayor drew the long bow a little when they told Elizabeth in 1590 that it was 'not defended by any fort or rampier'); it was the natural object of so much Spanish animosity; and the almost constant absence of so many of its stoutest sons at sea so weakened its personal means of defence;—that, when its 'captains' were away, there ruled a

chronic state of alarm, by no means unreasonable. In 1586 it was found needful to fine the inhabitants who did not do their duty or provide efficient substitutes for the day or night watch; and in the following year exceedingly stringent measures were taken. The Corporation ordered that all who, on any attack being offered by the enemy, should absent themselves or any way withdraw themselves out of the town, against their duty and allegiance, should forfeit all their goods and chattels within the liberty, be utterly disfranchised, never restored, and never allowed again to dwell therein.

Plymouth folk indeed were not all heroes, even in Armada days; and rumour had full sway in the concluding years of the sixteenth century. Spies were thought to be everywhere. In July, 1591, Weston wrote to Francis Bacon that ten seminary priests and Jesuits had been landed in a creek near Plymouth by a London merchant, who had received £60. In February, 1593, John Sparke wrote the Privy Council that many of the inhabitants were leaving, because they had heard the Spaniards intended to burn the town in the summer.

Naturally this alarm was held to be justified in July, 1595, by the petty invasion at Mousehole, which resulted in the Spaniards occupying Penzance, and in help being sought from Plymouth, where Drake and Hawkins then lay with their fleet bound to the West Indies. By the time the English vessels had reached the Lizard the four Spanish galleys were clear away.

In the following March fears were again aroused by the daring of a Spanish pinnace with 25 men, which came into Cawsand Bay, landed some of the crew, and set on fire five houses and two boats. A force arriving the fire was quenched, and at the discharge of the first musket the invaders fled, leaving behind them a 'bridge barrel,' which was sent to London. We trace the effects on the minds of the Plymouthians in the following entries of expenditure for this year:

Itm to John Drummer for warninge all the Inhabitaunts to
be in aredynes wth their armor vjd

Afterwards they were ordered to 'muster on the hawe.'

Itm p^d him [Edwards] for calling wth his bell all saylors
before the presse master iij^d

Itm p^d for erectinge of the barracathes and for other Chargs
layed out aboute the same clxxijⁱⁱ vj^s ij^d

Some of the 'barracathes' were put up at Batten by Sir R. Champernowne.

In 1597 hearsay became circumstantial. Traitors at Plymouth had sold it to the Spaniards for £50,000. Eight thousand men were to be disembarked from long boats to the westward of Plymouth at peep-of-day, and a diversion to be effected at Falmouth. Hence pinnaces were frequently sent out to 'spy tidings.'

In the spring of 1599 a Spanish squadron captured vessels in Plymouth Sound itself—fishing boats, and a small craft belonging to Edward Cock. Whether any of the prisoners then made entered the Spanish service is not stated; but one Thomas Griffin, of Plymouth, had done so a little earlier.

On the 25th of June, 1599, came a terrible scare. Edward Doddington, captain of the fort in the absence of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, sent off an express to London (which got there on the 27th) that the Spaniards had come. He endorsed his letter, 'For her Majesty's special use; haste post haste for life; haste haste, post haste for life.' That night three companies of the townsfolk kept under arms on the Hoe, one in the town; and Doddington complained that they would not go into the fort. The Mayor retorted that they knew better. If they had gone into the fort they would not have been allowed out; they were not going to abandon the defence of their houses and property; and the best of them would leave the town if it were sought to put them under military command in any such way. The 'Spaniards' turned out to be a fleet of friendly Flemings! But this was only one alarm of many; and gates and barricades were again put up at the cost of the inhabitants, who were then greatly encouraged by the presence of 4000 men and some horse, commanded by the Earl of Bath. The *Black Book* quaintly notes that these remained 'about three weeks and were well lodged and entertayned to the great comforte and encouragement of the Towne and country, who yf itt pleased God that the enemye shoulde come were then readie and willinge to fighte.'

The appearance of a strange fleet in July, 1601, aroused fresh fears; and this time it was one Captain Gilbert who complained that the Mayor and burgesses would not obey his orders. They put themselves in arms without his directions, and 'would not go into the fort.' They would defend the town voluntarily, but in their own way. 'Whatever I bid to be done, they will do nothing till they have called a council!'

Twenty-two chests of bulls and pardons were burnt this year, but it is not said whence they came.

Item^d for calling in the Popes p^dons and for making a fier
to burn them v^d

We glean many interesting glimpses of the manners and customs of seafaring Englishmen in these days. Sailors have ever been less amenable to strict discipline than soldiers; and three hundred years ago they were just as fond of bolting from their vessels and going 'on the spree' as since.

In one case we find 2s. 6d. paid for 'hue and crie made after S^r Fraunces Drake's musitions.' Sometimes the reins of discipline were held with a very tight hand. While the expedition to Cadiz was in preparation two offenders were executed at the local Tyburn, which has been the scene of many such events—'a little without the toune, in a very fayre pleasant greene called the Ho'—one for mutiny, the other for running away from his colours. William Meade and Mychell Fenton were executed there in May, 1596. A Dutchman who killed a comrade under the influence of drink was tied to the dead body and thrown overboard; and a lieutenant was, 'by sound of drumme, disgraced in all the streets.'

Plymouth Expeditions under the Tudors.

This chapter may fittingly be concluded with a list of the chief voyages from Plymouth under the Tudors.

- 1528 (†). First voyage of William Hawkins the elder to the South Seas, in the *Paul* of Plymouth.
- 1530. Second voyage of William Hawkins the elder.
- 1532. Third voyage of William Hawkins the elder.
- 1562 (October). First voyage of John Hawkins to the West Indies, in the *Solomon*, 120 tons; *Swallow*, 100; *Jonas*, 40—the crews numbering 100 men.
- 1564. Thomas Stukeley sailed on his pretended voyage to Florida.
- 1564. John Hawkins sailed, 18th October, on his second Guinea and West Indian voyage, with the *Jesus of Lubeck*, 700 tons; *Solomon*, 140; *Tiger*, 50; *Swallow*, 30.
- 1566. Third West Indian voyage of Sir John Hawkins, of which no detailed record exists.
- 1567. Fourth voyage of Sir John Hawkins to the West Indies, sailing, October 2nd, with the *Jesus of Lubeck*, *Mynion*, *William and John*, *Judith*, *Angel*, and *Swallow*. Ended in the disaster of San Juan de Ulloa.

1572. Sir Francis Drake sailed on his expedition of war against the King of Spain, with the *Pascha* of 70 tons, and the *Swan* of 25, manned by 73 men. He took Nombre de Dios, and first saw the Pacific.
1575. John Oxenham made his last famous voyage in a vessel of 140 tons and 70 men. He left his ship aground in the Bay of Mexico, covered with boughs, crossed the isthmus of Darien, built a pinnace, and was the first Englishman who sailed on the Pacific. Being taken, he was executed at Lima.
1577. Drake's famous voyage of circumnavigation. He sailed first, November 15th, with 5 ships and 164 men; but, driven back by a storm, did not make his final departure until December 13th. Thomas Drake, his brother, went with him; also John Drake. Returned September 26th, 1580. Vessels—*Pelican* or *Golden Hind*, 120 tons; *Elizabeth*, 80; *Swan*, 50; *Marigold*, 30; *Christopher*, 15.
- 1580 (†). William Hawkins the younger, brother of Sir John, sailed to the West Indies, taking with him his nephew Richard.
1583. Sir Humphry Gilbert sailed from 'Causet Bay neere vnto Plimmouth' on his second voyage to Newfoundland—in which he took possession of that country, and from which he did not return.
1585. Sir Richard Grenville sailed, April 9th, with the *Tyger*, *Roebucke*, *Lyon*, *Elizabeth*, *Dorothie*, and two small pinnaces, containing Raleigh's earliest Virginian colony, the first practical attempt of the English to colonize North America. Settlement planted by Ralph Lane.
1585. September 14th. Sir Francis Drake sailed on the voyage in which he took San Iago, San Domingo, Carthagena, and San Augustine, in Florida. He had a fleet of 25 sail, with 2,300 soldiers and sailors, of whom 750 were lost on the voyage, chiefly by disease. Frobisher was vice-admiral, Thomas Drake captain of the *Thomas*, Richard Hawkins of the galiot *Duck*.
1586. Thomas Candish, or Cavendish, sailed on his voyage of circumnavigation July 21st, 1586, with the *Desire*, 120 tons; *Content*, 60; *Hugh*, galiot, 40. Returned to Plymouth, September 9th, 1588. William Stevens, gunner, of Plymouth, was killed in a fight at Quintero.
1587. Raleigh's second Virginian colony, under John White, sailed May 8th, in three vessels.
1587. Drake sailed, with twelve ships, on the 3rd of April to "sing the king of Spain's beard."
1588. The English fleet under Howard, Drake, and Hawkins, sailed July 21st, to meet the Armada.

1589. John Chudley sailed August 5th to the South Seas.
1589. Sir Francis Drake and Sir J. Norris sailed April 18th, 'to restore the king of Portugal.'
1590. Sir Richard Hawkins granted commission to attack the Spaniards on the South Seas.
1590. John White sailed March 20th with five vessels, with supplies for Raleigh's Virginian colony.
1590. Sir John Hawkins and Frobisher sailed with fourteen ships against the Spaniards.
1590. Commission issued to Richard Grenville, Piers Edgcumbe, Arthur Basset, John Fitz, Edmund Tremayne, W. Humphreys, Alexander Arundel, Thomas Digges, Mortimer Dare, Dominick Chester, and others, to fit out and equip a fleet for the discovery of land in the Antarctic Sea, the special object of their search being an approach to the dominions of the 'Great Cam of Cathaia.'
1591. Candish sailed against the Spaniards August 26th, with three ships and three barks.
1593. Sir Richard Hawkins sailed with five ships to the South Seas, where he was taken prisoner.
1595. Sir Walter Raleigh sailed from Plymouth for Guiana February 6th. He had Captain Whiddon with him, and 'Butshead Gorges.'
1595. The expedition to Cadiz of Howard and the Earl of Essex.
1595. Drake and Hawkins went on their last voyage to the Indies, with six Queen's ships and twenty-one others, manned by 2,500 men and boys. They finally sailed from 'Causon Bay' on Friday, August 29th. As they left, the *Hope* struck the Eddystone, but soon cleared.
1596. 'Master William Parker of Plimmouth, gentleman,' fitted out the *Prudence*, 120 tons, and the *Adventure*, 25, at his own charges. Sailed in November, and sacked Campeachy with 100 men on the following Easter even.
1601. Captain William Parker sailed (November) with the *Prudence*, 100 tons (130 men); *Pearl*, 60 tons (60 men); and a pinnace of 20 tons (18 men). The *Pearl* was commanded by Captain Robert Rawlins. The pinnace was lost with all but three men. In this expedition Porto Bello was taken.

CHAPTER V.

THE PLYMOUTH COMPANY.

Have over the waters to Florida,
Farewell, good London, now ;
Through long delays, on lands and seas,
I'm brought, I can't tell how,
In Plymouth town, in a threadbare gown,
And money never a deal.
Hey trixi trim ! go trixi trim !
And will not a wallet do well.—*Old Ballad.*

Wild was the day ; the wintry sea
Moaned sadly on New England's strand,
When first the thoughtful and the free ;
Our fathers ; trod the desert land.—*Bryant.*

CONSPICUOUS in the annals of English colonization in North America is the name of the 'Plymouth Company.' Yet there is no portion of our local history about which information is more fragmentary. Plymouth herself yields but one single trace in her records of the existence and operations of this once notable organization, which undertook and partially accomplished the settlement of New England ; and for some of the leading facts of its career we must cross the Atlantic.¹

There was a time when Bristol seemed destined to lead the van of Western adventure. Thence John and Sebastian Cabot sailed on the famous voyage in which they discovered the American mainland, nearly a year before Columbus. Sebastian Cabot in subsequent expeditions explored the coast of North America ; several years later he visited Brazil. Other voyages must have been made to the West, probably from Bristol, which under the patent of Henry VII. had a monopoly of the trade with the discoveries of the

¹ The materials for this chapter are mainly drawn from the contemporary narratives of voyages in Hakluyt and elsewhere, Captain John Smith's writings, Prince's *New England Annals*, and the *Transactions* of the Maine and Massachusetts Historical Societies.

Cabots. North American Indians were exhibited in London for a show as early as 1502, and within the first decade of the sixteenth century the foundations of the Newfoundland fishing trade were laid. Yet when Sebastian Cabot entered the Spanish service, Bristol, notwithstanding its mercantile status and reputation, ceased to take an active interest in the work of discovery. Then Devonshire and Plymouth came to the front.

Two Englishmen, 'somewhat learned in cosmographie,' sailed with Sebastian Cabot in the Spanish expedition which made the discovery of the river Plate, and it is a natural conclusion that information thus obtained led to the first systematic English trading expeditions to the Brazils, the voyages of William Hawkins, in the *Paul* of Plymouth, in the years 1528 (?), 1530, and 1532.

For nearly a century from the date of these Brazilian voyages the work of Western and Southern discovery and settlement was carried on almost wholly by Devonshire men, sailing from Devonshire ports; while from the waters of Plymouth Sound more expeditions set forth than from all the other harbours in the kingdom put together.

Early American Colonists.

The French were the first nation who definitely attempted to colonise North America. Cartier's description of the St. Lawrence, discovered by him in 1534, led to an unsuccessful effort to plant a colony near what is now Quebec, by Francis de la Roque, or Roche, Lord of Roberval, in 1542. The French did effect a settlement on the coast of what is now called Carolina, but was then known under the general name of Florida, by John Ribault, as early as 1562. But all came to grief, Ribault and his company being massacred on a subsequent voyage by the Spaniards. The failure of a colony under Rene Laudonniere, in 1565, brings into honourable prominence the name of Hawkins. When the Frenchmen were in great distress John Hawkins, with a fleet of four vessels, put in to water, and 'being moued with pitie,' gave them wine, provisions, shoes, and other necessities. He offered to take them back to France, but it was arranged that he should sell them a ship, which he did at their own valuation—700 crowns—receiving guns and powder. M. Laudonniere notes: 'We receiued as many courtesies of the Generall as it was possible to receiue of any man liuing.' The Frenchmen went back a month after Hawkins's visit.

In 1568 the massacre of Ribault was avenged by Dominic de Gourges, who destroyed the Spanish settlement and returned to France. And here the French attempts in Florida came to an end.

Dartmouth was the first Devonshire port to send forth a colonising expedition. Sir Humphry Gilbert wrote a discourse to prove a passage by the North-West to Cathay and the East Indies, and obtained a patent from Elizabeth, empowering him to discover and settle in North America any savage lands. His first voyage (1579) was unsuccessful. In his second (1583), he took possession of Newfoundland, which had long been a fishing station for various nations, but was drowned before he could turn this formality to any practical account. His brother Adrian next solicited a patent for the search and discovery of the North-West Passage. All the traffic of his new discoveries was to be conducted either at London, Dartmouth, or Plymouth, where the Queen's tenth was to be paid.

Plymouth became the headquarters of Raleigh's efforts to colonise Virginia, or, as it was for a short time called, after its intending founder, *Raleana*. His patent was granted March 25th, 1584; and his first expedition left the Thames in the April following, under Captains Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlowe. Virginia was then formally and feudally taken possession of for him. Next Grenville sailed from Plymouth, April 9th, 1585, with the *Tyger*, *Roebucke*, *Lyon*, *Elizabeth*, *Dorothie*, and two small pinnaces, his biggest ship being 140 tons. A settlement was planted by Ralph Lane, and of the 107 who took part therein several by their names were evidently from the West-Country. This first practical effort by the English to colonise North America was, however, of short duration. It continued only from August 17th, 1585, to June 18th, 1586, when Drake, cruising on the coast, gave the colonists a ship to return home in. Raleigh had in the meantime sent out a vessel for their relief, and Grenville, visiting the deserted settlement of Roanoke shortly after they had left, landed fifteen men there.

Another attempt was made in the following year (1587). Raleigh again sent out a well-appointed party, under John White as governor, and twelve assistants. The expedition sailed from Plymouth May 8th, and consisted of three ships. On arrival at Roanoke only the bones of one of the fifteen were found. This second colony consisted of ninety-one men, seventeen women, and nine children; and the chief point connected with it is, that on the 18th August, at the 'City of

Raleigh,' there was born Virginia Dare, whose parents were Ananias Dare and Eleanor, daughter of Governor White, the first American-born child of English descent. This effort was likewise doomed to failure. White, who had come home for supplies, sailed from Plymouth March 20th, 1590, with three ships and two shallops, and when he reached the infant settlement found it destroyed.

All present hopes of settling Virginia were then abandoned. Raleigh had done his best. His individual efforts cost him £40,000. He formed a company under his patent, which was no more fortunate than himself, but which became the germ of the more notable Plymouth and London Companies. Five times he searched for the missing colonists, whom Indian tradition asserted to have been adopted in their distress into the Hatteras tribe. The last search was made by Bartholomew Gilbert, who sailed from Plymouth in May, 1603, and, with four of his men, was killed by the Indians of Chesapeake Bay.

To Captain Bartholomew Gosnold belongs the honour of the next colonising expedition. In March, 1602, he sailed from Falmouth with thirty-two persons, coasted along the shores of New England, discovered Cape Cod, and built a fort on Elizabeth Island, near Martha's Vineyard, returning to Plymouth (or Exmouth) in the following July, as the men who had gone out to settle refused to stay.

There was thus no English settlement on the North American coast when, in November, 1603, Henri Quatre granted the charter of Acadia, now Nova Scotia, to the Huguenot du Mont, who, with Champlin and others, planted a colony in 1604 at the mouth of the St. Croix. This was the first permanent European settlement in North America. Thence the French extended their plantations in various directions. Dislodged from St. Croix in 1613 by the English, they held tenaciously to their claims, and eventually the English occupied the country as far east as the Kennebec, the French as far west as the Penobscot, the intervening territory being considered debateable.

Meanwhile English adventurers had been by no means daunted. Captain George Weymouth, in 1605, coasting New England, discovered the St. George's River, and the Penobscot—'the most excellent and beneficyall riuer of Sachadehoc.' He brought back with him to Plymouth five natives of Pemaquid, three of whom, Manida, Shetwarroes, and Tisquantum, he gave to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, governor of Plymouth Fort, who henceforward became one of the

most energetic promoters of North American adventure and settlement. This voyage was the immediate occasion of the formation of the Plymouth Company, and the direct result of efforts made to follow up Raleigh's patent, which had passed into various hands.

Formation of the Plymouth Company.

In April, 1606, James I. granted two charters for the colonization of the North American coast, between Canada and Florida, then known by the general name of Virginia; Chief Justice Popham being the moving spirit of the scheme. South Virginia, between the 34th and the 38th degrees north latitude, was assigned to the London Company. North Virginia, between the 41st and 45th degrees, to the Western, or Plymouth Company. Each association had an equal right in the intermediate district, but their colonies were not to be planted within 100 miles of each other.

The Plymouth Company was composed of adventurers not only of Plymouth, but of Bristol and Exeter. Its earliest promoters were Thomas Hanham, Raleigh Gilbert, William Parker, and George Popham. Sir John Popham and Sir Ferdinando Gorges were also much concerned, and in the same year (1606) sent out the *Richard*, from Plymouth, under Captain Henry Challons. He was, however, taken by the Spaniards, who still claimed the exclusive right of navigation in American waters. Another vessel, sent from Bristol to second Challons, under Thomas Hanham and Martin Prinn, reached the coast safely, but not finding Challons there, returned.

The first expedition to settle New England under the auspices of the Plymouth Company set forth in 1607. Lord Chief Justice Popham fitted out two vessels, which sailed from Plymouth on the last day of May. Of this expedition Captain George Popham was president; Captain Raleigh Gilbert, admiral; Captain Edward Harlow, master of the ordnance; Captain Robert Davis, sergeant-major; Captain Elis Best, marshal; Mr. Seaman, secretary; Captain James Davis, captain of the fort; and Mr. Gome Carew, chief searcher—these being members of the Council. Two of the natives brought home by Weymouth were taken as interpreters. The colonists came to land August 11, and planted themselves at the mouth of the Kennebec. The winter was so cold, and their provision so small, that all the company were sent back but forty-five. Then George

Popham died; and learning by the ships sent out with supplies that the Chief Justice was dead, and also Sir John Gilbert, whose lands the adventurers were to possess, and thus 'finding nothing but extreme extremities,' all the rest returned in 1608. The colonists erected a fort called St. George, which stood on or near the site of the present United States fortification, named, in memory of the first active head of the Plymouth Company, Fort Popham. The 225th anniversary of the landing was commemorated in 1862 by placing a memorial stone in its walls.

The only written record of the existence of the Plymouth Company among the Plymouth Archives is a letter, dated February 17, 1608, from the London Company to the Mayor and Commonalty. The London Company say that they had heard of the ill success of the attempt of the Plymouth Company to plant a colony; that they on the contrary had been successful in their venture; that in the month of March they intended to send a large supply of 800 men under the Lord de la Warre [Delaware]; and that, 'nothing doubting that the one ill success hath quenched your affections from so hopeful and goodly an action,' they still hoped and desired that the Corporation should participate in this new venture by individual investment for the fitting out of a ship to join the new expedition. The shares were £25 each, and all who were disposed to invest that sum would come in on equal terms. The Earl of Pembroke, as Warden of the Stannaries, had been asked to help in providing one hundred labouring men.

The ardour of the Plymouth Company had indeed been quenched. As an association it ceased for the time to do anything beyond warning off foreign interlopers. Sir Ferdinando Gorges, it is true, had other views. He says, 'I became an owner of a ship myself, fit for that employment, and under cover of fishing and trade, I got a master and company for her, to which I sent Vines and others, my own servants, with their provisions for trade and discovery, appointing them to leave the ship and the ship's company to follow their business in the usual place.'

The London Company meantime founded Jamestown, and some of their trade was carried on by way of Plymouth. Hence the western port became associated with the romantic history of Pocahontas ('the nonpareil of Virginia,' daughter of Powhattan), who saved the life of Captain John Smith, and ever proved the firmest friend of the white man. 'The Lady Rebecca,' as she was afterwards known, landed at

Plymouth with her husband, John Rolfe, June 12, 1616. She died at Gravesend, when about to return to her native country, and her little child, Thomas Rolfe, was left at Plymouth with Sir Lewis [Judas] Stukely. At Plymouth, too, landed the envoy, Vetamatomakkin, whom crafty old Powhattan sent over to reckon the strength of the English. When he landed the innocent savage got a large stick, intending to cut thereon a notch for every Englishman he saw, 'but,' as the chronicler naively notes, 'he was quickly weary of that task.'

Captain John Smith.

For some years after this no attempt was made at settlement; though vessels continued to be sent to the New England coast for fishing and trading purposes, and there were expeditions to discover mines of gold and copper. Fish and fur, however, were the main objects of traffic, and these proved very profitable to merchants of London, Plymouth, the Isle of Wight, and elsewhere. The chief undertakers in the business at this date were Sir F. Popham and Sir Ferdinando Gorges. Nor did the course of trade run smooth. The French were also in the field; and the first expedition to New England in which Capt. John Smith took part, in 1614, was marred by the conduct of one Thomas Hunt, master of the second of the two ships of which the little fleet consisted. Left behind by Smith to fit with dry fish for Spain, he 'betrayed four and twenty of those poor savages aboard his ship, and most dishonestly and inhumanly for their kind usage of me and all our men, carried them with him to Maligo, and there for a little private gain sold those silly savages for rials of eight; but this wild act kept him ever after from any more employment to those parts.'

According to Smith, when he returned to Plymouth from this voyage, the patent of the Plymouth Company was virtually dead. He gave, however, such an account of the resources of the district, which he was the first to name New England, that he stirred the patentees to new life, and they promised to fit out an expedition for a fresh plantation, and put it in his charge. Meanwhile he went to London, and thence, in consequence of his report, the London Company sent out a fishing fleet of four vessels, under one Michael Couper, master of Smith's vessel. When Smith came back to Plymouth, however, he found nothing done.

Not long before Smith's return from New England, a bark

had sailed from Plymouth to discover a gold mine, which Epenow, an Indian brought home by Captain Harlow, had reported to exist. The object of the crafty red man was, however, to get home. Exhibited as a giant, and resenting his treatment, he contrived this fable of the gold mine to secure his return. Thus the expedition was a failure, and this being learnt while Smith was in London, the West-Country folk were too much discouraged to make any of the preparations promised.

But Smith was not so easily daunted. He had taken much pains to get the Londoners and the Plymouth men to join together, because the 'Londoners have most money, and the Western men are more proper for fishing.' Besides, it was 'near as much trouble but much more danger, to sail from London to Plymouth, than from Plymouth to New England!' so that half the voyage would be saved by making Plymouth the head-quarters. Both parties were too desirous to be 'lords of the fishing' for this end to be accomplished. Nevertheless Smith brought down with him from London 'two hundred pounds in cash for adventure, and six gentlemen well furnished,' and Sir Ferdinando Gorges persuaded Dr. Sutcliffe, Dean of Exeter, and several Western merchants, 'to entertain this plantation.' Arrangements were made that Smith should settle in New England with sixteen companions; and in 1615 he set sail in a vessel of two hundred tons, with a consort of fifty, to make a second effort to plant a colony in the territory of the Plymouth Company. Ill-fortune still dogged his efforts. A violent storm so shattered his ship that he had to put back (his 'vice-admiral,' not knowing of this disaster, proceeding on the voyage), and it was not until the 24th of June that he could again sail, this time in a small bark of sixty tons only, with but thirty men. Once more disaster. He was taken by French pirates or privateers of Rochelle; and though his vessel and crew after a while returned safely to Plymouth, he was kept captive by the Frenchmen, partly in consequence of the mutiny of some of his men, until he could make his escape to Rochelle, and thence to Plymouth, where he 'laid by the heels' such 'chieftains of this mutiny' as could be found.

Thus ended abortively the second attempt to settle New England. The efforts made were not, however, wholly thrown away. The four ships sent from London under Couper, and Smith's vice-admiral, made good voyages. More were sent in the following year, and this led, as in the case of Newfoundland, to the establishment of small trading

posts of a temporary character. There is reason to believe that the first trading outposts, as distinct from settlements, on the coast of New England were those formed by Plymouth merchants. The regular traders were accustomed to frequent the same harbours; and Sir Francis Popham had for years occupied one near the island of Monhegan. The Trelawnys of Plymouth, too, must have been actively engaged in the trade, even at this early date.

Smith still persevered. On his return from France he raised £100 in London, and finding Plymouth ill-prepared for another expedition at the moment, he spent the summer of 1616 in visiting Bristol, Exeter, Barnstaple, Bodmin, Penryn, Fowey, Millbrook, Saltash, Dartmouth, Absom, and Totnes, and 'the most of the gentry in Cornwall and Devonshire,' trying to enlist support for further efforts. Another expedition was then projected, and the Plymouth Company agreed that Smith should be Admiral of New England during life, and that the profits should be equally divided between the patentees and Smith and his associates. Again well-laid plans came to nothing, and Smith remarks of the Company: 'I am not the first they have deceived.'

We need not wonder that Smith had little love for the Plymouth Company. 'No man,' said he, 'will go from hence to have less freedom there than here . . . and it is too well known there have been so many undertakers of patents, and such sharing of them, as hath bred no less discouragement than wonder to hear such great promises and so little performance; in the interim you see the French and Dutch already frequent it, and God forbid they in Virginia, or any of his majesty's subjects, should not have as free liberty as they.'

Smith in his day was probably England's most energetic and earnest advocate of colonization. He did his utmost, by tongue and pen, to stir up his countrymen. Even the 'ever-living actions' of the Portuguese and Spaniards 'will testify with them our idleness and ingratitude to all posterities, and the neglect of our duties in our piety and religion. We owe our God, our king, and country, and want of charity to those poor savages, whose country we challenge, use, and possess; except we be but made to use, and man, what our forefathers made, or but only tell what they did, or esteem ourselves too good to take the like pains.' Moreover, the way had been prepared by Providence! 'God hath laid this country open for us, and slain the most part of the inhabitants by civil wars and a mortal disease.'

Revival of the Plymouth Company.

In 1615 Sir Richard Hawkins sailed with a commission from the Council of Plymouth to do what he could in New England. He found the natives at war, and passed along the coast to Virginia. In the following year, however, four ships from Plymouth and two from London made good voyages. One of the former was sent out by Gorges, under the charge of Richard Vines. Other captains for Gorges were Edmund Ricroft and Dermer, or Dormer, who in 1619 went out with Squanto, one of the Indians taken by Hunt to Malaga, to act as interpreter. But the natives remained irreconcilable, and the operations of the Company continued to be confined to ordinary trade. This indeed grew to somewhat important dimensions. In 1619–20 the merchants of London and Plymouth had eight vessels trading to New England; and the voyages were so profitable, that Smith notes seamen working on shares being able to earn £17 in six months—or, say, £85. Meanwhile the Company did all they could to keep the trade to themselves, and in 1618 a French trader from Dieppe was seized by a vessel sent out by Gorges.

This brings us to the revival of the Plymouth Company on an enlarged basis, and with wider powers. Experience had taught the promoters of New England colonization some lessons from which they were not slow to profit. Sir Ferdinando Gorges had become the moving spirit, and to his experience of Western adventure and traffic, and his influence at the Court, we may give the chief place among the causes which led to the reconstruction of the Company. On the 3rd November, 1620, James granted a new charter to Lodowick Duke of Lennox, George Marquis of Buckingham and Hamilton, the Earls of Arundel and Warwick, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and thirty-four others, incorporated as being ‘the first modern and present Council established at Plymouth, in the county of Devon, for the planting, ruling, and governing of New England, in America’; and the patentees were ‘to elect and choose others to the number of forty persons, and no more, to be of that Council,’ so incorporated, ‘by the name of the Council established at Plymouth for the governing of New England, in America.’

The territory conferred on the patentees in absolute perpetuity, with unlimited jurisdiction, the sole powers of legislation, the appointment of all officers and all forms of government, extended, in breadth, from the fortieth to the forty-eighth degree of north

latitude, and, in length, from the Atlantic to the Pacific: that is to say, nearly all the inhabited British possessions to the north of the United States, all New England, New York, half of New Jersey, very nearly all Pennsylvania, and the whole of the country to the west of these States, comprising, and at the time believed to comprise, much more than a million of square miles, were, by a single signature of King James, given away to a corporation within the realm, composed of but forty individuals. The grant was absolute and exclusive; it conceded the land and islands, the rivers and the harbours, the mines and the fisheries. Without the leave of the Council of Plymouth, not a ship might sail into a harbour from Newfoundland to the latitude of Philadelphia; not a skin might be purchased in the interior; not a fish might be caught on the coast; not an emigrant might tread the soil. No regard was shown for the liberties of those who might become inhabitants of the colony; they were to be ruled, without their own consents, by the corporation in England.²

But James and the Company overreached themselves; so huge a monopoly, even in these days, could not pass unchallenged. The pretensions of the patentees were laughed to scorn and ignored. Their vast designs dwindled into a scramble for individual interests and proprietorships. The settlement of New England was effected without their first knowledge or intervention. The 'Council of Plymouth' does not fill a very important niche in history; but it might have advanced the development of New England at least half a century.

Before we proceed to trace the Company's brief career, its second founder claims a few words of personal notice. Sir Ferdinando Gorges was the youngest son of Edward Gorges, of Wraxall, Somerset, probably born *circa* 1565-7. He served with distinction in France, and was one of the knights made by the Earl of Essex at the siege of Rouen, in 1591. He was also sergeant-major to the earl in the Cadiz expedition, and was imprisoned for his share in that ill-fated nobleman's rebellion. His direct connection with Plymouth appears to have begun with his appointment as governor of the fort. He died at Long Ashton, and was buried there May 14th, 1647. His last public service was his participation as a Royalist in the defence of Bristol.

Though Sir Ferdinando Gorges was himself of a Somersetshire stock, the name had long been connected with the neighbourhood of Plymouth. A family of Gorges, giving three gorges or whirlpools as their arms, was settled at

² BANCROFT, *Hist. United States*.

Warleigh for several descents. The estate came to them (*temp.* Henry III.) by marriage with the heiress of the Foliot, who gave the Tamerton parish in which Warleigh is situate its distinctive suffix. From the Gorges it passed by successive female heirs to the Bonvilles, Coplestones, and Radcliffes. But there was a much later settlement of the Gorges family, and nearer Plymouth, before Sir Ferdinando's day. Sir William Gorges married Winifred, daughter and heiress of Roger Budockshed,⁴ the last of the ancient house which took its name from the ancestral seat at St. Budeaux, and in her right succeeded to that estate in 1576. Elizabeth, the daughter of Tristram Gorges, his son, became Sir Ferdinando's third wife; and Sir Ferdinando had a residence at Kinterbury.

The Pilgrim Fathers.

The special work of the Plymouth Company was taken out of its hands by men and women who had nothing to do with Plymouth, save a passing connection; but whose names are now indissolubly identified with the old town.

In the year 1608 a small body of Puritans had expatriated themselves for conscience sake, and settled at Leyden. After a residence there of eleven years some of them determined to seek a home on the shores of the New World, and by the aid of certain English merchants—who looked at the matter from a strictly business point of view, and gave them hard terms—they obtained powers to effect a settlement near the mouth of the Hudson. These Puritans were the Pilgrim Fathers. They chartered two vessels, one the ever-memorable *Mayflower*, of 180 tons, and the other the ill-speeding *Speedwell*, of 60.

Bancroft describes the parting of the Pilgrim pioneers at Delfthaven from their friends who were to follow, and their subsequent proceedings, ere they finally set sail for their destination:

As morning dawned Carver, Bradford, and Winslow, Brewster, the ruling elder, Allerton, and the brave and faithful Standish, with their equal associates—a feeble band for a perilous enterprise—bade farewell to Holland; while Robinson kneeling in prayer by the sea-side, gave to their embarkation the sanctity of a religious rite. A prosperous wind soon wafts the vessel to

⁴ This name is of very ancient origin, and probably represents 'Budockshide,' the title of the land dedicated to the British saint Budock, whence the parish takes its designation. Budockshed preserves the old pronunciation, 'Budō' being a comparatively modern vulgarism, of the same type as the substitution of the fashionable Pridō for the genuine Devonian Priddicks = Prideaux.

Southampton, and in a fortnight the *Mayflower* and the *Speedwell*, freighted with the first colony for New England, leave Southampton for America. But they had not gone far upon the Atlantic before the smaller vessel was found to need repair, and they enter the port of Dartmouth. After the lapse of eight precious days they again weigh anchor; the coast of England recedes; already they are unfurling their sails on the broad ocean, when the captain of the *Speedwell* with his company, dismayed at the dangers of the enterprise, once more pretend that his ship is too weak for the service. They put back to Plymouth to dismiss their treacherous companions, though the loss of the vessel was very grievous and discouraging. The timid and the hesitating were all freely allowed to abandon the expedition. Having thus winnowed their number of the cowardly and disaffected, the little band, not of resolute men only, but wives, some far gone in pregnancy, children, infants, a floating village, yet in all but 101 souls, went on board the single ship which was hired only to convey them across the Atlantic; and on the sixth day of September, 1620, thirteen years after the first colonization of Virginia, two months before the concession of the grand charter of Plymouth, without any warrant from the sovereign of England, without any useful charter from a corporate body, the passengers in the *Mayflower* set sail for a New World.

The destination for which the Pilgrims sailed they were fated never to reach. Whether by stress of storm, or whether by the double dealing of their captain—none can now tell—they were carried to a point far north of the Hudson, in the centre of the depopulated territory of New England; and there, without patent or authority, without any other rights than their necessities, they built the town of Plymouth.⁴ There could be no more befitting name. Dear to them was the last spot of the mother country which their wandering feet had trod—dear to them if for that fact alone, but dearer still for the many kindnesses received from certain Christians there, having been ‘kindly entertained and courteously used by divers friends there dwelling.’ They planted the first settlement on the coast of New England. They drew up the earliest American constitution, by which, before they left the *Mayflower* (November 11th), they constituted themselves a civil body politic.

⁴ It has been held that the Pilgrims gave it that name; but the place is called Plymouth in Smith's *First Account of New England*, 1616—four years before the arrival of the Pilgrims, and probably, therefore, had been early frequented by Plymouth ships. No one can say positively whether the Pilgrims continued the old name or gave it anew; but if, as Mr. Justin Winsor believes, they had Smith's map with them, it must have been simply a continuation. The descendants of the Pilgrims retain an affectionate regard for English Plymouth still.

There is a very general and mistaken belief that the Pilgrim Fathers were Plymouth people. But not only were no Plymouth folk in their ranks, several of the company of the *Mayflower* were merely hired men or apprentices, so small was the real New England germ. Only Winslow and Standish were above the yeoman class. Not many years after the settlement of Plymouth the Pilgrims and their descendants drifted away until, shortly after the foundation of the adjacent and favoured town of Duxbury, Bradford was the only one of the first comers of consideration who remained in the old town. At the present moment Duxbury probably contains more Pilgrim blood than any other locality in Massachusetts. And on the occasion of the celebration, June 17th, 1887, of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the foundation of that town, Mr. Justin Winsor, Librarian of Harvard, a son of Duxbury of approved Pilgrim strain, in his commemorative address delivered the last words which have been authoritatively spoken on the subject of the landing. The Pilgrims, he said,

were bound under the patent which they had received from the old Virginia Company to find land somewhere in the neighbourhood of Hudson River, perhaps on the Connecticut, perhaps on the Jersey coast; and it is almost equally certain that they had with them the map of the New England coast which John Smith had made when he examined its bays and headlands six years before, and had later published with the native names displaced by the English ones marked by Prince Charles on the draught which the engraver followed. So when at last they sighted land they knew it by the description to be the sandhills of the point which was called on Smith's map Cape James, after the Prince's royal father, but which the mariners who had been on the coast before—and they had such among the crew—told them was nevertheless known by those who frequented the region for traffic with the Indians by the designation which Captain Gosnold had given it eighteen years before, when he was surprised at the numbers of fish which he found thereabout, and called it Cape Cod. As soon as it became evident where they were they turned to the south to seek the place of their destination; but before long getting among the shoals off Nanset, and fearing that after all their tribulations they were running too great hazard to proceed, they turned once more northward, and rounding the head of the cape came at last to anchor in the shelter of what we now know as Province Town Harbour.

Finding that stress of weather and the lateness of the season had rendered it necessary to cease the attempt to find a haven

within the privileges of their patent, and that they were brought beyond the pale of the delegated authority which that patent vested in their leaders, on territory not within the bounds of such necessary control, it was then that mutterings—at least from some of these same hired men and apprentices, eager to make the most of the freedom which chance had seemingly given them—made it necessary to draft that immortal compact, wherein by the subscription of all, this band of exiles in the very spirit of their religious independence took upon themselves the power of a body politic, fit to govern themselves, and compel the subjection of any that were evil disposed.

The Huguenots were then at Port Royal or Annapolis (founded 1604), the London Company at Jamestown (1607), the Dutch at New York (1614).

Progress of Colonization.

The large concessions made by James soon provoked hostility. The Plymouth Company were first assailed in their attempt to limit the right of fishing. Coke declared their charter void. Two years after it was granted there were as many as thirty-five vessels from the West of England fishing on the New England coasts. An appeal from the Company to James procured a proclamation forbidding all access to the 'northern coast of America, except with the special leave of the Company of Plymouth, or of the Privy Council.' It was alleged that the 'interlopers' sold arms to the natives and taught their use. In 1623 Francis West was commissioned as Admiral of New England to put an end to unlicensed fishing. His efforts failed, for the fishermen were 'stubborn fellows,' too strong for him. Nor was the appointment of Robert Gorges, son of Sir Ferdinando (who had a grant made him in Massachusetts Bay), as Lieutenant-General of New England, one whit more effectual. Meanwhile the House of Commons took the matter up in earnest, and a bill was passed declaring that fishing should be free, Coke telling Gorges to his face, 'The ends of private gain are concealed under cover of planting a colony.'

This was much too near the truth to be pleasant. It had been found far easier to trade than to settle. Nevertheless settlement was encouraged, though the patentees took chief care of themselves. The earliest grant traceable under the Council of Plymouth is one made on June 21st, 1621, to John Pierce, of London. A hundred acres of land were allotted by the Company for every person Pierce took with him, and a grant of 1,500 more in consideration of Pierce

and his associates undertaking to build churches, hospitals, and bridges. Pierce settled at Pemaquid, subsequently joining with one John Brown, who on July 15th, 1625, bought a tract of land there, eight miles by twenty-five, of two Indian chiefs, for fifty skins. It was through Pierce, in 1622, that the patent was granted under which the Plymouth Colony was formally chartered.

In the following year a patent was granted to Master Weston for the first plantation in Boston Bay. Weymouth was settled, but came to grief in less than a twelvemonth. In 1623 another attempt was made at the same spot by Robert Gorges, but he did not find the state of things to answer his quality, and returned to England.

Then two of the leading members of the Plymouth Council proceeded conclusively to justify Coke's allegation of the paramount influence of private gain. On the 10th of August, 1622, Sir F. Gorges and Capt. John Mason obtained a grant of all the lands between the sea, the St. Lawrence, the Merrimac, and the Kennebec, extending back to the great lakes and river of Canada. They commenced to settle in the following year on the Piscataqua river, by David Thompson, Edward and William Hilton, and others. This patent either was, or in some way became, inoperative, in whole or in part, but it was renewed in due form several years later, and in 1634 the lands were divided. Gorges took the lands east of the Piscataqua, the province of Maine, or, as he called it, New Somersetshire; Mason, the lands on the west, to which he gave the name of New Hampshire.

The enlarged limits of the Plymouth charter included the French territories. These, however, were granted, with the consent of the Company, under the name of Nova Scotia, to Sir William Alexander, afterwards Earl of Stirling, September 10th, 1621. Alexander had a further grant from the Company, immediately before the surrender of its charter, of the land from St. Croix to Pemaquid and up to the Kennebec, to be called the country of Canada. He expelled the French, and they made reprisals.

There is not any complete record of the land grants made by the Council of Plymouth, but they include the following:

- 1621. John Pierce, of London, liberty to settle—Pemaquid.
- 1622. Patent to Weston for Weymouth, the first plantation in Boston harbour, abandoned in 1623.
- 1622 Sir F. Gorges and Capt. Mason, lands between the Merrimac and Kennebec, inoperative wholly or in part, but afterwards confirmed.

1623. Robert Gorges, lands in Massachusetts.
1623. Patent to John Pierce, for the Plymouth Colony. He subsequently obtained another in his own favour, but meeting with disaster, sold it for £500 to the adventurers who had set out the Plymouth Colony in England.
1626. Grant of a tract on the Kennebec to the Plymouth adventurers, subsequently enlarged.
1628. Charter to the Massachusetts Company, the foundation of the state of Massachusetts.
- 1629 (?) Alderman Aldsworth and Giles Elbridge, merchants of Bristol, 12,000 acres at Pemaquid.
1630. William Bradford and his associates, new patent for the Plymouth adventurers, intended to place Plymouth on the same footing as Massachusetts, but failing confirmation of the King.
1630. Thomas Lewis and Richard Bonython, four miles by eight on the east side of the mouth of Saco river.
1630. John Oldham and Richard Vines, four miles by eight on the west of the Saco.
1630. Sherley and Hatherly, of Bristol, Andrews and Beauchamp, of London, lands at Penobscott.
1630. John Beauchamp, London, and Thomas Leverett, Boston, ten leagues square on the west of the Penobscott.
1630. John Dy, Thomas Luke, Grace Harding, John Roach, John Smith, Brian Brinks—most, if not all, of London—the province of Ligonía, between Cape Porpus and Cape Elizabeth, extending forty miles from the coast. This is commonly known as the Plough Patent. An unavailing attempt at settlement was made in the following year.
1631. Sir F. Gorges, Capt. Mason, and others, a small tract on both sides of the Piscataqua.
1631. Thomas Cammock, 1,500 acres, Black Point.
1631. Richard Bradshaw, 1,500 acres, claimed to be at Spurwink. Bradshaw was said to have been settled there by Capt. Walter Neele on behalf of the patentees.
1631. Robert Trelawny and Moses Goodyear, of Plymouth, a tract between Spurwink river and Casco Bay.
1631. Walter Bagnall, Richmond Island, and 1,500 acres.
1631. John Stratton and his associates, 2,000 acres on the south of Cape Porpus River.
1631. Edward Godfrey, a grant on the river Agamenticus, now York.
1632. Robert Aldsworth and Giles Elbridge, an additional tract on Pemaquid Point.
1632. George Way and Thomas Purchase, lands between the Kennebec and Androscoggin rivers and Casco Bay.

1634. Edward Godfrey, Samuel Maverick, William Hooke, and others, 12,000 acres north of the Agamenticus.
1634. Ferdinando Gorges (grandson of Sir Ferdinando), 12,500 acres west of the Agamenticus. (Grants were also made to Thomas, William, and Henry Gorges, Sir Ferdinando's nephews.)
1635. Sir F. Gorges, the territory between the Piscataqua and Kennebec.
1635. Capt. Mason, the lands between Kennebec and Pemaquid.
1635. Sir W. Alexander (Earl of Sterling), the territory between the Pemaquid and St. Croix. The lands east of the St. Croix and south of the St. Lawrence had been relinquished in his favour under Royal grant in 1621.

Deriving from these grants, or some of them, a large amount of property in New England is still held.

Massachusetts.

The most important work effected under the immediate auspices of the Council of Plymouth was the foundation of the Colony of Massachusetts. The first permanent plantation in Massachusetts Bay was that of David Thompson, who removed thither in 1624, the year after he had settled at Piscataqua, and possessed a fruitful island and a very desirable neck of land. He was a Scotchman, and was speedily followed by the pioneers of the Massachusetts Colony, who began a plantation at Cape Ann. White, a Puritan minister of Dorchester, was the original promoter of this undertaking. The Cape Ann patent belonged to the Plymouth Colony, and the Dorchester plantation was at first held of them, the Plymouth settlers having a fishing work there also. But independent action was soon taken. Differences arose at New Plymouth, and several persons removed thence and settled at a Plymouth trading port at Nantasket, at the entrance of the bay of Massachusetts. Among these was one Roger Conant, a Devonshire man, whom White and his co-adventurers chose to manage their affairs at Cape Ann, where he with some companions settled in 1625. In the same year another plantation was commenced in the north of the Bay, at Braintree, by Captain Wollaston and others. Among these was the afterwards notorious Thomas Morton, who so sorely offended all the Puritanism of New England by setting up a maypole at Merry Mount, whence he and his comrades, Master Endicott's rebuke failing, were subsequently ejected by the Plymouth forces under Capt. Miles Standish. The great grievance

against Morton was less his merry doings than his selling arms to the Indians, and making Mount Dagon, as the Puritans called it, the refuge of all the colonial rascaldom.

Conant, after sundry removes, selected Salem as the most fitting site for the Dorchester colony, which was in the end to lead to the extinction of the Plymouth Company itself, and become the germ whence sprung the wide liberties of the New England States. The territory comprised under the charter of the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay included all the lands in the bottom of the Bay from three miles north of the Merrimac to three miles south of the Charles, and westerly to the Pacific. The original grantees were Sir Henry Rosewell, Sir John Young, Thomas Southcoat, John Humphrey, John Endicott, and Simon Whetcomb; but the interest of the first three was purchased by Winthrop and the other leading Massachusetts founders. Endicott planted a colony at Salem in 1628, and a royal charter was granted in 1629.

The Massachusetts Company prosecuted the work of colonization with great activity, a large proportion of the early colonists coming from Devon, Dorset, and Somerset. Plymouth is specially associated with their operations by an entry that early in 1630 'a Congregational Church is, by a pious People, gathered in the New Hospital at Plymouth [*i.e.* the Hospital of the Poor's Portion], in England, when they keep a Day of solemn Prayer and Fasting. That worthy man of GOD, Master WHITE, of Dorchester, being present, preaches in the fore part of the day; and in the after part the People solemnly choose and call those godly Ministers, the Reverend Master JOHN WARHAM, a famous Preacher at Exeter; and the Reverend Master JOHN MAVE-RICK, a Minister who lived forty miles from Exeter, to be their Officers; who, expressing their acceptance, are at the same time Ordained their Ministers.' This party sailed from Plymouth in the *Mary and John*, March 20th following. Southampton was, however, the chief rendezvous of the Massachusetts Company. Fifteen hundred colonists were brought over in twelve ships in 1630—five other vessels arriving later in the same year—and Charlestown founded as the capital. That year also Boston, Dorchester, and Watertown were named and finally settled. Within the next two or three years the work of settlement and forming new plantations went rapidly on. Roxbury, Cambridge, Medford, Ipswich, Marblehead, and other towns sprang up in Massachusetts; and Duxbury became the second town in the

district of the Plymouth Colony. Connecticut was first settled by the English from New Plymouth at Windsor in 1632, after sundry trading voyages.

The charter of the Plymouth Company was surrendered June 7th, 1635. Ferdinando Gorges, grandson of Sir Ferdinando, gives the reason as follows: 'The country proving a receptacle for divers sorts of sects, the establishment in England complained of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and he was taxed as the author of it,⁵ which brought him into some discredit, whereupon he moved those lords to resign their grand patent to the King, and pass particular patents to themselves of such parts along the sea coast as might be sufficient for them.'

Accordingly on the 3rd of February, 1635, the patentees made such division as they desired by lot, finally settling the grants on the 22nd April.

The reasons for the surrender of the Plymouth charter were set forth at length by the Council at a meeting in Whitehall, April 25th of the same year, three days after the confirmation of the division. 'Forasmuch,' they say, 'as we have found by a long experience, that the faithful endeavours of some of us, that have sought the plantation of New England, have not been without frequent and inevitable troubles as companions to our undertakings, from our first discovery of that coast to this present, by great charges and necessary expenses; but also depriving us of divers of our near friends and faithful servants employed in that work abroad, whilst ourselves at home were assaulted with sharp litigious questions both before the Privy Council and the Parliament, having been presented as a grievance to the Commonwealth . . . the affections of the multitude were thereby disheartened . . . and so much the more by how much it pleased God about this time to bereave us of the most noble and principal props thereof, as the Duke of Lennox, Marquis of Hamilton, and many other strong stayes to this weak building . . . then followed the claim of the French Ambassador, taking advantage of the divisions of the sea-coast between ourselves, to whom we made a just and satisfactory answer. . . . Nevertheless these crosses did not draw upon us such a disheartened weakness till the end

⁵ The Massachusetts Company on their part charged Gorges, Mason, and their associates with attempting to take away their liberties. A petition was presented by Gorges and his friends against both the Massachusetts and Plymouth Colonies to the Privy Council; and much to their discomfiture, determined in January, 1633, in favour of the settlers. English politics made themselves felt on the further shore of the Atlantic as well as at home.

of the last parliament'—when the Massachusetts Company obtained their charter, and afterwards thrust out the undertakers and tenants of some of the Council—'withal riding over the heads of those lords and others that had their portions assigned to them in his late Majesty's presence.' These and other things were too grievous to be borne, putting the Council in 'so desperate a case' that they saw no remedy for 'what was brought to ruin'; and so—'After all these troubles, and upon these considerations, it is now resolved that the patent shall be surrendered into his Majesty.'

Accordingly on the 7th June the charter was surrendered, and the King somewhat spitefully urged to take away the charter of Massachusetts, and appoint a general governor for the whole territory, to be chosen among the lords proprietors. Charles naturally agreed to this; but Puritan Massachusetts and her sister colonies made such opposition that ere the plan could be carried out the Civil War commenced, and the affairs of New England had to give place to nearer concerns. Ferdinando Gorges the grandson was indeed appointed General Governor of New England in 1637, but he never assumed the duties, and eventually sold his rights in Maine for £1250.

Settlers from the West of England.

We have yet to trace the special personal relations of the Western Counties to New England settlement. In Western Maine, and the lower districts of Massachusetts, the population to this day largely retains the characteristics of the men of Devon, Cornwall, Somerset, and Dorset, from which it principally springs, and is spoken of as 'the pure English race.' 'The importation in the first instance was made by the English proprietors, who sent the farmers, mechanics, and adventurers, who lived in and about Devonshire, to cultivate and improve their large and vacant grants.⁶ Massachusetts generally drew from a much wider field. As many as eighty emigrants left Plymouth in one ship in 1622, Philemon Powell being purser.

Plymouth men played a prominent part in the work of actual settlement. The little island of Monhegan, a place of resort for fishermen at least as early as 1618, on which Gorges had a plantation in 1621 or 1622, afterwards became the property of Abraham Jennings, a Plymouth merchant,

⁶ WILLIS.

who in 1622 had the *Abraham* of Plymouth, and *Nightingale* of Portsmouth, fishing there. He sold it, in 1626, to Abraham Shurt, agent for Aldsworth and Elbridge, merchants of Bristol; but in all probability continued to trade. A daughter of Jennings married Moses Goodyear, another Plymouth merchant trafficking to the New England coast; and Goodyear and Robert Trelawny, a third Plymouthian, in 1631 commenced the work of plantation, and led to the foundation of the town of Portland. The Council of Plymouth made them a grant of lands adjoining other lands previously granted to Thomas Cammock, at one shilling a year rent, 'because they and their associates had adventured and expended large sums of money in the discovery of the coasts and harbours of those parts, and were minded to undergo further charge in setting a plantation.' Whether Goodyear or Trelawny was leader in the scheme we do not know; but in the end it was carried on by the latter alone.

Robert Trelawny came of a good stock. In the days of Elizabeth it was counted no degradation for Western men of family to engage in trade. Country gentlemen were content to live at home upon their estates, and farm for themselves; and if their families grew too rapidly, they planted some of their children in the towns. Hence the very large proportion of the issuers of the tradesmen's tokens of the seventeenth century, who placed their family arms upon their coins. To the changes that have taken place in our national customs in this respect we owe the enormous number of decayed manor and barton houses which have fallen into ruin, or become degraded into mere tenanted farms. The modest but sufficient properties of the sixteenth century do not suit the larger wants of the nineteenth. An illustration of the olden practice is afforded by the case of Robert Trelawny, senior, father of the Robert with whom we have to do. The record is still extant, which sets forth how, in the mayoralty of George Maynard, 1578, 'Robert Trelawney the son of Robert Trelawney of St. Germanes in the county of Cornewall gent put himself apptice wth George Burgoyne & Agneis his wief for viii from the date of the same Indent to be enstructed in the trade of merchandize & the said George and Agnes to kepe and maynteine the said Robert a convenyent tyme in Spayne or Portugall & in France and to make hym free of the Company of fiske-mongers of the cytye of London and in thence double apparell.' This Robert Trelawny was Mayor in 1607-8, 1616-7, and 1627-8, dying before his last mayoralty was

over. Robert, the New England planter, was Mayor in 1633-4; and was elected member in 1640. His Royalist sympathies led to his downfall and death. He was expelled from Parliament and imprisoned, on the charge of having said the House of Commons had no power to appoint a guard for themselves without the King's consent. In prison he died.

John Winter, a Plymouth captain, was sent out, by Trelawny and Goodyear, to take possession of the lands granted them between Spurwink river and Casco Bay. When he arrived he found George Cleeves, another Plymouthian, and Richard Tucker, without doubt a Devonian, in possession, having erected at Portland the first house built there by European hands. Winter ejected them, and thus initiated a controversy which lasted many years. Winter claimed the land as Trelawny's; Cleeves and Tucker insisted that it was theirs. In an action between Cleeves and Winter in 1640, Cleeves stated that for more than seven years he had possessed a neck of land in Casco Bay, called Machigonney, taking it at first under a proclamation of James I., which gave 150 acres to every person, for himself and those whom he might transport to the colony; and that after four years he had had a lease of enlargement from Gorges. Winter claimed that the land was included within the Trelawny grant; but the court ruled otherwise.

The disputes between Winter and Cleeves and their respective parties greatly troubled the peace of the infant settlements. Winter kept a store, and the fashion of his dealings caused Cleeves and others to charge him with the Dutchman's fault (according to Canning) of

Giving too little and taking too much ;

while Winter denounced Cleeves for scandalous conversation, in saying that Winter's wife, who had been left behind at Plymouth, was 'the veriest drunkenest whore in all that town,' and further alleging that there were not 'four honest women there.' However, a peace was patched up, which lasted until Winter's death.

Winter, described by Royalist Josselyn as 'a grave and discreet man,' was entrusted by Trelawny with the entire management of his affairs, and had a tenth of the patent when it became Trelawny's sole property. For some years a large trade was carried on by Trelawny with his New England possessions, among the ships engaged being the *Agnes*, *Richmond*, *Hercules*, and *Margery*. The cargoes

consisted chiefly of pipe-staves, beaver-skins, fish, and oil. Winter made his first plantation, on behalf of Trelawny and Goodyear, at Richmond Island in July, 1632. Two years later Richmond was a place of such trade, that as many as seventeen fishing ships are recorded to have visited it and the Isle of Shoals as early as the 1st March. In 1638 Winter had sixty-one men engaged in fishing. In this year Trelawny shipped wine to the plantation, and in the course of trade some of his vessels used to take their cargoes thence directly to Spain. Trelawny's family did not benefit by his transatlantic estates—probably in consequence of his early death in prison—and they eventually passed into the hands of a certain Rev. Robert Jordan, who married Winter's daughter. Jordan, in all likelihood another Devonshire man, went over to the Colony in the *Richmond*. His business capacities are undoubted; for he obtained an award of the Trelawny property in 1648 in satisfaction of the claims for management put in by him on behalf of Winter's estate, which he increased by charging a legacy from Trelawny to Winter as a debt due to himself!

Cleeves became a man of great note in the infant colony. Colonel Rigby, a staunch Republican, bought the 'Plough Patent' in April, 1643. Cleeves, who is supposed to have suggested this purchase, was appointed Rigby's first deputy. Directly, however, he attempted to exercise authority his rights were denied by Richard Vines, as deputy for Gorges. Both parties appealed to the authorities of Massachusetts, without result. Vines was succeeded by Henry Jocelyn as deputy-governor in 1645, and the dispute was settled by the triumph of the Republican party in England, in favour of Rigby and Cleeves. The social position of Cleeves is shown by the fact that in a grant from Sir Ferdinando Gorges he is described as 'esquire,' his partner, Tucker, being set down as 'gentleman.'

Two other Plymouthians are named among the earlier settlers—Richard Martyn, cousin of John Martyn, Mayor in 1634-5; and Winthrop.

The letters of the Plymouth Trelawnys, published by the Maine Historical Society, contain the names of many from Plymouth or its vicinity, who either settled or worked in New England, chiefly on the Trelawny patent. The usual practice was for men to be bound to work in the colony for three years, at wages of £6 to £8 a year. Most of those whose places of abode are not given in the following list, compiled from the Trelawny Papers, were from Plymouth:

Edward Andrews, Yealmpton; Thomas Algar, Newton Ferrers; John Amirrie, William Allen, Millbrook; Ambrose Bawden, Holbeton; Edmund Bake, Newton Ferrers; Thos. Bone, Saltash; Edward Best, Millbrook; John Bellin, Josias Bayly, George Bunt, Roger Bucknell, Priscilla Bickford; Nat. Cannage, Oliver Clarke, Anthony Clarke, Ellen Curkeet; Thos. Dustin, George Dearinge, Henry Edmunds, Millbrook; William Frythy, Sanders Frythy, Rd. Foxwell, Rd. Feild; Mark Gaud, St. Johns; Arthur Gill, Peter Gill, Peter Gullet, William Gooch; Charles Hatch, Newton Ferrers; Arthur Heard, John Hosken, Wm. Ham, Andrew Hoffer, Henry Hancock, John Hempson, John Hole, Petronel Heamond, Wm. Hearle, Philip Hingston, Narias Hawkins (master of a vessel and a settler); Samson Joep, Reginald Jinkin; Thos. King, Stonehouse; Thos. Lissen, Stev. Laphorne, Wm. Lucas, John Libby, W. Lukes, J. Lukesley; Paul Michell, Sheviok; Rd. Martin, Francis Martin, Nich. Mather, Michael Maddiver, Wm. Mellin; Rd. Niles; Rd. Okers; Thos. Pomeroy (mariner), Plymouth; Clement Pennywell; Nich. Rouse, Wembury; George Rogers, Wm. Rundell; Robt. Saunders; Ben. Stephens, Landrake; John Simmons, Thos. Saunson, Tobias Shorte, Roger Satterley, Thos. Shepperd, Stephen Sergeant; John Taylor, Yealm; Ed. Trebie; Bennet Wills, Nich. White, Roger Willing, Oliver Weeks.

CHAPTER VI.

THE SIEGE.

A fortress formed to Freedom's hands.

* * * *

And there the volleying thunders pour,
Till waves grow smother at the roar.
The trench is dug, the cannon's breath
Wings the far-hissing globe of death ;
Fast whirl the fragments from the wall,
Which crumbles with the ponderous ball ;
And from that wall the foe replies
O'er dusty hills and smoky skies,
With fires that answer fast and well.—*Byron.*

PLYMOUTH won special distinction during the troubles of the Civil War. But before dealing with the events of that epoch, a few prior in time require reference.¹

Piracy and Plague.

It is not to the credit of the men of Plymouth in the early Stuart days, that they seemed unable to grapple with the Algerine pirates, who infested the shores of Devon and Cornwall in the opening years of the seventeenth century, and singed the beards of James and Charles more effectually, because more continuously, than Drake did that of Philip. One wonders what had become of the pluck and seamanship of Devon, when these corsairs were able, year after year, with impunity to haunt our coasts, and to enter and plunder not merely fishing-creeks, but such harbours as Plymouth. Hundreds of Devonshire men were carried into captivity by these rovers; scores died there; and from first to last thousands of pounds were raised within this county alone for their ransom.

¹ Here is the entry 1605-6 of the first local Guy Fawkes day:

Item pd for the Gunners for shooting of the Ordynance vponn the
tryvmphe for ye Joyful deliverance of ye King and State from
the Treason of Pircie & others ij^s

Our forefathers were not wholly helpless against pirates in general, for in 1608 'Thomas Trontes and his company' were tried at Plymouth for robbing Frenchmen, seven condemned and one executed; but with the Moors they could not themselves grapple, and they leant on a broken reed when they appealed to the State.

The necessity of doing something in this direction was felt early in the reign of James I., and in 1610 a patent was granted to the Lord Admiral Nottingham to impress ships and mariners for the suppression of pirates, under which he, in 1613, made a grant to the Mayor, &c., of Exeter, to the same effect. Four years later, March, 1617, the King brought the matter before the Privy Council; and this led to the suggestion of united action on the part of England with Spain and other powers, and to steps being taken to levy money for fitting out the English expedition.

Thus in July, 1617, the merchants of Exeter declared that they were willing to pay any reasonable sum towards suppressing the pirates of Algiers and Tunis; and in the same month Sir Ferdinando Gorges wrote from Plymouth to the Privy Council, that the merchants of that town thought a small fleet would effect little. Their trade was much injured by the pirates, but it was injured still more by the encroachments of the Londoners, whose proposal to give £40,000 was none too liberal, considering that they engrossed the commerce of the world. The best way to destroy the pirates was to make war, both by sea and land, upon the Turks.

After this the scheme practically slept until February, 1619, on the seventh of which month letters were sent by the Privy Council to several ports, demanding contributions towards the fleet. The amounts required give a fair idea of the relative importance of the shipping and commerce of the respective places.

Thus the sum levied on Southampton was £300; on Hull, £500; Weymouth, £450; Lyme Regis, £450; Pool, £100; Bristol, £1000 (promised; the demand was greater); Exeter, £500; Barnstaple, £500; Cinque Ports, £400; Yarmouth, £200; Newcastle, £300; Chester, including Carnarvon, Liverpool, and Beaumaris, £100. Plymouth was assessed in £1000. This had to be raised by the port and its members of which Truro was one, and there is extant a very curious correspondence between the Mayor of Plymouth, Thomas Fownes, and the Corporation of Truro, who refused to pay.²

² *Trans. Dev. Assoc.* xx. 312-331.

After many delays, the expedition sailed to Algiers under the command of Sir Robert Mansell, 12th October, 1620. Sir Richard Hawkins was Vice-Admiral. Mansell was duly entertained at Plymouth:

Item given to S^r Robert Mansell Knight Generall of his
M^{ties} Fleet agaynst the Pyrats of Algeir at his goeing
to sea two fat sheepe two sugar loafes, twelve capons
and six fat gennies v^{li} ij^s iiij^d

Five years later (September, 1625) Charles and Henrietta visited the town with their Court, to set forth an expedition against Spain, which terminated in 'disgrace and disappointment' to the nation, and great sorrow to Plymouth. There were just 100 ships, of 26,507 tons, manned by 5441 sailors and 9983 soldiers. Charles remained at Plymouth ten days, attended service in the church, and was most hospitably entertained. The town gave him £150 in a purse costing £3 6s. 8d., and his suite £33 3s. 4d. He reviewed the army on Roborough Down. The expedition was under Sir Edward Cecil, and Glanville, afterwards Recorder, was secretary. Before it started there was great distress. Using his best endeavours the Mayor was unable to find billets for the soldiers, who were only paid 2s. 6d. a week. When they came back they brought the plague. In April, 1626, the sickness had so increased that 14 or 15 died daily, and the inhabitants fled into the country. In June all commerce had ceased, the town was destitute of its best men, and the infection had spread into all the parishes where the soldiers were billeted. Early in July only two aldermen were left resident; and there was no constable. 1600 in all died. Temporary hospitals were erected at the cost of the town at Lipson and Haw Start (Batten). One of the most curious entries in the Accounts reads:

Itm pd for the charge of the setting vpp of the house in
the feilds out of the Towne wherein the Mayo^r was
chosen, being wholly occasioned by meanes of the plague
then in towne xxviiij^s xi^d

This was by no means the first visitation of the kind, or caused in a similar way, but it was the most severe. There had been a very fatal epidemic in 1570-71; and in 1580 'the plague was soe great in *Plym^e* that this Mayor [Blitheman] was chosen on Catdown.' Six hundred are said to have died then.

Again in 1590 there was much sickness caused by the

congregation of soldiers for the expedition under Drake and Norris. Sick soldiers lay in 'Vincent Scoble's barn;' 3d. was laid out with John Gybbons for 'frankencense' for fumigation. Houses were shut up, infected goods burned, and a cordon established.

Another failure was the expedition intended for the relief of Rochelle in 1628—a fleet of 60 vessels, but so ill found that the sailors of the *Lion*, *Adventure*, and *Vanguard*, as they lay in the harbour, robbed all that came near them from sheer want of victuals; and that we find the Corporation spending money on powder and match 'for suppressing the saylers when they were in a mutiny.' The result of the expedition is recorded in the following entry:

News sent to the Lords of the Council upon the first intelligence of the Earle of Denbeighes departure from before Rochell with the Fleete without relieving the said Towne x^{li}

Plymouth had thus serious drawbacks as a residence in the earlier years of the seventeenth century. If plague was not ever present, pirates were always about. Thomas Ceely, Mayor in 1625, on one occasion reported the appearance on the coast of twenty sail of English, French, Dutch, and Turkish rovers. In 1629 seven Dunkirkers were in the Channel for a month, and took twenty sail, of which four or five were Plymouthians. Most of their company were English or Scots. Perhaps this was the reason why, in April, 1639, all the Scotch ships at Plymouth were seized and the men imprisoned. The Rochellers made Plymouth their rendezvous; and it cannot be said that the Plymouth folk themselves were much better than their visitors. From 1625 to 1629 there were licensed in connection with the port no fewer than 57 privateers; while Stonehouse, Plympton, Oreston, Saltash, and Millbrook had 21 more, ranging from 330 tons to 62.

We find among the owners of the Plymouth vessels Sir James Bagge, Sir A. Hurton, Abraham Colmer, Nicholas Sherwill, John Scoble, Wm. Dolbery, James Foran, Edward Ameredith, John Smarte, Abraham Jennings, Nicholas Blake, Nicholas Harris, John Pryn, William Pryn, Jerom Roch, Henry Barnes, James Waddon, John White, John Hill, Mat. Burgins, Robt. Trelawny, Bartholomew Nicholl, Nich. Opie, David Brown, Moses Slany, Jelmer Tiebbes, Edward Cooke, Thos. Ceely, Wm. Burch, John Jope, Gabriel Greene, Peter Foran, Peter Nean, Francis Amadas, Henry Gayer, Wm. Rowe, Henry Meath, Mat. Cassemarte, Rd. Donnell, Thomas

Aumonere. Some of these, or members of their families, commanded several of the ships.

Bagge claims a passing notice. Vice-Admiral of the south of Cornwall, and holding other offices, he was the chief representative of the government at Plymouth during the earlier part of the reign of the first Charles. The creature of the favourite, one letter to him he signs as Buckingham's 'slave.' From his greed, Sir John Eliot dubbed him 'that bottomlesse Bagge.' He lived at Little Saltram. He was by no means popular; and we find him writing, in December, 1625, that he had pressed so many the country cried out and thought ill of him.

There were severe storms in 1624 and 1625. On October 4th, 1624, two Dutch and three English ships were cast away in the Sound; while in November 16th, 1625, there was a great snow, and many lives lost. 'Never such before in memory of man' in Devon. Many ships were wrecked then also.

Opening of the Siege.

The Siege of Plymouth marks an epoch of the first importance in national as well as local history.³ Foremost in defending the liberties of England in the sixteenth century, when the haughty Armada was launched against our shores, no town in the West of England—London excepted, none in the whole kingdom—did more for the defence of these same liberties in the seventeenth, when they were assailed from within. In fact, as Mr. Gardner says, there was a time when the whole fortunes of the Parliament turned on the retention of Plymouth and Hull. There are places in the West that have been besieged more often; Plymouth alone claims the proud title of a maiden town. Bristol, Exeter, Taunton, have been attacked and have fallen, again and again. Plymouth endured a siege longer and fiercer than either of theirs, and sustained it to the end.

When civil dudgeon first grew high

there were still among the elders of the borough many who had known Drake, and Hawkins, and Raleigh, and Frobisher, and Grenville, and Gilbert—some perchance who had sailed with them; many who had watched with kindling eye and

³ The chief authorities for this narrative are the Local Records, the contemporary Siege Tracts, references in contemporary newspapers (these were collected by Mr. R. Burnard, and published in the Tavistock volume—1889—of the *Transactions of the Devonshire Association*), Clarendon's *History*, Whitelock's *Memorials*, and Rushworth's *Collections*.

eager heart the haughty Spanish fleet sail by to its destruction. The half century that had passed had not after all quite tamed the spirit or quenched the energies which made Plymouth the first port in the land in days of Elizabethan glory. These only slumbered; hence the town was one of the first to declare on the Parliamentary side. Clarendon says that Plymouth

Was a rich and populous corporation, being, in time of peace, the greatest port for trade in the West; and, except Bristol, then more considerable than all the rest. There was in it a castle very strong towards the sea, with good platforms and ordnance; and little more than musquet-shot from the town was an island with a fort in it much stronger than the castle, both of which were, before the troubles, under the command of a captain with a garrison of about fifty men at the most, and were only intended for a security and defence of the town against a foreign invasion, the castle and the island together having a good command of the entrance into the harbour; but towards the land there was very little strength. This command was in the hands of Sir Jacob Ashley, and as unprovided to expect or resist an enemy as the other castles and forts of the kingdom, less for the receiving a recruit, there being only ordnance and ammunition, without any other provisions for the support of the soldiers within the walls, and the garrison itself, being by time, marriage, and trade incorporated into the town, and rather citizens than soldiers; so that Sir Jacob Ashley, being sent for to the king, before his setting up his standard, as soon as there was any apprehension of a party for the king in Cornwall, after the appearing of Sir Ralph Hopton and those other gentlemen there, the Mayor and Corporation of Plymouth quickly got both the castle and island into their own power.

The King's standard was hoisted at Nottingham on the 25th of August, 1642. It was therefore in the mayoralty of Thomas Ceely that the town declared against the King. Ceely was succeeded on Lambert Day following by Philip Francis, a man of energy and resource, one of the chief leaders of the townfolk. To him the Parliament gave the command of the castle and town, about which 'a line was cast up of earth, weak and irregular.' To Sir Alexander Carew, one of the representatives of Cornwall, and member of a Committee of Defence appointed to assist the Mayor, was given the charge of the fort and island, regarded as the key of the whole position, with a sufficient garrison.

The first attack came from Cornwall. Sir Ralph Hopton, the King's Lieutenant-General of Horse in the West, with

Sir John Berkeley and Sir Bevil Grenville, assembled a party in that county. A bill was presented against them at the Michaelmas Quarter Sessions in 1642, as 'certain persons unknown, who were lately come armed into the county against the peace'; and Sir Alexander Carew and Sir Richard Buller gathered the Parliamentary forces at Launceston to cut off their retreat. But the tables were turned. A counter bill was preferred against the Roundheads as a rout and an unlawful assembly. It was found by the Royalist grand jury, the *posse comitatus* was called out, and Carew and Buller, with their followers, driven from the county. Saltash was the last place the Parliament held. It had a garrison of 200 Scots, but Hopton soon ejected them; and the Parliament, who had thought both Cornwall and Devon in their hands, were plainly undeceived. Nor was this all. There was a constitutional principle that trained bands, or militia, could not operate out of the county in which they were raised, and at the orders of whose high sheriff they were. When, therefore, the Cornish *posse comitatus* of 3,000 foot had done its work, it was disbanded; but the Royalist leaders raised voluntary regiments, wherewith they made continual incursions into Devon, even to the walls of Plymouth and Exeter, both garrisoned against the King.

Hopton's Attacks.

Plymouth was first attempted in November and December, 1642, by Hopton, with about 2,500 horse and foot. The town was then under the command of Col. William Ruthin, or Ruthven⁴—a brave and able soldier, but deficient in caution. Like a wise captain, however, so far, he had garrisoned certain outposts, Plympton among them. Here-upon Hopton came down in such force that the Roundheads had to retire. But they did not go far. A retreat across the Plym enabled them to cover their front by that river; and the Cavaliers were too wary to attempt more. We read that on the 1st of December the garrison 'stood upon the Lary for the space of three hours facing the enemy, who attempted one charge to have drawn us to their ambuscades; but durst not with all their force, which we judge was at least 2,500 horse and foot, give in a charge upon fair ground.' So Hopton in his turn retreated upon Modbury, where,

⁴ Or Ruthyen. He had commanded the Scots ejected from Saltash, with whom he—a Scottish soldier of fortune—had been on his way to France when fortunately driven into Plymouth from stress of weather.

notwithstanding he had in the interim received reinforcements, he was on the seventh of the month surprised by Ruthin, with four troops of horse and 100 dragoons.

This determined the Parliament to carry the war into the enemy's country. The forces of Dorset and Somerset were ordered to join those of Devon, and march into Cornwall—one body under the command of Ruthin, the other under that of the Earl of Stamford, governor of Exeter, and general for the Parliament of the five Western Counties. Ruthin led the way. An attempt to force the passage of the Tamar at Saltash was repulsed with loss. He then took his forces up the eastern bank, and crossed by Tavistock Newbridge. And here Ruthin blundered. Instead of waiting for Stamford, he pushed on to Liskeard, and was utterly defeated on the 19th of January by Hopton at Braddock Down. With the remnant of his shattered army he fled to Saltash, where he hastily entrenched himself, and where, with the aid of a ship of 400 tons carrying sixteen guns, he hoped to make a stand. Hopton followed him up with vigour; and as a regiment which the Earl of Stamford had sent to Launceston fled to Plymouth, he was enabled to give his undivided attention to Saltash. The assault was made at four o'clock on the afternoon of Sunday the 22nd of January. For three hours the storm continued; and at length in the dark the town was captured, Ruthin and his principal officers escaping by boat to Plymouth. The loss of the Parliamentary troops was very great: seven score prisoners to add to the 700 taken at Braddock, arms and stores for 4,000 men, and the ship, the master of which was accused of treason in that, though hired to 'batter' Hopton, he did not do so. The Royalists claimed that they only lost one man; but this we may take leave to doubt.

Plymouth was now menaced for the second time, and far more seriously. Flushed with success, the whole of Hopton's forces sat down before it. We learn their disposition from a letter of Sir Bevil Grenville to his wife, dated Plympton, February 20th, 1642-3: 'Our Army lyes still in severall quarters. Sir Rh. Hopton, with my Lord Mohun, is upon the north side of Plimouth with two regiments; Collo. Ashbourn [Ashburnham], Sir Jo. Berk [Berkeley], and I are on the east side with two regiments; and Sir Ni. Slan [Nicholas Slanning], with Jack Trevan [Trevanion], were sent the last weeke to Modbury to possess that quarter before the enemy come, being the richest part of this countrey, whence most of our provision and victualls does come. If

it were taken from us we might be starved in our quarters.' Grenville saw no hope of taking Plymouth. It was too well supplied by sea, which the besiegers could not hinder.

One of the Civil War Tracts, *Good News from Plymouth*, dated February 20th, 1642-3, asserts that an attempt had been made to take the town by treason :

On Munday last there was a great treason found out, which is, That Sir Nicholas Slaning, being acquainted with one of the master gunners in Plymouth, sent him a letter to this effect : That if he would charge his guns with Powder and Paper, and give false fire, he would give him an hundred pounds ; this news being brought to the Mayor of Plymouth, he presently sent for this said gunner, and imprisoned him, and wrote back a letter in the gunner's name that all should be effected according to Sir Nicholas Slaning's desire ; upon which promise Sir Ralph Hopton went on and set upon one of the outworks with confidence to enter ; but Plymouth men having charged their peeces with small shot, discharged upon them, and slew 800 of their men, amongst whom Sir Ralph Hopton was one.

As Hopton was not killed in any such way, probably the whole story is apocryphal ; still, some such attempt may have been made to tamper with the garrison then, as well as at a later period.

The Battle of Modbury.

When Sir Bevil wrote, the Parliamentary forces were concentrating in the direction of Kingsbridge. They attacked the entrenched camp at Modbury four days afterwards—on the 24th February—and again won a complete victory. The Bideford and Barnstaple men led, while the London 'Gray-coats' and other troops from Plymouth assailed the Cavaliers from that direction. The Royalists were completely routed, and five pieces of ordnance, 200 arms, and 120 prisoners captured. There was taken also one Alderman Fittock, the master of the Newcastle ship which was said to have betrayed its trust at Saltash ; and it was reported, though falsely, that Slanning was among the killed. While the fight was onward at Modbury the Plymouth garrison made a sally, drove Hopton off, and slighted 'that spacious work which they called after his name.' The Cavaliers, compelled to raise the siege, fled in such haste that they left behind them three great guns and much powder.

As a result of the 'battle of Modbury,' efforts were made by the moderates in the West to conclude a treaty of peace between the two counties, and proposals were discussed by

Commissioners (whom the Corporation spent £10 in entertaining) at Mount Edgcumbe, Stonehouse, and elsewhere. An agreement was arrived at, both sides being heartily tired of the conflict, though it had but begun. The Parliament, however, would have none of the treaty, sending 'Master Prideaux and Master Nicholls' down, and hostilities soon recommenced.

About this time Sir George Chudleigh was the governor of 'Plymouth, Mountwise, and other Castles thereabouts,' having under his command 2,000 foot and 500 horse. 'Barronet Norcot,' with his regiment of about 1,200, was quartered near Roborough to hinder the passage from Cornwall by Saltash, where Sir Nicholas Slanning had 1,000 men. And so a petty border warfare was carried on, the Cornish generally having the advantage, daily stealing horses, sheep, and oxen.

In April the Earl of Stamford made another attempt to subdue Cornwall, marching thereinto all the forces at his disposal. They were utterly defeated and dispersed on the 16th of May at Stratton; and Sir George Chudleigh, who had won a partial success at Bodmin, beat a hasty retreat to Plymouth. His son James, one of the Parliamentary leaders at Stratton, was charged with treason by Stamford and joined the Royalists.

Strengthening the Defences.

After the expedition of the Cornish forces eastward, which terminated so fatally for their leaders—Sir Bevil Grenville being killed at the battle of Lansdowne, Colonel Trevanion and Sir Nicholas Slanning at the siege of Bristol, and Sidney Godolphin, the other wheel of the 'wain,' at Chagford—Plymouth was left awhile to itself. The inhabitants made the best use of their time. The *Black Book* contains 'an order made the fifth day of Julye in the sixth yeare of the raigne of our Sovereigne Lord Charles, annoque dni 1643, for the erection of a wall rounde the towne of Plymouth for the better defence and safetie of this towne agst the Enemyes nowe in armes agst the Parliament.' The order ran—'There shall be a wall with all expedition erected and Lenged [lengthened] for the better defence and safetie of this Towne agst those Enemyes that dayly threaten our s^d burrow, and that every Inhabitant of the same shall be reasonably rated and assessed for and towards the Charges and Costes of lengthening and erecting the same according to their respective estates and substance.'

There were then no Royalist forces of any strength in the

neighbourhood, but it was thought wise to be prepared for what was seen to be inevitable. According to tradition women and children aided in the work.

That the townsfolk wished to stand well with the Parliament we may glean from such an entry as this :

Itm pd for a rolle of Spannish tobacchoe sent the Speaker
of the howse of Comons assembled in Parliam^t for a
gratuitie from the Towne vj^{li} x^s

The earliest entries of expenditure in connection with the Siege are in 1642-3 :

Itm payd for makeinge a wall att Mr. Alsopp's house an
other by Dr. Wilson's howse and a third in the way
leadeinge to Totehill iiij^{li} vj^s xi^d

Itm pd for carryeinge gunnes into Mr. Fowells and Mr.
Elliotts gardens when they were mounted for y^e better
defence of the towne ag^t S^r Ralph Hopton and to
gunners y^t attended one moneth there iiij^{li}

Itm payd for Carriage of gunnes to the Town Gates and
unto the Old Towne and for Lanternes for the guardes
and for shott xxix^s ix^d

The full history of the defences will be found in the chapter on the Fortifications. It is sufficient here to say that the town was enclosed by a wall which extended from the Castle westward, northward, eastward, and southward to Sutton Pool; that there was a fort on the Hoe, with bulwarks on Drake's Island; and that along the high ground north of the town there stretched a breastwork connecting a series of redoubts. The first of these was above Lipson, east of Freedom Fields, the second at Holiwell, near the prison; the third and chief, Maudlyn Fort, near the site of the Blind Institution, where the Maudlyn House once stood; the fourth at Pennycomequick, near the head of Cobourg Street; the fifth at Eldad. There were subsequently on the same line Little Maudlyn Work, N.W. of the Maudlyn; and Little Pennycomequick Work, near the site of Houndiscombe House. This rampart covered the heads of Stonehouse and Lipson Creeks, which were easily passable there at low-water. Detached works were made at Stonehouse and Lipson Mill; at Laira Point, Mount Gould, Prince Rock, and Cattedown; and south of Cattewater at Mount Stamford and Mount Batten. The redoubts were of earth, stockaded; the breastwork merely a low earthen rampart and ditch. The sea formed a natural moat, except towards Mutley; and there lay the main strength of the defence.

Treachery.

The next attack was made about the middle of August by Col. Digby, who with 600 horse and 300 foot formed his head-quarters at Plymstock, and for five or six weeks so scoured the country that no provisions could be brought in. But the chief troubles of the town just then were internal. Sir Alexander Carew, commander of the fort and island, was discovered in communication with the King's army. Clarendon says he was in treaty with Sir John Berkeley; Rushworth, that he held intelligence with Col. Edgcumbe and Major Scawen by night. Mayor Francis, however, was a man of decision; and the evidence of a servant supplying all the proof required, Sir Alexander was apprehended and sent to London. He denied the treason, was reprieved for a while on the application of his wife, but at length was executed on Tower Hill, December 23rd, 1644. When voting for the execution of Strafford, he told Sir Bevil Grenville: 'If I were sure to be the next man that would suffer on the same scaffold with the same axe, I would give my consent to the passing of it.' It was with the same axe that he was beheaded. Among the witnesses against Carew were Francis, two ministers named Willis and Rundall, Capt. Hancock, John Deep, merchant, and Arthur Skinner. Carew's own soldiers are said to have taken him in the act of attempting to introduce Royalist soldiers into the island. Probably he was one of those who thought the conflict was being carried beyond what had been intended or needed.

A Perfect Diurnal of Some Passages in Parliament (No. 8, September 4th to 11th, 1643) narrates his apprehension thus:

Monday 4 Sep. They [the Parliament] also received notice from Plymouth that another of their members—namely, Mr. Alexander Carew, Governor of the Island, near Plymouth, that commands the Sound there—was proved an Apostate, and went about to betray that island and the town of Plymouth into the hands of the Cornish cavaliers, but was prevented by the fidelity of his honest soldiers, who upon the first discovery of his perfidious purpose seized on him, and are about sending him up to the Parliament to receive just punishment, according to his demerit; and least there should be any protraction of justice here, by reason of other business, the good women in that town, upon his first apprehending (so odious was his treachery unto them), were about to be the executioners of justice themselves, and were very hardly intreated to forbear the hanging of him in the Island. And the House of Commons, upon consultation hereof, to evidence to the

world their detestable hatred of such perfidiousness in any of their members, and to make him more capable of a speedy trial with some other of his fellow apostates by a Council of War, agreed in a vote to disable him from being any longer a member of that House, and that there should be [another member] chosen in his place.

Advance of Maurice.

Exeter surrendered to Prince Maurice on the 7th September; and Clarendon holds that if Maurice had then marched directly upon Plymouth, it would have yielded at his approach, such was the discouragement the loss of Exeter caused, and so little was the town provided to sustain an attack. Maurice resolved to take Dartmouth on his way, having all the disinclination of the old school of generals to leave even a weak enemy in his rear or on his flank; and the Parliament took advantage of the consequent month's delay to send 500 or 600 soldiers by sea from Portsmouth to Plymouth, under Col. Wardlaw—appointed commander-in-chief of the town—and Col. Gould. Passing Dartmouth, they left 100 men there, and came on to Plymouth with the remainder. This addition to the garrison made the place secure. The Mayor, according to Clarendon, was in no very good heart; while the inhabitants were afraid they would lose their trade and become only soldiers.

Wardlaw struck his first blow on the 8th October. Under cover of the night he sent 300 men over Cattewater, who fell upon and routed Digby's guard at Hooe, taking 54 prisoners, some powder, and a pair of colours, with the loss of only two men. Dartmouth soon fell, and the garrison learnt that Maurice, with his whole strength, was on the march against them. Willing while they had the chance to strike again, they made a sally against a guard at Knackers-knowle, and captured 20 or 30. The enemy rallied, were reinforced from Roborough Down, and fifteen of the garrison, who had pushed too far in advance, were captured, the only one who escaped being Major Searle, who gallantly charged through his opponents.

Fall of Mount Stamford.

The town was soon hemmed in. Maurice had five regiments of horse, and nine of foot, stationed at Plymstock, Plympton, Tamerton, Buckland Monachorum, Mount Edgcumbe, Cawsand, and elsewhere, his head-quarters conveniently placed at Widey. The garrison were deceived

by the Cavaliers bringing thirteen fishing boats overland from the Yealm into Pomphlet Creek. This was interpreted to indicate a design upon Cattedown, and the little redoubts and breastworks there were strengthened. But the besiegers knew their business better. In the night of the 21st October they raised a square work within pistol-shot of Mount Stamford, with regular approaches to cut off all relief. It cost the Stamford garrison three hours' hard fighting before the work was taken, and in it fifty prisoners, under one Captain White. The capture was garrisoned by thirty musketeers, under the command of an ensign; but in the night the enemy fell on again, and ensign and men decamped without warning the fort.⁶ Next morning there was a yet more desperate struggle. The Royalists brought up reinforcements, and it was not until the leader of the Roundheads, Captain Corbett, had been shot in the forehead as he was encouraging his men to fall on, that the coveted spot was regained. This cost the garrison twenty men killed, and over a hundred wounded beside officers, Colonel Gould among the latter. The besiegers certainly an equal number, including six commanders of rank.

The work was then destroyed, and Mount Stamford strengthened by slight outworks—a breastwork on each side, terminated by a half moon, along the ridge—which were manned as well as the smallness of the force at hand permitted. The Cavaliers gave no rest. Daily there were assaults and skirmishes; and on the third of November batteries were raised within pistol-shot of the fort, which on the fifth began to play, discharging upwards of 200 demi-cannon and whole culverin shot, beside the shot of smaller guns. These batteries completely commanded Mount Stamford, and flanked the outworks from Oreston Hill. On the first day several breaches were made in the fort, and the lieutenant and some gunners slain. The works were repaired during the night, but there were serious needs that could not be easily supplied. Provisions and ammunition alike ran short; and no reinforcements came to relieve the garrison, who had been continuously fighting for eight days. They held out under another battering until noon of the next day, Sunday. The outworks then fell to a general assault; and the captain of the fort having sustained three further attacks, having only seven serviceable men left out of thirty-six, no provisions, and very little ammunition, and having made a

⁶ This was regarded as either treachery or cowardice, and on the eighth November—a few days afterwards—the ensign was shot.

signal of distress unavailingly for two hours, during which he kept the enemy at bay, surrendered on good terms, marching off with colours flying, bag and baggage, the best gun—a demi-culverin—in the work, and exchange of prisoners. If defeated, therefore, he was not disgraced; though the townsfolk who did not come to his aid were called both faint and false-hearted.

So fell Mount Stamford—the first and only advantage gained by the Royalists during the protracted and often revived Siege. It cost nearly three weeks independent leaguer, and some scores of lives, including four or five Cavalier captains, rumour magnifying the loss of the besiegers to a thousand. While the capture did credit to the energy of the Royalists, the surrender was no discredit to its immediate defenders. The importance of Mount Stamford proved to have been monstrously exaggerated. The Royalists thought it the key to the position; and on its capture demanded the surrender of the town.

That you may see our hearty desire of a just peace, we do summon you in his Majesty's name to surrender the town, fort, and island of Plymouth, with the warlike provisions thereunto belonging, into our hands for his Majesty's use. And we do hereby assure you, upon the power devised to us from his Majesty, upon the performance of a general pardon for what is past; and engage ourselves upon our honour to secure your persons and estates from all violence and plunder. We have now acquitted ourselves on our parts; and let the blood that shall be spilt in the obtaining of these just demands (if denied by you) be your guilt. —Given under our hands at Mount Stamford the 18th day of November, A.D. 1643.—John Digby, Thomas Bassett, Peter Killigrew, John Wagstaffe, J. Treleany [Trelawny], R. Prideaux, John Arundell, Thomas Marke, William Arundell, John Downing, Thomas Stucley.

The townsfolk were seriously inclined to comply. Colonel Wardlaw was of a different mind, and seized the fort and island, determined that if the town surrendered these strengths should still be held. Strong measures were needed. The neutralists who desired surrender were no feeble folk in numbers, whatever they were in mind. Moreover, both town and garrison were very ill-provided. A letter written from Plymouth to Capt. Joseph Vaughan, a month before (October 27th), states that affairs were then all at sixes and sevens, and men and money both wanted; 1,000 men and £5,000 being of more service at that juncture than 20,000 men and £100,000 if the town were lost. Governor

Wardlaw and Mayor Cawse had to face a desperate state of affairs; and to guard against treason, ever lifting its head, care was had to certain suspected deputy-lieutenants.

The Vow and Covenant.

It was soon seen that the loss of Mount Stamford was rather a gain. Of little use as a protection to the shipping—which, because of the enemy's cannon at Oreston and Mount Edgcumbe, had to shelter in Millbay—its maintenance would have drawn too heavily on the small strength of the garrison. Moreover, very little damage was done by the Cavalier cannon at Stamford, beyond shooting off a vane of the windmill on the Hoe, which was quickly new grafted, and injuring a woman in the arm. The final result was: 'The town, which before was altogether divided and heartless in its defence, now grew to be united, with a resolution to stick by us in the defence thereof; partly out of fear, knowing that the fort and island would be goads in their sides if the town should be lost; but especially from their assurance of our intention to defend the town to the last man, by securing of those four deputy-lieutenants whom they suspected, and by the many asseverations and resolutions of the officers that they would, when they could defend the town no longer, burn it to ashes rather than the enemies of God and of His cause should possess it; which resolution of theirs they confirmed by joining in a solemn vow and covenant for the defence of the town.'

This Vow and Covenant, ordered to be taken by all, ran thus:

In the presence of Almighty God I vow and protest that I will to the utmost of my power faithfully maintain and defend the towns of Plymouth and Stonehouse, the fort and island, with all the outworks and fortifications to the same belonging, against all forces now raised against the said town, fort, and island, or any part thereof; or that shall be raised by any power or authority whatsoever, without the consent of both Houses of Parliament. Neither will I by any way or means whatsoever contrive or consent to the giving up of the said town and fortifications aforesaid, or any parcel of them, into the hands of any person or persons whatsoever, without the consent of both Houses of Parliament, or of such as are authorized thereunto by them. Neither will I raise or consent to the raising of any force or tumult, nor will I by any way or means give or yield to the giving of any advice, counsel, or intelligence, to the prejudice of the said town and fortifications, either in whole or in part, but will with all faith

fully discover to the Mayor of Plymouth, and to the Commander-in-Chief there, whatsoever design I shall know or hear of hurtful thereunto. Neither have I accepted any pardon or protection, nor will I accept any protection from the enemy. And this vow or protestation I make without any equivocation or mental reservation whatsoever, believing that I cannot be absolved from this my vow and protestation, and wishing no blessing from God on myself or my posterity if I do not sincerely and truly perform the same. So help me God.

An attempt was made when Stamford fell to retain a hold on the south of Cattewater by raising a fort upon Haw Start. Hitherto the garrison of Mount Stamford retreated, but as the townfolk would not go to their aid, and they were wearied almost to death, they came back to Plymouth. Haw Start was then fortified by the Cavaliers. On the same day Mount Stamford was taken Lipson Work was assailed, but without success: and possibly this was but a feint.

The townfolk had a solemn day of humiliation, took their vow and covenant, and, in the spirit of the Cromwellian saying, 'Put your trust in Providence, and keep your powder dry,' proceeded to complete the rampart and ditch connecting the five great outworks, which were yet in a very imperfect state. Between the 6th and the 16th of November nothing of note occurred except a foraging sally at Thornhill, which ended in the capture of Major Leyton, because, as in the assault on Knackersknowle, the party pushed forward too far. The Lipson end of the line was the first attacked. The deep valley, however, prevented the Cavaliers from raising their battery (which opened on the 18th November) near enough to do much damage.

Though the townfolk were by this time both united and determined, they were not thoroughly purged of the leaven of malignity. Three notorious 'malignants' were among them—Ellis Carteret, sailor; Henry Pike, vihtner; and Moses Collins, attorney. Carteret endeavoured to induce Roger Kemborn, chief gunner of Maudlyn Work, to blow it up. Kemborn revealed the plot, 'God not suffering his conscience to rest until he did'; and Carteret was apprehended. Pike and Collins fled to the enemy.

The 'Sabbath Day Fight.'

Sunday, the third of December, 1643, is one of the most memorable days in the history of Plymouth. Never stood the town in such peril. Its fate trembled in the balance. If trainbands and soldiers had not alike done their duty,

the Parliament would have lost its last stronghold in the West. There was a small breastwork at Laira Point, at the junction of what then was Lipson Creek with the Laira. It was an entrenched outpost with three cannon, in itself of little strength. Low tide fell during the dark hours of the morning of the third December, and Lipson Creek, save the middle channel, was dry. Guided by Pike and Collins, 400 musketeers crossed the mud, wading the stream a little below the mill; and following down the western shore under cover of the precipitous banks, surprised the guard at the Point. It then wanted three hours to sunrise. The guard gave the alarm to the garrison; and at daybreak, 150 horse and 300 musketeers fell in above Tothill to repel the attack. The ridge concealed them from the main body of the besiegers; but as they were in full view of Mount Stamford, a warning shot fired thence aroused Prince Maurice and 'all the gallantry of his army,' who immediately advanced in full strength from Compton and Egg Buckland down Lipson Valley, under cover of their ordnance and sheltered by a hedge, to the support of their forlorn hope. Speed as they would, the Roundheads were before them; and by the time they arrived, a hot conflict was onward near the Point. The besiegers' supports turned the scale. The Roundheads were outnumbered ten to one, and driven back in absolute rout for the space of three fields. So hasty was the retreat, and so hot the pursuit, that some of the Cavalier horse pushed on past the outworks to within pistol-shot of the walls, and were there either killed or taken. The bulk of the Roundheads, however, rallied on the highest point of Freedom Fields, their left flank protected by Lipson Work. Here they were reinforced from the different outworks, though the aid was small. There was great danger of assault elsewhere. Pennycomequick Work indeed was attempted without success; and few could be spared. Weak as the defenders were, they held their ground for hours of anxious expectancy, while the Cavaliers were either unable or afraid to follow up their advantage. At length they summoned Lipson Work, probably the obstacle. Their trumpet was answered by a cannon, and this shot heralded the renewal of the battle. A drake was brought up, planted in a position of vantage, and discharged several times on the enemy's horse with good effect. The field party were reinforced by a couple of hundred of the trainbands. Sixty musketeers were sent round under Mount Gould to take the enemy in the rear. Then at a signal given by the sound of drum, a

general assault was made along the whole line. The enemy gave way. Their retreat, followed up, became a rout. Down the hill they rushed pell-mell, in far too much of a hurry to choose a path; and while making their hasty way over the creek, some were killed, and still more captured. Their rear guard of cavalry, cut off, was forced into the mud in utter confusion. Many of the horses were drowned; some of the horsemen made their escape by crawling on shore. Not a few were killed by the cross-fire of the pursuing horse and foot, and of some vessels stationed at Laira Point, which had parleyed with the enemy while the issue of the day was doubtful, but when the retreat commenced became 'honest' again. These vessels in all likelihood were some just sent by Parliament to the town's relief. The repulse was complete, and Plymouth was saved. Both sides suffered heavily. The garrison, when they were driven back, lost forty-three officers and men prisoners, Captain Wansey and twelve men killed, and a hundred wounded, some mortally. The loss of the assailants was much greater. The boasting shouts of the Cavaliers, 'The town is ours,' had been answered by the hopeful cries of the garrison, 'God with us.' And when in the event, to quote the words of the old chronicler, the Lord showed himself so wonderfully in their deliverance, soldiers and townsfolk united in a solemn day of thanksgiving, proclaiming their confidence in the noble motto, 'Turris fortissima est nomen Jehovæ.' For many a year the bells of St. Andrew rang joyous peals each third of December in memory of the great mercy of this 'Sabbath-day fight.' It was indeed a great deliverance. If the Royalists had held possession of their ground that night they would have gained Cattedown. Then the garrison would have had to betake themselves to the wall; and as that was not finished, a very few hours would have settled the fate of the town. No wonder Major-General Basset called from the trenches to one of the Roundhead officers, he verily thought God fought against the Cavaliers.

Departure of Maurice.

The next three weeks were quiet, the only episode a night attack upon the small redoubt near Lipson Mill, then newly raised. On the 18th of December bombardment commenced, but with little success. To make the attack more effective, the batteries were approached so close that they were commanded by the outer earthworks; and the Cavalier gunners were beaten from their guns. A more serious danger

soon threatened. On the night of the 20th December, under cover of the darkness and the rain, aided by the carelessness of the captain at Maudlyn, who neglected his sentries, the besiegers contrived, with the help of a corner of a field, to raise a square work within pistol-shot of Maudlyn, endangering the communication with the work at Pennycomequick. At daybreak this was discovered; and, anxious to repair their neglect, the garrison at Maudlyn, threescore strong, made an attack. They found that the new work was held by a force four or five times their number, and were driven back. All the available men from the town were then brought up, both horse and foot, and at nine o'clock the attack renewed. The first assault was repulsed; at the next the assailants made a footing in the work, to be immediately driven out again. But they were not daunted. The reserves were brought into action. Again they fell on, and this time succeeded, driving the Royalists headlong before them, and being held back with difficulty from assailing their batteries. The work was destroyed. What it cost the garrison we have no means of knowing; but as nearly 100 Cavaliers were slain, the loss of the stormers must have been severe.

The effect of this blow was such—coupled with the fact that disease had broken out in the camp, the wet weather 'breeding such a rot' that the men died in great numbers, while hundreds sick and maimed were in the trenches—that on Christmas-day, the date by which Maurice said the town should be taken, the Siege was raised; the Prince as a parting shot issuing an order to the constables and tything-men of Egg Buckland and St. Budeaux against the relief of the garrison:

Forasmuch as divers persons disaffected to his Majesty's service make their daily recourse into Plymouth, furnishing the rebels there with all manner of provision for man and horse, contrary to his Majesty's proclamation prohibiting the same; these are therefore to signify that if any person, of what degree or quality soever, presume to have any commerce or dealing with any in the said town, or take or carry with him any horses, oxen, kine, or sheep, or other provision for man or horse, into the said town of Plymouth for the relief of the rebels there, every such person and persons shall be proceeded against, both in person and estate, as abettors of this horrid rebellion and contemnners of his Majesty's proclamation, according to the limitation of the Court of Wards in such cases provided: willing and requiring all mayors, justices of peace, bailiffs, constables, and all other of his Majesty's officers and ministers, to cause them to be forthwith published in all

churches, chapples, markets, and other places, whereby his Majesty's loving subjects may the better take notice thereof.—Maurice.

It was time for some relief. The privations of the inhabitants had been severe, and their death-rate had risen very high. The registers of St. Andrew, which deal only with the actual burials in the churchyard, show that in December alone, instead of the eighteen or twenty which would have been a fair average for that time of the year, there were 132. The leat was cut off. Provisions had been very scarce; and it is acknowledged with devout thankfulness, that when the poor people were grievously punished, 'there came an infinite number of pilchards¹ into the harbour within the Barbican, which the people took up with great ease in baskets, which did not only refresh them for the present, but a great deal more were taken, preserved and salted, whereby the poor got much money.' Another providential occurrence was the fact that the day after the Siege was raised, instead of earlier, part of two of the works fell down.

The trainbands had done their duty well; and perhaps it is to this period of the Siege that we must refer a tradition preserved by Mr. John Fox in his MSS.,² the death, while defending Maudlyn Work, or in Mutley fields, of a silver-smith named Smith, an ancestor of the Collier family. A relative was going up to the work with his dinner, when he or she met his body being brought back, headless, thrown across a horse like a sack. The idea of taking out dinner to the combatants may seem strange; but we have a special record of 'the great humanity of the good women of Plymouth, and their courage in bringing out strong waters and all sorts of provisions, in the midst of all our skirmishes and fights, for the refreshing of our soldiers, though many women were shot through the clothes.' The credit of the defence is not confined therefore to the sterner sex, and the pluck of the women must have helped to compensate for the scant numbers of the men.

The garrison were deficient of munitions also; but they had one piece of good fortune. When they were most pressed for money, Sampson Hele, of Fardel, came informally, without drum or trumpet, with a summons of surrender; whereupon, by way of ransom, he was 'persuaded' to yield £2,000 for the payment and clothing of the soldiers.

When Maurice left, the Siege was turned into a blockade

¹ SPRIGGE says 'mulletts,' which is much more likely.

² Now in the Proprietary Library.

under the charge of Digby. Mount Stamford was retained, but the head-quarters were at Plympton, whilst a strong force was quartered at Tavistock. Moreover, the Cavaliers of Devon and Cornwall entered into a solemn vow and protestation, to the utmost of their power to assist his Majesty's armies in reducing Plymouth.

The chief commanders of the attack during this period were—Prince Maurice, the Earls of Marlborough and Newport, Lord Mohun, Sir Thomas Hele, Sir Edmund Fortescue, Sir John Grenville, Sir Richard Caire, Sir James Cobourne, Sir John Digby, Sir Peter Courtenay, Sir William Courtenay, Lieut.-General Wagstaffe, Major-General Basset. The officers of the garrison—Colonels Wardlaw, Wm. Gould, Michael Serle; Lieut.-Colonel William Layther; Nathaniel Willis, Sergeant-Major; Captains Samuel Bersch, Gabriel Bernes, Henry Potter, William Watton, Henry Plumley, William Hill, Thomas Hughes, Robert Northcote, Thomas King, George Hamilton, William Owen, Humphry Burton, Thomas Halsey; Capt.-Lieuts. Bartholomew Henderson, James Moore; Lieuts. Philip Beaumont, Thomas Stayner, — Chaffin. Officers of the horse—Philip Francis, John White, Richard Evins, Arthur Gay, Richard Burthogg, Henry Hatsell. Captains of the town—Ellis Crymes, Philip Crocker, Robert Harvie, Christopher Martin; Christopher Crocker, Captain-Lieutenant.

In January, 1644, Wardlaw ceased to be active governor, and was succeeded by Gould. A letter from him was read to the House of Commons September 4th, 1644, in which it is stated that he had become incapacitated for service by infirmities incurred in the discharge of his duty; but in January he complained of supercession without notice.

The town had a month's peace; but peace did not mean idleness. The breathing time was employed in strengthening and repairing the old fortifications, and in adding new ones. Not only were the enemy's redoubts and batteries slighted, but the hedges immediately contiguous to the outworks destroyed. This was more important than making sallies. The soldiers sorely wanted rest: it had been a common thing for them to endure six or seven nights' duty without relief.

Blockade under Digby and Grenville.

And peace consisted only in living free from actual assault. Mount Stamford daily favoured the town with great shot, but they did little damage. Hostilities in the field

were renewed on the 26th of January, when the Cavaliers at Plympton and Buckland fell upon some scattered parties of the garrison. Major Halsey, with the Roundhead horse, pursued and attacked the enemy at Tamerton. In February and March there were various sallies, which inflicted considerable annoyance on the besiegers, but had no effective result.

In one of these, Colonel Digby was placed *hors de combat*, receiving a rapier wound in the eye, from which he never properly recovered. The conduct of the Siege thus fell into the hands of Sir Richard Grenville, of whom more anon.

A little later death deprived the garrison of Colonel William Gould, who also held the office of High Sheriff of Devon under the Parliament. The decease of this 'noble and valiant gentleman' was improved by Stephen Midhope, one of the chaplains, who, when publishing the sermon, dedicated it to Sir John Bampffield (ancestor of Lord Poltimore), then commanding in the town. There is a singular uncertainty about the date of Gould's death. One of the contemporary Siege Tracts places it on the 27th of March. The register of St. Andrew records the burial of Colonel William Gould on the 9th July. When he died, the command of the town was put into commission, being granted (it would almost seem by Colonel Wardlaw) to the Mayor, Colonel Crocker, and Lieut.-Colonel Martin, until a commander-in-chief was sent down from the Parliament; the two former subsequently transferring their authority to the last.

But this has carried us in advance of the course of events. On the 18th of March—Digby was probably wounded in a sally on the 15th—Grenville sent the following letter into the town:

For Col. Gold, together with the officers and souldiers now at the Fort, and Towne of *Plimmouth*, These

Gentlemen,

That it may not seeme strange unto you, to understand of my being engaged in his Majesties service, to come against *Plimouth* as an Enemy, I shall let you truely know the occasion thereof. It is very true, that I came from *Ireland* with a desire and intention to look after my own particular fortune in England, and not to engage myself in any kind in the unhappy difference betwixt the King and the pretindend Parliament now at *London*. But chancing to land at *Liverpooles*, the Parliament's forces there brought me to London, where I must confesse I received from both the pretended houses of Parliament great tokens of favour, and also importunate

motions to ingage me to serve them, which I civilly refused: afterwards divers honourable persons of the pretended Parliament importuned me to undertake their service for the Government and defence of *Plymouth*: unto which my answer was, that it was fit (before I ingaged my self) I should understand what meanes they could and would allow and provide for the effectuall performance of that service; upon that a Committee appointed for the West thought fit with all speede to send a present reliefe of Men and Munition to *Plymouth*, which with very great difficulty was brought thither, being the last you had; afterwards there were many meetings more of that Committee, to provide the meanes that should give *Plymouth* reliefe, and enable it to defend itself, and notwithstanding the earnest desires, and endeavours of that Committee accordingly, I protest before God, after six moneths expectation, & attendance on that Committee by me, I found no hopes or likelihood of but reasonable means for the reliefe and defence of *Plymouth*, which made me account it a lost Towne, and the reather because I being by Commission Lieut. Generall to Sir *William Waller*, had an ordinance of the Parliament for the raising of 500 horse for my Regiment at the charges of *Kent, Surry, Sussex, Hampshire*, who in 3 moneths time, had not raised 4 Troopes, and my own Troope, when I left them having 2 months pay due to them, could get but one month for which extraordinary means was used, being a favour none else could obtain, it being very true, that the Parliament's forces have all beene unpaid for many months, in such sort, that they are grown weak, both in Men and Monies, and have by only good words kept their forces from disbanding. The processe of so long time spent at *London*, made me and many others plainly see the iniquity of their policy, for I found Religion was the cloak for Rebellion, and it seemed not strange to me when I found the Protestant religion was infected with so many independants, and sectaries of infinite kinds which would not heare of a peace, but such as would be in some kind as pernicious as was the warre. The Priviledges of this Parliament I found was not to be found by any of the former, but to lay them aside and alter them as they advantaged their party. This seemed so odious to me that I resolved to lay my self, as I have done at his Ma: feete, from whence and his most just cause, no fortune, terrour, or cruelty shall make me swerve, in any kind: and to let you see also what hath formerly past, I have sent you these inclosed. Now for a farewell; I must wish, and advise you, out of the true and faithfull love and affection, I am bound to beare towards mine own Country, that you speedily consider your great charges, losses, & future dangers, by making and holding your selves enemies to his Majestie, who doth more truly desire your welfare and safety, then it seemes you doe your selves, wherefore (as yet my friends) I desire you to resolve speedily of your Propositions for peace, by which you may soone enjoy your liberties,

contents, and estates, lest on the contrary, the contrary which with a sad heart I speake, you will very soon see the effect of. Thus my affection urgeth me to impart unto you, out of the great desire I have, rather to regaine my lost old friends by love, then by force to subject them to ruine, and on that consideration I must thus conclude.

Your loving friend,

Fitzford 18 Martij. 1643. [Old style.]

Rich. Grenville.

To this the Garrison replied :

Sir,—Though your Letter meriting our highest contempt and scorne, which once we thought fit by our silence (judging it unworthy of an answer) to have testified, yet, considering that your self intends to make it publique, we offer you these lines, that the world may see what esteem we have of the man notorious for Apostacy and Trechery, & that we are ready to dispute the justice and equity of our cause in any lawfull way, whereto the enemy shall at any time challenge us. You might well have spared the giving us an account of your dissimulation with the Parliament. We were soone satisfied; and our wonder is not so great that you are now gone from us as at first, when we understood of your ingagement to us: & to tel you truth, it pleased us not so well to hear you were named to be a Governor for this place as now it doth to know you are in arms against us, we accounting our selves safer to have you an enemy abroad than a pretended friend at home, being persuaded that your principles could not afford cordiall endeavors for an honest cause. You tell us of the pretended houses of Parl. at *London*, a thred-bare scandal suckt from Aulicus, whose reward, or a Bp. blessing, you may chance to be honoured wth for your Court-service; & how they make Religion the cloak of Rebellion, a garment which we are confident your Rebellion wil never be clad with: You advise us to consider the great charges we have beene at, and the future dangers we runn our selves into, by making our selves enemies to his Majesty, who more desires our good than we our selves, & thus would have us prepare conditions for Peace. That we have bin at great charges already we are sufficiently sensible, & yet resolve that it shall not any way lessen our affections to that cause, with which God hath honoured us, by making us instruments to plead it against the malicious adversaries. If the King be our enemy, yet *Oxford* cannot prove that we have made him so. That his Majestie desires our wel-fare we can easily admit, as well as that its the mischievous Councillors so neere him who render him cruel to his most faithful subjects: & as for our proposing conditions of peace, we shall most gladly do it when it may advance the publique service; but to do it to the enemies of peace, though we have bin thereto formerly invited, yet hath it pleased the disposer of all things to preserve us from the necessity of it, & to support us against all the fury of the intruded enemy. The same God is still

our rock and refuge, under whose wings we doubt not of protection and safety, when the Seducers of a King shall die like a candle, and that name which by such courses is sought to be perpetual in honor, shall end in ignominy. For the want of money to pay the Parliaments souldiers, though it be not such as you would persuaue us, yet certain we are their treasury had now bin greater, and honest men better satisfied, but that some as unfaithful as your selfe have gone before you in betraying them both of their trust & riches. Whereas you mind us of the lost condition of our town, sure it cannot be you should be so truly persuaded of it, as they are of your personall, who subscribe themselves, and so remaine friends to the faithfull.

Grenville enclosed a book entitled the *Iniquity of the Covenant*. This was burnt in the market-place, by the hands of the common hangman, under order of the Council of War. Moreover, proclamation was made that all who had any of these books, and did not bring them forth, should be held and dealt with as enemies to the State and Town.

Colonel Martin on the Offensive.

Colonel Martin was a commander of decision and vigour. He acted upon the offensive, to prevent the enemy taking up close quarters again; but the Cavaliers, as the year wore on, gradually drew their circle narrower. The garrison must have received some reinforcements. Our only definite information is that certain of the prisoners captured took the Covenant and enlisted on the Parliamentary side; and that men from all parts came in daily, but that there was no money to pay them.

Martin's earliest movement of importance was an assault upon St. Budeaux. Hearing that 500 Cavaliers were quartered there, he sent against them 600 musketeers, with 120 horse, at the same time making a feint in the direction of Plympton, the besiegers' head-quarters. The attacking party were separated by a mistake of the guides. Nevertheless the foot fell upon St. Budeaux unobserved, captured the garrisoned church tower, and took a couple of officers and 44 other prisoners, besides powder, horse, and arms.

This was on the 16th April. On the 19th Martin beat up the enemy's quarters at 'Newbridge on the way to Plympton,' somewhere between Longbridge and Marsh Mills. Impetuous as usual, the forlorn hope, disobeying orders, fell on while the reliefs were yet a mile behind, beat the Cavaliers from hedge to hedge, and captured a breastwork in advance of the bridge; but at length, their powder being spent, they had to

retire before the main strength of the enemy, two men only being wounded.

On the 21st of April an attack was made from Prince Rock upon the Cavalier guard at Pomphlet Mill, and prisoners and provisions brought in. This was but a small affair.

On the 11th of May a more formidable expedition attacked the enemy at Jump (now Roborough), then called 'the Jump,' or 'Trenaman's Jump.' This sortie issued from Hopton's Work—probably an old fortification of the besiegers, opposite Maudlyn. It consisted of 1,000 foot and 100 horse, 400 musketeers and 25 horse 'making good the wayes about Compton' to prevent a flank attack. The enemy were beaten out of their quarters, and 100 brought back prisoners, despite attempts at rescue.

Colonel Martin next turned his attention westward. The *Mercurius Rusticus* contains a statement under date May 12th: 'The rebels from Plymouth assaulted Mount Edgcombe House in Cornwall (which was only defended by thirty musketeers), were bravely repulsed, and eighty of them killed in the place.' While there is evidently some exaggeration in the roll of the slain, there is little doubt this action really took place three days later—on the 15th of the month, when Colonel Martin sent Captain Haynes with 300 men from Cremill (now Devil's) Point to Mount Edgcombe, himself following with twenty horse when the passage was open. On his arrival he despatched the following summons to Mount Edgcombe, but without effect:

To prevente the Efusyon of Chrystian Blood I doe heerbye
Require y^a ymediately to deliver Mount edgcombe house unto
mee for ye use of the Kinge & Parliamt And y^a shall have fayre
quarter wh^{ch} if y^a shall Refuse I have acquitted myselfe from
the guilte of the Blood w^{ch} may be spilte in obtayninge my just
desire
Robt Marten

Passage 15 May 1644

To the Governour of
Mount Edgcomb House: these.

The landing was effected at the Warren, near the Old Blockhouse yet standing in the gardens. Here had been mounted three small guns, which used greatly to annoy the boats going to Stonehouse. These were captured at the outset, the gunners retreating to the house. Finding that his summons produced no result, Martin left a party to watch the garrison, and pressed onward. Maker Church tower was assaulted and taken, and therein a barrel of

powder. A fort at Cawsand was surrendered; Millbrook, entrenched and garrisoned by 250 men, was carried with the capture of cannons, prisoners, and cattle. A fort at Inceworth was abandoned on the approach of the victorious Roundheads. But the posts could not be held. The Cavaliers came down in force from their head-quarters on the Cornish side, at Saltash; and so Colonel Martin retreated with his booty, and 200 prisoners. On the road he assaulted Mount Edgumbe, but was repulsed. The banqueting-hall and the out-offices were burnt, but the main building, being of stone, was not to be dealt with in that summary way. According to Col. Martin, the casualties in this affair were very slight; not a tithe of the eighty slain by the writer in *Mercurius Aulicus*. When the sortie returned it was learnt that the besiegers had attacked the outworks with 1,000 horse and foot, and been beaten back.

On the 22nd of the same month Warleigh House was assailed, and fifty horses taken. This was not effected without loss; for the party were considerably harassed in their return.

There were other sorties. Whitelock mentions one in which forty prisoners, with horses, arms, and ammunition, were taken; another, wherein the garrison issued forth two miles, and captured nine guns, 150 prisoners, 100 cows, and 500 sheep; a third, whence forty horses and prisoners were brought in; a fourth, resulting in 100 prisoners; and a fifth, towards Newbridge, in which fifty horses were captured, Capt. Arundel and other inferior officers, and many soldiers slain. How far these are to be identified with the forays already detailed we cannot say; but in all likelihood some are duplicate versions of the same events. Arundel, who was son of the gallant Governor of Pendennis, familiarly called 'Old Tilbury' and 'John for the King,' was shot dead in the entrenchments by Capt. Braddon.⁶

There were still troubles within the walls. A feminine malignant and traitor was detected holding correspondence with the enemy, and committed to the Castle. The articles against her were that she sent suits of apparel to the renegadoes Pike and Collins; that she discovered to the

⁶ James Hals, of Efford, was Lieut.-Colonel in Colonel Boscawen's regiment defending Plymouth. He was captured in a sortie, and sent prisoner to Lydford. Here some of his fellow-officers—Leach, Morris, and Brabyn [Brabant?—were executed without trial for high treason by Grenville. Hals was spared, but kept in prison until, twenty months afterwards, Essex in his march into the West set the prisoners free. While in prison, Browne gave him a copy of his *Lydford Law* 'for his diversion.' (HALS'S *Cornwall*.)

enemy the quantity of powder in the town; that she invited the enemy to assault it; and that she desired a Cavalier, Major Harris, to quarter in her house when the town was taken, informing him moreover that the Protestant religion in Plymouth was decayed and breathing its last gasp. There was another 'virago,' but she was allowed to 'sleep for a while that her shame and doom might be the heavier.'

The *Weekly Account* of July 30th, 1644, states that Plymouth was well supplied with provisions: beef, 2½d. per lb.; cheese, coal, and meal, cheaper than in London. From another source, however, we learn there was great distress. The chief wants were of money and river-water, (though there were plenty of wells), and water to drive the mills.

Col. Gould had been an officer of the most approved Puritan type, purging 'the forces from swearers, drunkards, and abominable livers, causing the town and garrison to be very careful in observing the Lord's-day and days of humiliation, and to be frequently present at the ordinances of the Lord of hosts.' Col. Martin followed in his footsteps. So far as actual warfare went, he was the most energetic and daring commander the town had. 'Tough Old Plymouth' was now the only place in Devon and Cornwall that adhered to the Parliament. Save Plymouth, Poole, and Lyme, the whole of the West of England was in Royalist hands. Like his predecessors, Wardlaw and Gould, Martin succumbed to the service. The burial of Lieut.-Colonel Martyn is recorded in the register of St. Andrew for October, 1644. Col. Kerr was the next commander. On his arrival, June 14, he was entertained by the garrison and whole town with very great expressions of love and joy. Martin, however, was still at the head of affairs when, early in July, there was another unsuccessful assault.

Essex's Unlucky March West.

On the 1st of this month an ordinance of the Lords and Commons appointed Commissioners for the Western Counties for raising moneys for the maintenance of the army and garrisons there, and for other purposes. The chief care of this committee was the supply of Plymouth. At the head of the Commissioners for Cornwall was John Lord Robartes (ancestor of Lord Robartes); and it was at his desire that Essex made his unfortunate march into the West, Robartes believing and arguing that in this way great assistance would be obtained in his own county. Plymouth was greatly

encouraged by the news of the Lord General's approach. As he drew near, Grenville, who had now only 500 foot and 300 horse, retreated on Tavistock, abandoning all his positions. At Fort Stamford four guns were taken, and at Plympton eight; whilst at Saltash and a 'great fort'—wherever that may have been—there were found more cannon and many arms. Essex, strengthened by 2,500 men from Plymouth, where he only left Colonel Harvey's horse, marched on into Cornwall by Newbridge. Grenville's house at Fitzford was assaulted on the 23rd July, 150 prisoners made, and £3,000 worth of pillage taken. On the 26th the passage at Newbridge was forced, Essex losing 40 men against Grenville's 400. Captain Reynolds's Plymouth horse are recorded to have charged bravely. It does not add to our estimate of Grenville's qualities as a soldier, or to our opinion of his men, that Essex was able to effect the passage so easily. The sides of the gorge of the Tamar at Gunnislake are exceedingly steep, even precipitous, the river deep: and Grenville's force, if small, ought to have inflicted great loss on the assailants.

At this time some of the Parliamentary fleet were at Plymouth, as appears from the following correspondence, for which, with the summons of surrender already cited, we are indebted to the Earl of Mount Edgcumbe, among whose family muniments the originals are:

Robert Earle of Warwicke, Lord High Admiral of England, Ireland, and Wales, and Captain-Generall of his Ma^{ties} Seas and Navy Royall.

To ye Commander-in-Chiefe of Mount Edgcomb,—I doe hereby sommon you, in the name of the King and Parliament, forthwth to render to mee Mount Edgcomb, now in yo^r keeping, for the use of his Ma^{tie} and ye Parliam^t wth all things in it. Els you you may expect the rigour of warre, I being resolved otherwise to enforce yo^r speedy obedience. You are to retorne mee yo^r answers by this Bearer, my Lieutenant. Warwicke.

Aboord his Mat.^s ship the *James*, in Plimouth Sound, 30 July, 1644.

The answer is as follows:

Noble Earle of Warwicke,—Wheras you have sumoned me, in the name of the King and Parliament, to Render unto yo^r Lord^{sh} the Howse Mountedgcombe; may y^t please yo^r Honner, I am heere intrusted to keepe the Howse for my Master, Coll^{ll} Edgcombe, till his returne: to whom, as I conceive, itt doth justly belonge.

Your Humble Servant, Henry Bourne.

Mountedgcombe, July the 30th, 1644.

There is no need to recall the details of the disaster that befell Essex; the greatest blow the Parliament had received. The King and Prince Maurice marched after him. Richard Symonds, a Cavalier who was with the King, states that their joint armies mustered 10,000 foot, 5,000 horse, and 28 pieces of cannon. Essex was hemmed in at Boconnoc, the scene of Ruthin's disaster. Sir William Balfour, with 2,300 horse, broke through the investing line, and reached Plymouth by Saltash; Skippon, with the foot, including the Plymouth contingent, surrendered. Essex, with Lord Robartes, Sir John Merrick, and a few others, escaped from Fowey in a small vessel, contemptuously termed a cock-boat by the Cavaliers, to Plymouth.

Charles before Plymouth.

Every preparation was made at Plymouth to resist the coming attack of the Royalists, flushed with victory. Fortunately some supplies had been received which were originally intended for Gloucester. The breathing-time was brief. Skippon surrendered on the 1st September; by the 5th the King, with Maurice and Grenville, were at Tavistock, whence the latter sent a trumpeter summoning the town to surrender. The trumpeter, who according to Symonds 'was abused and imprisoned,' did not return until the next day, and then only with the message that the answer should be sent by one of the Roundhead drummers. All we know of this answer is that it was in the negative. On the 9th of the month (Monday) the army marched to Roborough, where they camped, and whence Sir John Campsfield, with the Queen's regiment of horse, was sent to demonstrate against the stubborn town; the result being that when he returned the rebel horse followed him at a less respectful distance than was convenient. So on the Tuesday the army marched upon Plymouth, with drums beating and colours flying, and making, no doubt, a very gallant show in the eyes of the expectant Roundheads as they poured down, 15,000 strong, over the slopes of Mannamead and Compton. Still the garrison were not moved by the spectacle; and the march had to be made under 'mercy of the enemy's cannon,' which played upon the Cavaliers as they advanced, taking cover of the hedges. But they, too, were not easily to be daunted. The twenty-eight great guns were brought, and planted within half cannon-shot of the outworks, and the battle began in earnest.

Next day the King resorted to negotiation. His headquarters were at Yeoman Heale's, at Widey. Charles tried every means that ingenuity could suggest to obtain possession of the town—force, persuasion, treachery, bribes, blandishments. Plymouth was proof against them all. Well that it should be. It is not claiming too much for the fame of the good old town to say that, if it had been less staunch and true the entire complexion of the Civil War might have changed. The whole of the West and South of England would have been at the mercy of the Royalists; and if this had not caused events to take a different turn, it would beyond doubt have greatly prolonged the struggle. But Plymouth was true; and while it remained loyal to liberty it absorbed the energies of a Royalist army.

Charles in his summons of surrender, set forth :

That God having given him a great victory, yet as his desire was to reduce his people by acts of grace and clemency, so he is desirous of setting a special mark of favour on his town of Plymouth, and doth therefore require them to surrender up the town, assuring them, on the word of a king, that they shall enjoy all their wonted privileges, and have no other garrisons put upon them than what they had in the most peaceful times; viz, in the fort and in the island; promising pardon to all townsmen and soldiers for what was past; entertaining such as shall be willing in his service; and requiring their speedy answer.

The answer was not very speedy; for the trumpeter did not return until a drummer was sent after him, and then not until the next day, with a hint that if he came again he would be hung; but if not speedy, it was decided—'Never.'

Lord Digby made a private appeal to Lord Robartes, appointed Governor on the 11th September, offering him preferment and honour if he would betray his trust. To this the same answer was returned.

The next appeal was to arms. The 'gallant spirits of Plymouth' had 'shut up their shops' and 'betook themselves to the workes to stand it out to the last.' They were none too soon. That same day, the Cavaliers made a desperate attack on the western line of defence by Stonehouse and Pennycomequick, but were repulsed with great loss; the sailors of the fleet then lying in Cattewater being especially notable for their gallantry. According to Symonds, on the Saturday night 'our souldjers gave the enemy strong alarmes, and cryd, "Fall on," "Fall on the enemy," shott thousands of musket and many pieces of cannon as was the severall

night before.' But this did no good; and in the morning, between six and seven, the armies of the King and Maurice marched away. Symonds records with evident chagrin that the 'rogues followed the reare, commanded by Lord Northampton; little or no hurt, onely the basest of language,' This was even more aggravating than hard blows. To lose was bad enough; to be abused and ridiculed far worse. It was the King's custom daily to demonstrate with his chief officers and guards at Mannamead. Daily was he received with a shotted salute from the guns at Maudlyni; and the townsfolk with grim humour dubbed the site of these idle vauntings—'Vapouring Hill.' After the King left, forty prisoners of quality were sent from Plymouth to London.

These were very perilous times. Essex, who before his defeat had spoken of Plymouth as 'a place of as great concernment as any in the kingdom next to London,' in his letter from Plymouth of September third announcing his defeat says: 'I have taken the best care I can to secure this towne, but without a present supply of men and monie it will be in great danger.' On the 18th August the Earl of Warwick had written that the garrison was only 800 strong beside the burgesses, and that there were four miles of line to defend, with 150 cannon. 'If this town be lost all the West is in danger.' The Mayor and Governor were quarrelling, the soldiers wanted pay, and the townsfolk were not very forward. Robartes declared the soldiers low in courage and loud in complaints; many of the inhabitants cold and weary of the two years' siege. When the King attacked there were 2,500 foot and 400 horse in the garrison besides the townsmen; and Essex was told that his army must wait until Plymouth was supplied.

Sir Richard Grenville in Charge.

The Siege being raised, a blockade was substituted under Grenville, who was made General of the King's forces in Devon and Cornwall, with special charge of Plymouth. According to Clarendon, Grenville promised to take the town before Christmas; and to that end to raise and pay an army of 6,000 foot and 1,200 horse. That he might have the means to do this, there were allotted to him half the Royalist contributions of Devon, over £1,100 weekly; the whole of those of Cornwall, about £700; and arrears of near £6,000.

Richard Grenville was utterly unlike his brother Bevil. He was grievously hated by the Roundheads, equally for his

cruelty, and his cool and deliberate treachery to the Parliamentary cause. Brave and a good disciplinarian; he was charged with misapplying the moneys granted him for the maintenance of his army, and with being chiefly diligent in seizing the estates of partisans of the Parliament for his own individual benefit. 'Though he suffered not his soldiers to plunder, he was in truth himself the greatest plunderer of this war.' And so he was cruel, even malignant, in his disposition. He brought no good character from the Irish wars; and to keep his hand in, would now and then hang a constable; while his minor acts of oppression were countless. He met four or five soldiers of Plymouth garrison coming out of a wood with faggots, and made one hang the rest to save his own life, which, says the historian, 'he was contented to do.' He caught an unfortunate solicitor—Francis Brabant, of Breage—who had acted for his wife in a lawsuit, and hung him as a spy.

And now we come to an incident which set Grenville and Robartes (Ricraft's 'most noble religious and pious lord') in such deadly antagonism, that thereafter, while they commanded, no quarter was given. When the blockade was first left in Grenville's charge, his chief endeavour was to stop the supplies, and many skirmishes necessarily resulted. Lord Lansdowne states that in some such affair, wherein prisoners were taken on both sides, a young gentleman about sixteen, near kinsman to Grenville [probably a natural son], fell into the hands of the garrison; that Sir Richard wanted to ransom or exchange him, but that Robartes hung him at one of the town gates without other reply. Such is Lord Lansdowne's explanation of the passage in Clarendon, that a message passed between Grenville and Robartes, which kindled such furious resentment between them that all who fell into their hands afterwards on both sides were put to death by the sword or, what was worse, by the halter. And if Lansdowne's story were true, we need not wonder at what followed; the act would have been base and cruel—worthy of Grenville himself.

But there is a very different version of the affair. Whitelock's account is that young Grenville was a cousin of Sir Richard's, and was persuaded into a plot to betray Plymouth to him, but discovered and executed. Rushworth adds that this Grenville offered Col. Serle, then second in command, £3,000 to betray his trust, and was executed on the 24th September accordingly. And however we may lament the fate of this unfortunate young man, if he obtained entrance

into Plymouth to effect such an object, by all the rules of war his life was forfeit.

There were not many incidents of importance during the remainder of 1644. Grenville took up his head-quarters at Buckland Monachorum, and busied himself chiefly in looking after his own interests, receiving the money allowed, but not raising the force agreed. On the fourth October a party from Plymouth took Saltash, after a short encounter; on the fifth a boat party captured Millbrook and the fort at Inceworth. This roused Grenville. He drove the Round-heads out of Millbrook, killing 40, and taking 33 prisoners. Saltash cost more time and life. It had a garrison of 500. Of these, 200 were killed in the assault; the other 300 refused quarter, were taken prisoners, and Grenville wrote to the king that he intended to hang them. Possibly he did; but there is no further record of their fate. That was on the 11th October.

The Committee of Defence.

This brings us to the year 1645. There is among the archives of the Corporation a valuable document, which relates to the proceedings of the defenders of Plymouth during this year, and contains a store of detailed information. This document is the account of the expenditure of the Committee of Defence, who included Col. Christopher Savery, Francis Godolphin,⁷ Justinian Peard (the Mayor), Thomas Ceely (Mayor in 1641-2), John Cawse (Mayor in 1636-37 and 1643-44), and on the death of the latter, Robert Gubbes (Mayor in 1650-51). Sir John Bampfylde, Col. Kerr, Col. Crocker, and John Beare, acted also, and the treasurer was Timothy Alsop, Mayor in 1648-49, and twice elected representative of the town under the Commonwealth. The Mayor was the chief of the Committee, which acted at first under the authority of Lord Robartes, who continued Governor until May, when he was removed, in spite of a petition for his retention, by virtue of the Self-denying Ordinance, and the government vested in the Committee of five, Col. Kerr having the military command. The Committee had powers to execute martial law. Sir John Bampfylde was Governor for some little while.

⁷ This was Francis Godolphin, of Treveneage, Cornwall, the father-in-law of John St. Aubyn, ancestor of Lord St. Levan, himself a colonel of horse in the garrison, while his brother Thomas was colonel on the other side. Sir Francis Godolphin, the head of the Godolphin family, and all his sons, were staunch Royalists.

The records of the appointment of the Committee were copied into the book of accounts by Henry Rexford, clerk :

Whereas Sr John Bampfilde, appointed by ye Comittee of the West to be one of those whoe should distribute the last 2,000 sent for the vse of this garrison and other puisons expressed by theire last Lres, refuseth to attend the saide service, And whereas Collonell Kerre, one other named by ye said Comittee to attend y^e service, excuseth himselfe in respect of other employm^t; and whereas the necessitie of this garrison requireth y^e speedie performance of this service; I doe therefore appointe Collonell Christopher Savery, Harcourt Leyton, one of y^e Com^{rs} of Parliam^t, Mr John Cawse, & M^r Thomas Ceely to sett wth, joyne, and to be assistant vnto Justinian Peard, now Maior of Plymouth, and Francis Goodolphin, esq^r, two of ye psons named for y^e said service and for their soe doeinge this shalbee their warnt.

Dated y^e 19 day of Febr. 1644 [1645].

J. Roberta.

Whereas Mr. Cawse is deceased, and there is required for the despatch of this garrison one other to supply his place, I haue appointed M^r. Robert Gubbes of this Towne to attend y^e Maior, & joine wth and assiste for the prnte service.

Dated the 25 of March, 1645.

J. Roberta.

In these appointments Robartes acted on behalf of the Committee of the West, of which he was a leading member, as well as in the capacity of Governor of the town.

The first entries refer to the payment of £1,805 16s. for the Kentish regiment of Colonel John Birch from October 29th, which the Committee of Kent had to repay; but the regular account does not commence until February, 1645 [1644 old style]. From the 15th February to the 3rd March the sum total sent up was £2,135 4s. 2d. The chief item of expenditure was for the weekly pay of the officers and soldiers of the garrison. This passed chiefly through the hands of Commissary Slade; and there was another commissary, named Clapp. The first entry under this head, on the 17th February, is for £459 18s.; but the amount gradually and largely increased, indicating that as the year went on the garrison was considerably strengthened. In the last week of December the amount thus paid was £723 3s. 2d.; and in January, 1646, it reached its highest mark, £734 19s. 8d. These payments did not include the cost of maintaining the guards at the town walls and the outworks. Their pay was handed over fortnightly—sometimes, when money ran short, once in three weeks—to the officers in command. The first entry under this head, also in February, amounts to £134 18s. 6d., which includes the cost

of coals and candle-light. The outworks were dismal places in the winter nights; and the soldiers would have fared badly without fires. Candle-light was an absolute necessity. The fact that the pay for 'ye commanders and gunners of ye outworkes and wall' was handed over to the officer in command, has preserved the names of those who at different times occupied that honourable post. The amount paid per week ranged from about £70—£69 6s. 6d. is given in one week in March, and £72 18s. 11d. in another—down to a little over £50. There is an entry in December that Captain Walters had £113 11s. for two weeks' payment of the commanders, gunners, and seamen of the outworks, 'shippes in Lary,' and redoubts on the town wall. The variation in amount is easily accounted for, since the number of men on guard would depend mainly on the activity or inactivity of the enemy. What the ships in Laira were there is no record; but there are entries of payments made to the masters of vessels named the *Welfare*, *Diana Hopewell*, *Elizabeth and Susan*, *Hampton*, *Hopewell of Plymouth*, *Dymond*, *Endeavour*, and *Amity of Plymouth*, employed in the public service in various ways, the latter in May at Laira Point. Governor Kerr received £8 a week towards his housekeeping—something akin to the modern table allowance.

Gunners in the outworks were paid at the rate of 7s. a week. The chaplains of the garrison were not neglected. April 9th, 'Paid Mr. Stephen Midhope minister for his labour in ye ministry w^hin this garrison the summ of £5.' Francis Porter, afterwards the first minister of Charles Church, had for his ministry a like sum; J. Wills also £5, and George Shugge £10. Abraham Cheere, the first recorded pastor of the Baptist Church of Plymouth, who served in the trainbands as a full private, was 'for some few weeks, unknown to him and against his will, mustered a chaplain to the fort, but quickly got himself discharged of that again.' His name does not appear in the accounts.

The Committee had in charge the whole question of supply. There are records of payment for boots, biscuit, beer, forage, and various articles of clothing. At times funds ran short, and then they borrowed from all who were willing to lend until fresh supplies arrived. And they were practically grateful for the relief of their necessities. On the 20th of December, Captain Somester had £5 'for his paines in bringing down money for the supply of the garrison.' It must have been a great slice of luck when, on 20th November, 1645, the Earl of Warwick brought in a

barque laden with kerseys for clothing the King's soldiers, which he had taken.

Very quaint is the methodical way in which the Plymouthians managed the defence. The accounts abound with entries of payments for masons' and carpenters' work on the wall and at the outworks, which seems to have been treated quite as a matter of ordinary business. Parts of the wall were battered down, or a weak point in the outer line of defence would need palisading. The Committee sent their orders to their tradesmen, and they went and did the work—to all appearance, much in the same way as they would have followed out the ordinary details of their occupation—coming up for their pay with exemplary regularity. These old Puritan folk took a lesson from the builders of the wall of Jerusalem under Nehemiah. 'They which builded on the wall, and they that bare burdens, with those that laded, every one with one of his hands wrought in the work, and with the other hand held a weapon. For the builders, every one had his sword girded by his side, and so builded.' All this illustrates with singular force the matter-of-fact earnestness and straightforward simplicity of character which characterised these rugged Roundheads, and in the end won them a victory at first very doubtful.

There was an active business carried on in horse stealing. The chief supplies of horses for the garrison were obtained by levying requisitions on the besiegers. This was profitable, because the Committee regularly paid for all such captures. In April we find, 'Item: P^d Cornett Rolles for ye horses taken by him from ye enemye yesterday, four of which were lifted in Collo Sentaubyn's troope for ye service, and ye other imployed for ye publike service in ye garrison, £4 10s.' Horse lifting flourished with the greatest vigour towards the end of the year, and the reward dropped from £1 to 10s. Land was rented of Ambrose Diggins at Cattedowne for keeping the troop horses by night.

To return to our narrative. When 1644 closed the besieged were in a much better position than when Charles made his unsuccessful assault. The interim had been well spent in strengthening the defences, which Grenville, although he scoured the country and kept up an aggravating blockade, did little to prevent. It is evident, from the entries in the account-book, that the line of defence was considerably more extended than it had been twelve months before, though its general features remained the same. Half-moons had been added to the defences, at least of Gasking

and of East Gates; the chain of earthworks and their communications strengthened, and the former palisaded; the detached redoubts made more formidable, and others added. The ground held now extended from Mount Batten on one side to Mount Wise on the other. There is no evidence that at Mount Wise there was more than a guard; but at Batten a fort of formidable character was reared. Mount Stamford remained as left when slighted by the garrison after the advance of Essex.

General Assault.

Grenville at length resolved to do something to justify his proud title of King's General in the West. In January he collected a force of 6,000, and made a desperate assault upon the outworks. He attacked them at four different points—Lipson, Holiwell, Maudlyn, and Pennycomequick Works. For a time the fate of the town appeared to tremble in the balance. He is said to have taken three of the works, and to have turned their guns against the town. Robartes, however, credits him with only capturing one; and probably the solution of the contradiction is that he gained at first a footing along the line, but was able to make it good at one point only. This would be either Pennycomequick or Maudlyn. But even that modicum of success was evanescent.

With the loss of 300 men slain, 75 of whom were left dead around the batteries, and many hundreds wounded, Grenville was thus beaten off at every point save one. The captured work was then stormed on all sides by the Plymouth men, who behaved with extraordinary gallantry, and speedily carried, all within being either killed or taken prisoners; those who did not fall eventually surrendering upon quarter. The intelligence of this success was very welcome to the House of Commons, and care was at once taken for the supply of the garrison. The city of London petitioned that due regard should be had to the necessities of the town. Moreover, news came that Grenville, under discontent, had pistolled Col. Champernowne and his brother.

After this bout the town wall and outworks stood greatly in need of repairs, which were at once executed. Grenville's next movement was upon the other side of Cattewater. In the night of the 17th February his troops cleverly effected a lodgment among the ruins of Mount Stamford, and raised a breastwork of faggots twelve feet thick, which they intended to complete on the following night. The garrison had not expected this. But their measures were soon matured. The

little force at Mount Batten was strengthened at noon by a party of horse and foot; the latter partly seamen, under the command of Capt. Swanley, who had just relieved Plymouth, and landed a body of soldiers. A feint sally was made from Pennycomequick, which kept the main body of the besiegers engaged. And then, under cover of the fire of sixty guns from the ships and forts, which 'beat up the dust about the Cavies ears,' the new Fort Stamford was attacked and carried. The Cavaliers were driven from the field and pursued two miles. Twelve officers, including a lieutenant-colonel, a major, and four captains, with ninety-two soldiers, were captured; and in the new work were found 300 arms, and good store of mattocks, shovels, and faggots. Only one of the attacking party was slain, and that by accident. There is an entry that £6 worth of biscuit was supplied by Thomas Bowden, on the 18th February, for the soldiers in fight with the enemy at Batten.

We know very little about the conduct of the Siege for the next few months. No general attack appears to have been made; but the garrison did not relax their efforts to improve the defences. Little Maudlyn and Little Pennycomequick Works were erected, additional fortifications raised at Lower Lipson, and a new redoubt thrown up at Mount Gould, which took its name from the dead colonel. Considerable sums were spent in palisading the whole line of ditch and rampart.

Grenville was meantime engaged at the siege of Taunton, where he was dangerously wounded in the thigh. He left scarce 2,000 foot and 400 horse before Plymouth. Indeed it does not seem that from the date of the fight at Mount Stamford the town was in any serious danger, although continually harassed. The sending away of the Kentish regiment proves this. In June, Sir John Berkeley was placed in command of the Siege, but failed to do more than his predecessor, and never attempted to go beyond a blockade. It is questionable whether at this time the garrison were not the stronger party of the two. There had been a continual drain on the resources of the Royalists, promoted by the action of Grenville, and many of the King's soldiers had deserted to the Parliament, who were taking abundant care for the needs of the besieged. An ordinance passed in March to raise one per cent. for the supply of the town and the recruiting of the Kentish regiment. There was another order for money in May; and in October it was reported that Plymouth, though beleaguered, was in no want. Yet the

straits of the Committee had been so severe, that in the early part of the year they had to borrow at three several times from their friends, and even then were only able to pay some of their debts in coals at the rate of £1 a quarter. Autumn, however, found the townsfolk not only in good circumstances, but in good spirits. They felt secure themselves. They were cheered by the tidings of success elsewhere. To the bearer of the tidings of the great victory at Naseby they gave a silver tankard, thus recorded :

Paid Johane Chandler widdow for a silver tankard weighing 12 ounces given a gentleman y^e brought the intelligence of y^e defeateinge y^e King's army by Sir Thomas Fairefaxe £3 9.

Digby's Appeal.

In September Sir John Berkeley was succeeded by General Digby; and subsequently Col. Welden, who had been engaged with Fairfax at the siege of Bristol, and had at one time conducted the defence of Taunton, was appointed Governor of Plymouth. Mount Batten takes its name from Captain, afterwards Admiral Batten, made by Parliament Governor of Batten's Tower and Batten's Mount a little earlier. It does not appear as if Welden's appointment took immediate effect; for Kerr continued in command until the following January. Digby was not more active than his predecessors, and confined himself to the blockade until December. He then did make an effort to take the town. But it was by treachery. Whitelock states that the agent was hanged, by martial law. This can hardly have been the case, unless Digby tried twice. The only attempt of which we have any information is that recounted in the following correspondence between Digby and Kerr :

Sir,—I am troubled to understand, that through the ingratitude of those you serve you are likely to be rewarded with the dishonour of having a person of much inferior merit put over your head, an injury insupportable to any man of spirit, and which may offer you a justifiable occasion of doing a very eminent service to your Native King and Country; and which if you will embrace to deliver up the Town with the works of Plimouth, I shall engage myself on my honour and the faith of a gentleman, you shall be rewarded with ten thousand pounds, and have the command if you please of a Regiment of 500 Horse, with what honour yourself can desire. Sir, be not scrupulous in taking the advice of an enemy that desires heartily on these terms to become your true friend and faithful servant,

For Col. Ker, Governor of Plimouth.

Jo. Digby.

30 Decem.

Sir,—Your motion to Treason I have seen, and detest it; it is below my spirit for personal injury (supposed only by an enemy) to take national revenge, and for a Punctillio of honour to take advice from Hell, and betray my trust. I am sorry that one so ingenious as your self should abuse your natural parts only to do mischief. Yet I have no reason to wonder much at your persuasion to treacherie, because I have had the experience of the indeavours of your Family to corrupt others also. I remember the Gunpowder Plot,⁸ the letter which your brother writ to the Lord Roberts in this place for the same purpose; and his Negotiation with General Brown at Abington. Surely these Principles came from Spain; but you should have told me also that Spanish proverb, To love the Treason, and hate the Traytor, &c.

Your assured servant,

20 Dec.

James Kor.

Final Incidents of the Leaguer.

The work of strengthening the defences still continued. So late as December we find the platforms on the earthworks kept efficient; and even in the following month there was a payment of £42 19s. 2d. for building a new guard-house and repairing the town wall at Frankfort.

After this period of quiescence the first move was made by the garrison resuming the offensive. The besiegers had a small redoubt at Kinterbury. This was assailed on the 27th December and easily taken, with 17 prisoners and store of arms and ammunition. From Kinterbury the Roundheads marched to St. Budeaux, where the church and tower had again been turned into a garrison. After an hour and a half's hard fighting the church was captured, and in it Major Stucley, 20 other officers, and 100 soldiers. Another account puts the number of prisoners at 92, including 55 horse; arms and ammunition likewise fell into the hands of the victors. Ten of the defenders were killed, and seven of the Roundheads, with Major Haynes, the officer of highest rank slain, so far as we know, on the side of the besieged during the whole of the operations.

Buckland Abbey was next stormed, and 100 prisoners taken; while five pieces of ordnance were captured at Saltash. The last entry of actual operations in connection with the siege is on the 5th January, a payment of soldiers 'ymployed in ye raisinge of fortificacions against Forte Arundell on ysueinge forth of the fources of ye garrison on Saturday last.'

The advance of Fairfax from Exeter to Totnes put an end

⁸ Sir Everard Digby was one of the conspirators.

to the Siege in name—it had for some time ceased to exist in fact—and on the 18th January it was finally raised, the Royalists decamping in such a hurry that they left guns, arms, and ammunition behind. Fairfax and Cromwell visited Plymouth March 25th, and viewed the fort and works—‘The Governor and the Towne entertaining the General very honourably, three hundred pieces of ordnance discharged to welcome him thither.’

There were still two Royalist garrisons in the neighbourhood—Mount Edgcumbe and Ince House. For the surrender of the former, Fairfax offered good terms. If Col. Edgcumbe would

disgarrison his house, lay down arms, and perswade those of the Cornish in whome hee hath good interest to sitt down and submitt to all orders and ordinances of Parlamnt, in that case I doe undertake that his house shall not be made a garrison, but that hee shall have the free liberty of it, security of his person and goods as to my army, and further, that hee shall have from mee a lre. of recomendacion to the Parliament or committee for ye army, that hee may by them be dealt withal as one that deserves their favour for his liberal and seasonable coming in.

Mount Edgcumbe was eventually surrendered to Colonel Hammond, Governor of Exeter, who found there thirty pieces of ordnance and store of arms and ammunition.

Ince House held out until the end of March. On the 29th of that month it was summoned by a party from Plymouth. The garrison returned a scornful answer. Thereupon the Plymouth men sent for their cannon. The sight took the scorn out of the Cavaliers; they begged quarter, and had it. The house was armed with four guns, and these, with ninety muskets, were taken.

Cost of the Siege.

This was the last act of the Siege tragedy, which now with intervals had continued for over three years, and the inhabitants could reckon the price of their gallantry. The success was glorious, but it was bought at a terrible cost. The registers of St. Andrew show that during the Siege there were upwards of 3,000 interments, whereas under ordinary circumstances these should not have much exceeded 600. From the data at hand we can estimate that of the extra number, one-third were soldiers and two-thirds townsfolk. Nor does this exhaust the fatality. It neither includes the losses on the side of the besiegers, whether in the field or from the fatal ‘camp disease,’ nor the deaths of those of the garrison

whose bodies were buried where they fell. Taking the length of time over which the operations extended, noting that there were several occasions when over 100 were killed—one at least, when more than 300 fell—we shall not exaggerate if we assume that the deaths due to the Siege reached nearly 8,000; in other words, that in three years or so a number greater than that of the entire population of the town was swept away. The whole history of the Civil War fails to supply a parallel to this.

Nor did the evil effects of the Siege end here. The trade of the town was, for the time at least, ruined. Scores of families, by the deaths in the field of husbands and fathers, were deprived of their means of support and reduced to the greatest misery. After a while provision was made for their needs.

The Siege was thus a very real thing to the townsfolk for many a year after the last sally had been made and the last shot fired. But little by little its memory failed: as the old earthworks which had been attacked and defended so bravely crumbled into decay; as, creeping slowly onward, the growing town burst the cincture of the once well-guarded wall; as, one by one, the ancient gates passed away. A hundred years ago there were still living men whose fathers had remembered the great struggle. Fifty years since tradition was almost dead; but there yet remained many relics of the old defences. The past ten years have swept away every recognizable vestige; save a fragment or two of wall.

Relics of the Siege have frequently been discovered. Bones in Gibbons Fields in 1824. Levelling a bank at Mutley Farm, the property of the Rev. C. Trelawny, in 1853, the labourers found a broken cannon and a sword. This was just opposite Maudlyn. In 1855 a quantity of human bones was unearthed at the head of Old Town Street, near the site of Old Town Gate, by workmen employed in laying water-pipes. It is presumed that these were the remains of men killed in the Siege, and buried where they fell. In excavating at Stamford, at Hooe, and on the sites of others of the forts cannon balls and bullets have often been exhumed. And on the localities of the old 'guards' so many broken tobacco pipes have been dug up as show that even Puritan soldiers were alive to creature comforts. Holiwell, Maudlyn, and Pennycomequick Works have yielded such traces. A burial pit was found by the Laira five-and-twenty years since, and another in 1880 by Furze Hill Lane, now West-

minster Terrace; an old hedge in Torr Lane yielded store of pistol bullets in 1884; and in 1887 a very old hedge at Houndiscombe, in front of Stafford Terrace, was found to contain large quantities of leaden bullets and a chain shot. This was the hedge utilised by the Cavaliers in raising their work against Maudlyn. Skeletons were discovered in Russell Street, outside Frankfort Gate, in 1889.

The most interesting find was, however, made in 1886, when Messrs. Burnard, Lack, and Alger, dredging in front of their deep-water wharves at Cattedown, uncovered the remains of what proved to be a war vessel of the Siege period, probably sunk by the Cavalier fire from the south. A small iron cannon was also found, still charged, which Mr. Robert Burnard traced to belong to this date, and which he deposited in the Museum of the Plymouth Institution, mounted on a carriage made of the vessel's timbers. It is 2 feet 9½ inches long, of cast-iron, weighs 1 cwt. 0 qrs. 3 lbs.; and was evidently dismounted by a shot which broke one of the trunnions. The vessel was short, deep, and broad, about 80 feet long, and some 300 tons burthen.

A curious bequest made by Thomas Sherwill for the defence of the town at this time is recorded in the following entry, the only record left:

Itm recd of Mr. Thomas Sherwill of London for eight yeares arreages of an annuitie of v^{li} per annum given by Mr. Thomas Sherwill M^{re} decd out of his lands att Houndiscombe to the towne to buy powder two yeares of the eight being abated him in regard of the troubles his being the firste payment of that annuitye beinge to Continue five and twenty yeares. xxx^{li}

Several Plymouthians were members of the Committee of public safety which met in three divisions weekly at Exeter in 1648; namely, Christopher Martin, Arthur Upton, C. Vaughan, Justinian Peard, E. Crymes, J. Waddon, Philip Francis, C. Ceely, T. Alsop, Ed. Pollexfen, John Beare. Most if not all of these were members of the Committee of Plymouth, with Richard Evens and John Champeys.

Officers of the Garrison.

The officers of the Garrison in 1645-6 included the following:

Governor.—Col. Kerr.

Governor of the Fort and Island.—Arthur Upton.

Master Gunner.—Thomas Boliitho.

Colonels.—John Saint Aubyn, Crocker, Anthony Rows, Fowell, Leyton, Christopher Savery, John Birch, Brooking, T. Trendall.

Lieut.-Colonels.—Kekewich, T. Fitch, Robert Moore, Elias Crymes.

Majors.—Symonds, Foxworthy, Haulsey, Worthevale, Barrett, Haynes, Martyn, Gabriel Barnes.

Captains.—Shilston Calmady, Voyzey, Hawken, Courtney, Roope, Hall, Penrose, Lyall, Burgess, Baggett, Dutton, Catterell, Cozena, Sampson Crabb, Bawden, Owen, Louis Perry, Wools, Diment, James Pears, Henderson, Holt, Pope, Richards, Fountayne, Barnes, Rowe, Robert Savery, E. Blagge, * Whittie, Traves, Richard Laugherne, J. Rows, E. Weston, W. Wotton, John Richards, John Bawden, Wm. Gregory, Hoop, * Adrian Anthony, * R. Clarke, * Jn. King, * James Randle, * George Fownes, * Nath. Walters, * Hy. Hatsell. Those to whose names an asterisk is attached are mentioned as at different times commanding the outworks. Weston for some time was master of the hospital, and was apparently succeeded by John Hall, physician.

Captain-Lieutenants.—Roe, Vaughan.

Lieutenants.—Ellis Greenwood, G. Wyatt, Nicholas Bowy, Thos. Emerson, J. Tapon, Richard Phillips, Walter Clifford.

Ensigns.—Plumley, Gwilliam, J. Crocker (reformado), N. Birkehell, Ed. Webb, Digory Hony, Arthur Carter (reformado), Anthony Gefferys, R. Gest.

Cornets.—Edward Beare, Clarke, George Charleton, Memory, Rolles.

Commissaries.—Samuel Slade, Richard Clapp.

Chaplains.—Alexander Grosse, Stephen Midhope, Shugge, J. Wills, Francis Porter.

Physicians.—Charles Goldsmith, John Hall.

Surgeons.—Samuel Lumley, John Parker.

Quartermaster.—Edwards.

Masters of Marshalsea.—Robert Chislett, James Deeble.

Master of Magazine.—John Allin. He had coadjutors.

The Siege Accounts also contain the names of a large number of persons with whom the Committee did business in various matters of supply of goods and work. Thus we have:

Apothecary.—Christopher Eaton.

Blacksmiths.—William Maynard (made ironwork for 'sweyne's feathers'), Thos. Bootie, Jn. Letheren, J. Anderton (made crooks and heads for palisades), T. Parker, Jn. Bennett, Philip Elliott, Arthur Yeole.

Carpenters, Masons, &c. (chiefly employed in repairing and improving the outworks and town wall).—Oliver Werry, Jn. Kingston, James Deeble, Ralph Weston (or Westcott), Robert Andrews, John Briant, Thomas Dunstan (mason), Jn. Foster,

Wm. Medland, Kettleby Woodhouse, Ludowick Stitson (carpenter), Robert Arundell, Wm. Moore, William Murch, William Gaye, Matthew Stanley, Yeoland, T. Boyes. Andrews was extensively employed, as were Woodhouse and Moore,

Chandlers.—Amy Gladman (widow), Henry Batten, George Batten.

Cutler.—Francis Fownea.

Cordwainers.—Wm. Dunridge, Richard Dunrith, Ed. Keagle, Jn. Lane, Richard Morgan, Jn. Kempe, Thomas Arrowsmith, Jn. Laphorne, Wm. Webb, Richard Webb, Barnard Burd, Richard Chase, Roger Wannell.

Cobblers.—Jn. Kendall, Mark Batt.

Farriers.—Andrew Joye, Thos. Penny, Philip Hatch, Wm. Fuge, Wm. May, Ambrose Gubby, J. Hoop, T. Parkins.

Gunsmiths and Armourers.—Richard Manning, John Anderson, Thos. Bickford, William Stenhouse, Peter Scott, Judith Turtly (widow), Ralph Briant, Jn. Galpin, G. Hall, Wm. Hammett, Richard Veale, James Batten, Jn. Williams, Francis Roe, Anthony Richards, Thomas Quicke, Wm. Pownell, Jn. Gaye, Richard Teate, Wm. Fursley.

Mercers and Tailors.—Christopher Ceely (sold 2,346 yards of dowlas), Thomas Yabsley (cloth), Caleb Brookinge (cloth), Humphry Thomas (kerseys), J. Harris (kerseys), Thos. Durant (kerseys), Edward Pattison (cloth), Thomas Dalkeinga.

Saddlers.—Richard Cory, Thomas Kingston.

Shipwright.—Robert Hingston.

Lead was bought of Peter Kekewich; cheese of Henry Goyne; beer of John Paige; materials for fireworks of John Whiddon; coals of John Searle. Benjamin Butt had 7s. for a coffin. Timber was bought of Hugh Cornish, Simon Jackson, Crispin Painter, John Allen; biscuit of Thomas Bowden.

CHAPTER VII.

DEVELOPMENT, 1650-1890.

How oft by Fancy led,
Sweet Plym, at morn or eve, I stray with thee :
But chief at shadowy eve I linger where
The ocean weds thee, and delighted view,
Proud rising o'er the vast Atlantic surge,
Thine own,—thy Plymouth,—nurse of heroes—her
' Who bears thy noble name.'

The azure Sound,
The reservoir of rivers. Silvery bays
Are seen where commerce lifts the peaceful sail,
Or where the war-barks rise ; the indented coast
Frowns with wave-breasting rocks, nor does the eye
Forget the proud display of bustling towns,
And busy arsenals, and cliffs high-crowned
With pealing batteries and flags that wave
In the fresh ocean gale.—*Carrington.*

THE history of Plymouth during the past two and a half centuries, is not marked by such an intimate connection with the general history of the country as distinguished the two centuries which preceded. There is no defeat of an Armada, no Siege, to chronicle. The period was by no means barren of important events, but their importance was more of a local character. The development of the capabilities of the port, and of the resources of the community, have chiefly occupied the interval between 1650 and the present day. Nevertheless we find the name of Plymouth inextricably interwoven, first with the naval, then with the commercial interests of the nation. The characteristics of the town have completely changed, twice over, since the reign of Charles II. Under that monarch and his successor Plymouth was purely commercial. The foundation of the Dockyard under William III. introduced a permanent warlike element, which a century later almost extinguished the pacific. The gradual separation of the interests of Plymouth Dock, now Devonport, from those of

Plymouth, and the conclusion of peace after the Napoleonic struggle, again led to the rise of trade. And now we have the parent town engaged in and flourishing by commerce; the daughter maintained by the arts of war.

Declaration for William of Orange.

There is, however, one prominent point of connection with the national history, of which Plymouthians may well be proud. The borough was the first in the kingdom to declare for William of Orange. The fleet which brought him and his gallant followers to Torbay sailed round to Plymouth, and wintered in Cattewater. The Earl of Bath, then Governor of Plymouth, negotiated the surrender of the fort and of a ship of war that lay in the harbour, to William at Moditonham; and the news reached William at Sherborne on the morning of November 28th. In 1689 Lord Lansdowne, the earl's son, was governor, and in consequence of his inaction, a quarrel between the garrison and the townsfolk, at the rejoicing for the coronation of William and Mary, led to one of the latter being killed.

That spring two regiments were sent to Plymouth to embark for Ireland. Once more, in consequence of the crowded state of the town, 'great infection' happened, and upwards of 1,000 people were buried in three months. Two years later, in 1691, there were 4,500 Danes at Plymouth, apparently soldiers, in sore want of provisions.

The only suggestion that the second James had a party in Plymouth is the statement under date April 2nd, 1690, 'One night last week several declarations of James were posted up at Plymouth.'

Naval Development.

Until William succeeded the port was not in the strict sense of the term a naval arsenal. It was rather a shipping station—a rendezvous, where fleets used to gather, and whence they used to sally. It was, however, one of the principal stations for naval prizes; and there was so much embezzling of prize goods (which paid the same duties as goods belonging to Englishmen) that a commission of enquiry was issued, of which Sir Edward Wise was chief. The prize-office establishment at Plymouth during the reign of Charles II. was somewhat extensive. There was a clerk at £150 a year, a clerk and examiner at £60, a surveyor at £60, a housekeeper at £40, and a messenger at £25.

A proposal was made to build a prison at Plymouth in

1695, to contain three hundred prisoners of war, at a cost of £656 19s. 6d.

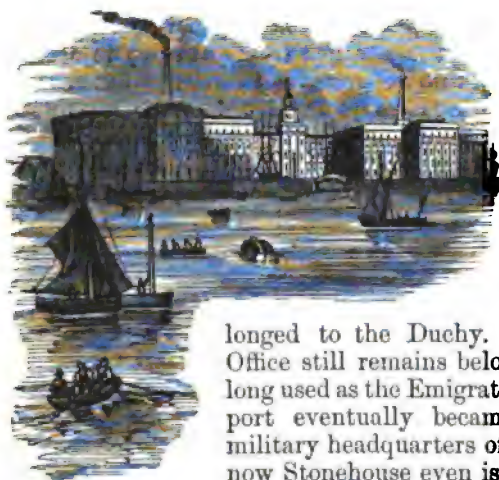
Naval yards had been established for nearly 200 years at Woolwich and Deptford, and Portsmouth and Chatham were considerably more than a century old, before that at Devonport was formed. Mr. Woolcombe in his MS. history records a tradition that 'an establishment somewhat of the description of a dockyard on a small scale existed in two parts of Cattewater—one at Turnchapel, and the other at Teats Hill'; but there is no evidence that these had any public character. The first suggestion of a government dock was in the reign of Charles I. Saltash was the place selected; and in November, 1625, Sir James Bagge, with Cawse (a shipbuilder and afterwards Mayor) and Apsley went to 'Ashe' to make arrangements, and plans were drawn. Either then, or subsequently, the Saltash folk objected, 'because their gardens would be interfered with,' and a spot at Ernesettle was proposed.

Charles II., by whose direction the yard at Sheerness was formed, intended to organize a similar establishment at Plymouth, and in 1677 came hither to inquire thereon. Nothing, however, was done until the accession of William. Plans were prepared in 1689; and next 'we learn that the Dock in Hamoaze was begun on the 2nd of September, 1691.' Before the formation of the establishment the spot was called Point Froward, and advantage was taken of a natural inlet in the construction of the first basin and dock. Dummer was the designer; and up to 1698, when a plan of the works was included in a survey of the Dockyards of England now in the British Museum, £67,095 6s. had been expended. At first no dwellings were erected, and the artificers either resided on board a ship fitted for the purpose, or in Plymouth. A few years later the building of Dock commenced. 'The new establishment was regarded with great jealousy by the inhabitants of the old town, as removing to a distance from them the benefits of the building and repairing of the King's ships.' Nevertheless Dock thrived. By the time its jubilee was reached it was half the size of its ancient neighbour. Before another half century passed it was quite as populous; and at the time of the first census, in the year 1801, so great had been the impulse given to the arts of war over those of peace by the long years of conflict with France, that whilst the inhabitants of Plymouth numbered 16,040, those of Devonport had mounted to 23,747. In 1821 the disparity was still

greater, Devonport having 33,578 inhabitants against Plymouth's 21,591. But when war had ceased and commerce had fairly revived, the tables were soon turned.

In 1835 the numbers were once more equal, and since then a steady increase has given Plymouth an advantage of some sixty per cent.

Prior to the foundation of Dock, Plymouth was the seat of the various local government establishments. As there were the equivalents of dockyards at Plymouth previous to that at Devonport; so there were Ordnance Storehouses at Plymouth many years before the Gunwharf at Devonport



was constructed; and a Victualling Office, a century and a half older than that at Stonehouse. The storehouses were erected in Sutton Pool at Coxside, on land which, being part of the foreshore, be-

longed to the Duchy. The Victualling Office still remains below Lambhay Hill; long used as the Emigration dépôt. Devonport eventually became the naval and military headquarters of the district; and now Stonehouse even is more closely con-

nected with the Government than Plymouth, possessing the magnificent Victualling establishment, of which an engraving is annexed, with a Naval Hospital and extensive Marine Barracks.

From the time of the formation of the Dockyard, the port of Plymouth has continued a chief naval station, for which the noble estuaries of the Tamar and the Plym—particularly the former—and the magnificent bay in which they meet, afford every facility and convenience.

The speedy Tamar, which divides
The Cornish and the Devonish confines;
Through both whose borders swiftly down it glides
And meeting Plim, to Plimmouth thence declines.

Killigrew, Shovell, Benbow, Boscawen, Rodney, Howe, Jervis, Collingwood, Nelson, Cochrane—all our most famous admirals and captains, have made it their resort; and its

name is associated with the records of imperishable deeds of naval glory, wrought by these worthy successors of the Drakes, the Hawkinses, and the Blakes of an earlier time.¹ The words Portsmouth or Plymouth (Devonport did not win separate title or recognition until long after the Napoleonic struggle had ceased) are to be found upon every page of England's maritime history; and traditions of the port in war time, though swiftly disappearing, yet linger—traditions of pressgangs and prize-money, of prisoners and prowess. Such traditions as that which states how Lord Cochrane, when appointed to the *Pallas*, went to Sutton Pool to fill up his crew, and quickly manned his vessel with longshore men and merchant sailors, so great was his reputation for kindness and daring. Or as that which recalls the day in March, 1805, when he sailed into the Sound with three golden candlesticks taken from a Spanish prize, lashed to the mastheads of his frigate. The Customs authorities would not let the candlesticks through without payment of full duty, so he broke them up to pass as old gold. In ten days Cochrane took four rich prizes, and one had nearly half a million dollars on board. These were the 'gallooners,' still associated in popular local legend with his name.

Although the principal naval business, then as now, was transacted at Dock, Plymouthians were by no means idle spectators. They were quite ready to divide the labour if only they could divide the spoil. And thus legitimate commerce gave way almost entirely to privateering and prize dealing; both found remarkably profitable speculations.

Invasion Scares.

But there was a reverse to the medal. The sun did not always shine. Occasionally—not often—a Plymouth privateer met her match, and escaped, if at all, with loss. Occasionally a feeling akin to that which our vessels caused in many a French and Spanish seaport, became unpleasantly prominent in the minds of the inhabitants of Plymouth. When all England was on the *qui vive* in the matter of invasion, Plymouth had extra cause to feel the necessity of keeping a sharp look-out. More than once a visit from the foe was very narrowly escaped. There is an old story that an attempted descent was nipped in the bud by the strategic array upon the Hoe of all the old women who were possessed

¹ Blake died Aug. 27th, 1657, on his return from Santa Cruz, as his fleet was entering the Sound.

of red cloaks; but as a similar yarn is told of almost every seaport from Dover to the Land's End, a little scepticism may be excused. In 1662 the Dutch Admiral De Ruyter came to an engagement with Sir George Ayscough in sight of Plymouth; and three years later De Ruyter's fleet anchored off the Sound, though no landing was attempted. There was great alarm, too, in 1690, when the French fleet under Tourville, which burnt Teignmouth, was seen sailing past.

But *the* scare was in August, 1779. For four days the combined fleets of France and Spain—eighty-eight vessels—were off the Sound; and although Plymouth was not injured, the *Ardent* was captured within sight of the port, and one of the French frigates played havoc with the fishing boats in Cawsand Bay. Dibdin made this incident the subject of a musical farce produced at Covent Garden, and entitled *Plymouth in an Uproar*. In this allusion is made to Maker Tower as the look-out place. That a descent upon Plymouth was actually in contemplation is clear from a work by the Count De Paradès—*Memoirs of a Spy in England, and the Causes of the Failure of the Expedition against Plymouth in 1779*.

A very good tale is told of Paul Henry Ourry, Commissioner of the Dockyard at the time. He is said to have asked the Admiralty, 'Shall I, Paul Ourry, burn His Majesty's Dockyard, or wait until the French admiral comes in and does it?' The Admiralty commended his zeal, but thought that, on the whole, he had better wait.

The fright was very great, and *sauve qui peut* was at first the motto. When no attack was made, the townsfolk plucked up spirit, and helped to remove thirteen hundred French prisoners to Exeter. The most graphic account is that given in the MS. of an old townsman named Harris: 'Many thousands came to Plymouth to see the enemy, lining Rame Head and the opposite heights from daylight till dusk; thousands of women and children left the town in great confusion. Mr. Bidwell, mason, collected a body of men, chiefly masons, who acted as pioneers, and threw up a battery on the West Hoe. When the fleets were gone, a small Welsh regiment of militia encamped on the East Hoe, and some Highlanders. Mr. Cater, shipwright, fortified the quay at Calcutta with some old ship guns, resolving to stay and die by them. After a while the bustle was again revived by the hourly arrival of troops, baggage waggons, and powder. Great alarm was caused by the rumour that

a boat's crew had landed at the back of Staddon Heights, and were got into the town. They were taken about the town, one in the pathfield adjoining the Hoe. The merchant vessels were taken up Cattewater and Hamoaze. The only armed ships in the port were two small vessels that lay between the island and the main. There was a camp on Roborough.'

The enemy, if they had known all, would have found the port an easy prey. As to the English Channel Fleet, under Hardy, it ran away, for 'strategic purposes'; and the French seemed equally afraid of attacking.

In August, 1815, special orders were issued 'in case of an alarm of the approach of the enemy.' Three guns were to be fired from the post first alarmed, and answered by the others, the posts named being Mount Wise, St. Nicholas Island, the Citadel, and Maker Heights. At night three rockets were also to be fired, and the beacon at Maker lit, if the officer there was perfectly sure he had good grounds. Directly the alarm was given all the soldiers and volunteers were to repair 'to their respective Regimental Parades, and wait for orders from Lt.-Genl. England.'

The prisoners brought in during the American and French wars were lodged at Plymouth, in the barracks at Millbay, then called the French Prisons. Others occupied hulks in Hamoaze. When the prisons at Princetown were completed (1809), the captives were removed thither. During the Crimean War the buildings at Millbay were again applied to their old purpose, and held some hundreds of Russians, chiefly from Bomarsund and elsewhere in the Baltic.

Maritime Discovery.

More peaceful but not less gratifying reminiscences than either of the foregoing, are to be found in the association of the port with the maritime discoveries of the last century. In 1764 the *Dolphin* and *Tamar* sailed for the purpose of circumnavigating the globe, under Byron. In 1766 Wallis left with his expedition in the *Dolphin*; one of his junior officers, Captain Carteret, in the *Swallow*, making a distinct voyage. In 1768 (August 26th) Cook sailed in the *Endeavour* on his first circumnavigation; in 1772 (July 13th), in the *Resolution* and *Adventure*, on his second; and in 1776 (July 12th) on his third, from which he never returned. His ships were then nearly wrecked under the Citadel.

Notable Visitors.

Within the period under review Plymouth entertained many distinguished guests. Charles II. paid several visits. In 1670 he arrived by sea in company with the Dukes of York and Monmouth, and lodged in the Old Fort on the Hoe.

John Allen, a Plymouth mercer, gives² brief accounts of two of the visits of Charles II. At the first visit Charles landed, on the 17th July, at five o'clock in the afternoon, at the Barbican Stairs, and went to the fort on the Hoe, where the Mayor and his brethren presented him with a purse of gold. He was out on the Hoe by four o'clock the next morning, and subsequently visited Saltash, 'Ozen,' and Lary. The royal squadron mustered seven pleasure-boats and six frigates. In August, 1677, the King and his brother paid another visit, memorable to Allen by the fact that he saw the king oftentimes, and that 'my wife had ye honour of being kissed, both by ye king and by his brother James, Duke of York.' Allen's wife was a Stert of Brixton, twenty-three years of age.

Charles then attended divine service at St. Andrew Church, where a state canopy and throne had been erected at a cost of £32 10s. 4d., and where he went through the ceremony of 'touching for the evil.' One day he dined at Mount Edgcumbe. Upon this occasion he is recorded to have lodged in a private house. The Citadel was in progress, and no doubt he watched with interest the advancement of a work intended to hold in check the liberal views of the Plymouthians, should civil disturbances again arise.

Other noteworthy visitors about the same time were: Monk, Duke of Albemarle, who was made a freeman; Lord Dartmouth, who sailed hence on the expedition to Tangiers, when Pepys accompanied him, and 'stayed for his doublet—his sleeves altered to sea fashion'; Cosmo di Medici, Grand Duke of Tuscany, who landed at Plymouth in 1674; and the Queen of Portugal, who sailed for Lisbon in 1687 under convoy of a fleet commanded by the Duke of Grafton; while in 1684 the 'famously loyal Judge Jeffreys' came on invitation, and was entertained at a charge of £20.³

Several visits were paid to Plymouth by George III. and various members of his family. William IV., when Duke

² In his MS. *Diary*, now at the Athenæum.

³ Blake in 1650 and 1653 had a hogahed and a butt of sack; and in 1658 John Howe had a piece of plate, costing £7 2s., for 'solicitinge the town buisnesse with the late lord Protector.'

of Clarence, from his connection with the navy, was quite a familiar personage at Plymouth and at Dock. Many a yarn concerning his wild pranks has been handed down, several of which will not bear repetition. The most memorable royal visit of the last century was that of George III., Queen Charlotte, and the three eldest princesses, in August, 1789. They were entertained at Saltram, and during their stay inspected the Dockyard (where they were received by Lords Chatham, Howe, and Chesterfield); witnessed a grand naval sham fight; visited Mount Edgumbe, Cotehele, Maristow, and other notable places; and by their patronage of the old theatre conferred upon it the title of Royal. On the 20th of the month the Mayor and Corporation presented a dutiful and loyal address at the Governor's house in the Citadel. The Saltash women made quite a demonstration—'a handsome cutter rowed by six fine young women, and steered by a seventh, all habited in loose white gowns with nankeen safeguards and black bonnets, each wearing a sash across her shoulders of royal purple, with "Long live their Majesties" in gold,' accompanying the royal barge.

Queen Victoria has made frequent visits to the port—both before and since her accession to the throne. In August, 1833, she landed with her mother, the Duchess of Kent, at the Dockyard, received an address from the Mayor and Corporation of Plymouth at the Royal Hotel, and presented the 89th Regiment with new colours. She came also in August, 1843; July, 1852; and in 1856. In May, 1859, the Prince Consort arrived alone for the purpose of opening the Royal Albert Bridge. On the ninth of July, 1860, the Prince of Wales took his departure from the Sound on his visit to Canada and the United States, when addresses were presented to him by the sister towns, that from Devonport being made in person. At Plymouth, too, he first touched English soil on his return. In July, 1865, both the Prince and the Princess came to the town, and went through the exhibition of the Royal Agricultural Society, held that year at Pennycomequick.

The Prince of Wales and the Duke of Edinburgh also visited Plymouth in August, 1873; attending the march past at the conclusion of the Autumn Manœuvres on Dartmoor, and the Plymouth races. They received addresses from the municipalities of each town. On August 13th, 1874, the Prince of Wales came officially as Lord High Steward, and opened the Guildhall. The Prince and Duke and other members of the Royal family have visited the town since;

and the Duke of Edinburgh took up his official residence as Port Admiral at Devonport in October, 1890.

Of the other distinguished personages who have been temporarily associated with Plymouth in recent times two must receive especial mention—Napoleon Bonaparte and Garibaldi. Napoleon remained some days in the Sound on board the *Bellerophon* in 1815, thousands flocking around that vessel in boats during the period of his stay. A picture of the Emperor as he appeared, gazing round him from the gangway, was painted by the late Sir C. L. Eastlake, who seized every opportunity of catching a glimpse of the great captive. Napoleon was aware of his intention, and rendered all assistance in his power, even to sending his clothes on shore that the attire might be correctly delineated. A large copy of this work was sold for £1000.

Garibaldi simply passed through the borough by rail, in April, 1864, whilst on his way to visit his old companion in arms, Colonel Peard, at Penquite, near Fowey. Advantage was taken of the occasion by the Corporation to present him with an address at the Colonel's mansion. Great was the popular excitement; but the eager multitude turned out for nothing; for the hour of Garibaldi's arrival at Plymouth was so long delayed that the night had far advanced before he came, and nearly all the would-be-sight-seers had gone home.

Napoleon III., with the Prince Imperial, visited Plymouth October 14th, 1871. The ex-Emperor was staying at the Imperial Hotel, Torquay, and came on a visit to the Earl of Mount Edgecumbe.

Other notable visitors include: Warren Hastings on his return from India. In 1809 the Prince of Orange. In 1810 Lucien Bonaparte with his family, who landed at the old Victualling Office, and put up at the King's Arms, where a great many ladies 'waited table to obtain a glimpse of them!' In 1817 the Grand Duke Nicholas and General Mina. In 1828 Don Miguel was entertained at the Royal Hotel until he embarked for Lisbon. Two years later three thousand Portuguese refugees, who had fled from their native country to escape Miguel's tyranny, took shelter in the town. Storehouses at Coxside were converted into barracks for their reception; and there they remained until their departure to the Brazils was required. May 19th, 1881, the King of Sweden came. As the chief western centre of population Plymouth has likewise been visited by most of the political leaders of modern times: Bright, Canning,

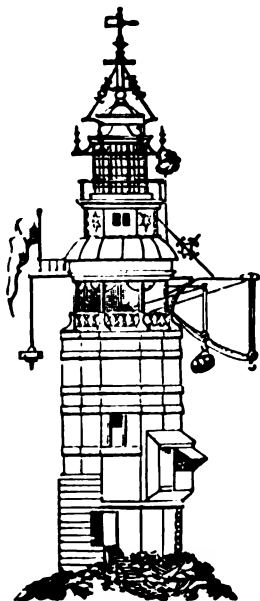
Chamberlain, Cobden, Dillon, Gladstone (1877, 1889), Harcourt, the Marquis of Hartington (1886), Labouchere, O'Brien, Parnell, Lord Rosebery, the Marquis of Salisbury (1884), &c.

The Eddystone Lighthouses.

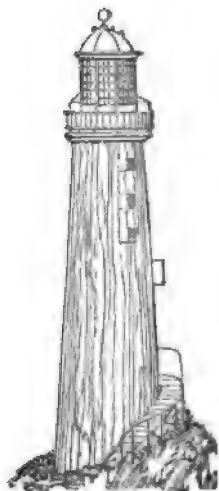
The later years of the seventeenth century are memorable in the history of Plymouth, not merely for the settlement of a new town on the borders of the Hamoaze, but for the commencement of a work of national importance—the establishment of a lighthouse on the dangerous reef of rocks known as the Eddystone, which lies fourteen miles off Plymouth Sound, right in the Channel fairway. Many a tall ship had been lost thereon before any successful attempt to mark the danger was made. The credit of the erection of the first lighthouse belongs to Mr. Henry Winstanley, a gentleman of property residing at Littlebury, Essex, a self-taught mechanician, and a whimsical as well as a clever man. His house was filled with curious contrivances for the surprise—not always for the pleasure—of his friends. If you trod on a certain board in a passage forthwith a skeleton started up against you. Did you unwittingly sit down in an arbour near the edge of a pond in his grounds, straightway you would be launched upon a floating island. In one room an old shoe left lying about invited a kick; give it, and a ghost would appear. Sufficient proofs these of Mr. Winstanley's ingenuity. He commenced the erection of the lighthouse in the year 1696, and completed it in four years. The structure was exceedingly beautiful, elaborately ornamental in design, and admirably built. It consisted of a polygonal shaft one hundred feet in height, with an open gallery near the top, through which it was said a six-oared boat could be washed clear in a storm. The accessories made the building resemble a pagoda, rather than a fabric which was intended to defy the utmost fury of wave and wind. It braved the elements just three years. Peculiarly tragic were the circumstances of its destruction. Mr. Winstanley had the utmost confidence in his work, and frequently expressed the wish that he might be in the lighthouse under the fiercest storm that ever blew, to witness the effect. His desire was fatally fulfilled. One morning in November, 1703, he left the Barbican to superintend some repairs. An old seaman standing by warned him that a tempest was at hand. Nevertheless, strong in his confidence, he went. That night, whilst he remained at the lighthouse, a hurricane sprung up, and

morning broke upon the untenanted rocks. Lighthouse and occupants—all had been swept away. Not a vestige could be seen but the fragment of a chain wedged into a cleft, though in building the last lighthouse the old clock weights were found.⁴

Three years elapsed before another attempt was made to rear a beacon. At length, under the powers of an Act of Parliament, the work was undertaken by Mr. Rudyard, a silk mercer of London. He determined to avoid the error of his predecessor, and to give the winds and waves as little



WINSTANLEY.



RUDYARD.

hold upon the structure as was possible. Hence his lighthouse was round instead of angular, and instead of stone he built it of wood, conceiving that by so doing he would be able to fasten the respective parts more firmly together. He was justified by the event. Commenced in 1706, and completed in 1709, the slender shaft weathered the storms of nearly fifty winters in safety, and might have defied them until the present time. Proof against wind and surge, it

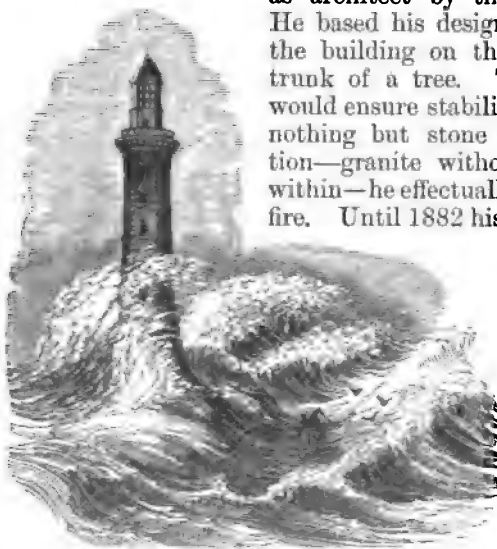
⁴ This storm carried devastation to every part of the kingdom; thousands of houses were blown down, and hundreds of ships lost. The Bishop of Bath and Wells and his wife were killed by the falling of their palace.

was not however proof against fire; and on the second of December, 1755, it was accidentally burnt. There were three keepers on the rock at the time, and they worked courageously to subdue the flames until compelled to desist, and to take refuge from destruction in a hole of the rock. Fortunately for them it was low water. They were rescued by some Cawsand fishing boats, the crews belonging to which, seeing the conflagration, hastened to the spot. One was so panic-stricken, that immediately on landing he took to flight and was never heard of afterwards. Another, an old man of 94, named Hall, died within twelve days. He stated when rescued that some of the molten lead from the roof had run down his throat as he was looking up. This was disbelieved; but when he died his body was opened, and a piece of lead weighing seven ounces and five drachms found in his stomach.

Twelvemonths were not suffered to elapse before the third lighthouse was commenced. Mr. Smeaton was recommended as architect by the Royal Society.

He based his design for the shaft of the building on the outline of the trunk of a tree. This he believed would ensure stability. By the use of nothing but stone in the construction—granite without and Portland within—he effectually guarded against fire. Until 1882 his lighthouse stood

to all appearance an imperishable monument of the architect's skill. The work of preparation was commenced in August, 1756; in June, 1757, the first stone was laid; on the 16th October, 1759, the lantern



SMEATON.

was lit. Thus the whole undertaking was accomplished within about three years; without accident or loss of life or limb. During the whole period there had been but 421 days on which, from the weather, the men could work on the rock; and of these only so small a portion

could be used, that the whole time really spent in the erection of the building did not amount to sixteen weeks. A large work-yard was established at Millbay, fitted with workshops and smitheries. Here the stones were hewn, and fitted to each other, and thence conveyed to the rocks by yawls and other vessels, to be placed in their permanent position. All the lower courses of stone were joggled and morticed into the rock itself, which was hewn for that purpose into a series of six step-like courses; and all the tiers of masonry were ingeniously dovetailed together, as well as into each other, and strengthened with trenails, cramps, and every other appliance which experience or ingenuity could suggest. The lower portion of the building was solid throughout, and, from its peculiar dovetailed construction, was practically but one stone, of quite as firm a texture as the rock upon which it was raised.

So far as Smeaton's work was concerned, indeed, his tower might have stood for another century; but the continual beat of the waves undermining its foundations, another was commenced, on an adjacent part of the reef, from the designs of Mr. (now Sir J.) Douglass, in 1879—the memorial stone being laid by the Prince of Wales, August 19th; and the practically-completed edifice inaugurated by the Duke of Edinburgh, May 18th, 1882. This new lighthouse contains nine stone vaulted apart-



DOUGLASS.

ments, one above the other, and stands on a circular base of masonry, dovetailed even more ingeniously than the sub-structure of Smeaton. The total height of the tower is 148 feet, and the focal plane of its light 130 feet above ordinary high water springs; whereas the focal plane of Smeaton's was 72 feet.

When Douglass's tower was completed the upper portion

of Smeaton's was removed; and, following up a suggestion by Mr. F. J. Webb, F.G.S., a subscription was raised to rebuild it on the Hoe, where it replaces an old Trinity obelisk. The Duke of Edinburgh laid the foundation, October 20th, 1882, and the building was opened by the Deputy Master and elder brethren of the Trinity House, September 24th, 1884. The new base, nineteen courses of Dartmoor granite, was given by Mr. J. Pethick. The total height is 87 feet 8 inches.

The Breakwater.

Whilst the eighteenth century saw the realization of the efforts to erect a beacon on the Eddystone, it was reserved for the nineteenth to witness the commencement and completion of a still greater national work, for the protection of the magnificent roadstead of Plymouth Sound—the Breakwater. So far back as 1788 a plan was submitted to the Government by Mr. Smith, then Master-Attendant in the Dockyard, for making the anchorage secure by running out a pier from Staddon Point to the 'Panther Rock.' Before the formation of the Breakwater Torbay was deemed safer than the Sound, and it was the practice to send supplies and stores thither from Dock accordingly. Nevertheless Torbay is so exposed that several men-of-war were lost there; and hence Lord Howe said it would in all probability prove the 'grave of the British fleet.' Men-of-war when at Plymouth generally anchored in Cawsand Bay. Here they had the beat of the south-easterly and easterly winds; whilst if they anchored in the Sound they were open to the full fury of the south-westerners. That some improvement should be made was recognised on all hands, but nothing was done until Earl St. Vincent moved.

In 1806 Mr. Rennie, C.E., and Mr. Whidby, Master-Attendant at Woolwich, were ordered to draw up a report. They prepared a plan for the construction of the Breakwater very much as we see it now, with certain supplementary works since found unnecessary. The scheme lay in abeyance until 1811, when, after several other plans had been discussed, it was decided that Messrs. Rennie and Whidby's should be adopted. Twenty-five acres of land near Oreston were purchased for the purpose of raising the stone, and on August 12th, 1812, the first block was dropped into the sea. The plan of construction adopted was to sink rough masses as they came from the quarries within the line of

the intended mole, and so rapid was the progress of the work, that on March 31st, 1813, the corners of some of the stones peered above the surface at low water spring tides. In 1815 it was determined to raise the structure to twenty feet above low water, instead of ten, as originally contemplated. In January, 1817, a hurricane displaced much of the work, and altered the seaward slope from one in three to one in five. At the same time it afforded ample evidence of the value of the undertaking. The *Jasper* sloop-of-war, and the schooner *Telegraph*, anchored outside the Breakwater, were driven to the head of the Sound and wrecked; whilst a deeply-laden collier, anchored within its shelter, rode out the gale in safety. Although the natural slope had been indicated by the damage done, the work still proceeded upon the original plan. In November, 1824, however, a storm still more violent again reduced the slope to one in five, removing upwards of 200,000 tons of stone. It was then determined to follow the dictates of experience, and the centre line was removed thirty-six feet inwards, the width of the top being reduced from fifty feet to forty-five. The original estimate for the work was £1,200,000, and it was believed it would be completed in six years. Over £1,500,000 were expended, and the works were not finished until 1841. About 4,500,000 tons of stone were used, the twenty-five acres of rock originally purchased from the Duke of Bedford proving insufficient. The greatest number of workmen employed at any one time was 765.

Great Storms.

Reference has already been made to some of the more violent tempests that have visited the Sound. In 1691 the *Coronation*, ninety guns, and *Harwich*, seventy, were wrecked there with great loss of life. In 1760 the *Conqueror* was lost off Drake's Island. In January, 1762, the Lambhay Pier was swept away, and damage to the extent of £80,000 done to the shipping. Six merchant vessels were wrecked between Teats Hill and Bear's Head; and out of nine men-of-war in the Sound only three kept their masts. In January, 1806, a boat belonging to the *Hibernia* was driven ashore near the Shagstone, and twenty-six drowned out of forty-five; while in the following year contrary winds detained so many vessels as to completely fill Cattewater. Of Danes alone there were 150.

The great storm of November 23rd and 24th, 1824, was

the most disastrous of recent times. Between the Citadel and Cattewater twenty-five ships were driven on shore—sixteen within 300 yards in Deadman's Bay. The barometer fell to 28.19, and the tide rose twenty-one feet two inches. In January, 1828, fifteen vessels were driven ashore.

There was another terrible storm in 1838, when the *Inconstant* frigate, which had just returned from Canada, with Earl Durham and his family on board, had to lie in the Sound for three days, without being able to communicate with the shore. Had it not been for the Breakwater she could never have ridden out the gale in safety.

The striking pictures of Luney have made specially memorable the wreck of the *Dutton* under the Citadel in January, 1796. She was an East Indiaman, and had 400 soldiers on board, besides women and her crew. The scene was a terrible one. None more fearful was ever witnessed from the Hoe. 'The vessel lay on the rocks, inclined to one side, her decks covered with soldiers as thick as they could stand, with the sea breaking over them in the most horrible manner.' Yet, chiefly through the exertions and personal risk of Lord Exmouth, then Captain Edward Pellew (who in consequence was presented with the freedom of the town), all except ten or fifteen were saved.

In the following September a far more fatal maritime disaster occurred at Devonport, the blowing up of the *Amphion* off the Dockyard, when nearly 200 lives were lost. In 1769 the *Kent* had met a similar fate in Cawsand Bay; *La Coquille*, in 1798, in Hamoaze.

Executions.

Executions were comparatively frequent interludes in the earlier history of Plymouth; and it seems clear that some were the result of purely local authority. Gibbets were commonly erected on the Hoe; but in 1595-6 there was one in Market Street.

The first execution remaining on record is that of a Spaniard, hung in the mayoralty of William Brokyng—1518—by 'mast' Jerman of Exett, for being engaged in an affray, in which 'Thomas Rowland and fiote were slayne.' In 1548 there was an execution for high treason on the Hoe. March 26th, 1662, the head of John Alured, of Stokeinteignhead, was set on the top of the Guildhall 'on a spill of iron fixed to a strong pole.' Alured was beheaded for speaking treason. According to Yonge he was a resident of Plymouth.

The most noteworthy execution in the period directly under review was in 1676, when two women were put to death—one burnt—at Cattedown. This was for poisoning. A young servant girl, set on by a nurse, poisoned her mistress. The Puritan minister Quicke wrote a book about it—*Hell Opened; or, The Infernal Sin of Murder Punished*—and the original depositions are still among the Plymouth archives. Michael Pentire had £1 14s. for a guard.

April 16th, 1703, Captains Kerby and Cooper Wade were shot in the Sound, on the day of their arrival in England, for cowardice in Benbow's action with Du Casse, and buried in Charles Church. In 1758 a young grenadier was shot for desertion; and in the following year five Frenchmen were executed for murdering a comrade in Hamoaze. They flogged him, jumped upon him till he was dead, then cut him up and threw him overboard. In 1762 a sergeant was shot at Dock for mutiny. July 6th, 1797, three marines, Lee, Coffee, and Bronham, were shot on the Hoe, in presence of 10,000 soldiers and marines, for mutiny and sedition. They had formed a plot to release the French prisoners, and to upset the Government. August 30th, 1798, six 'United Irishmen,' mutineers of the *Cæsar*, were executed on board her in Cawsand Bay. In 1807 Lieutenant Berry was hung on board the *Hazard* in Hamoaze for an unnatural offence. December 4th, 1811, four seamen were hung in the Sound for mutiny and desertion.

The last execution in Plymouth itself was that of Cajetano Canado, a Spanish prisoner of war, in 1807.

Touching minor methods of punishment we find the 'cokying stoll' named as early as 1486. It was last used early in the present century; and when the first edition of this book was published (1871) those were yet alive who had seen it in operation.

The pillory had frequent occupants. John Stone was put therein in 1685 after whipping for using seditious words—the innocent remark, 'I hear that the king is dead.' One of the last occasions on which it was set up in the marketplace was January 30th, 1813, when a man and his wife were stood therein for keeping a disorderly house at Charlotte Row—the man for an hour, and the woman half an hour.

The town records show that in Tudor and Stuart days there was always plenty of entertainment provided for the general public in the way of whipping at the cart's tail. 'Fackabons' and 'hores' were commonly passed on to Stonehouse or Compton.

There were serious riots in Plymouth at various times during the great French war on account of the high price of provisions; and Harris records sundry incidents of that in 1801. The butchers and bakers were assailed. The mob threatened to hang a baker named Yelland, of Briton Side, putting a rope round his neck and only letting him go on promise of amendment. 'Mr. Crimp, baker, Market Street, kept them off with his drawn sword.' Special constables were sworn in, and the authorities in London communicated with. On another occasion the crews of men of war in Hamoaze, who had quarrelled, landed at Dock to the number of several hundred to fight the issue seriously out.

CHAPTER VIII.

PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATION.

SICINIUS: How now, my masters! Have you chose this man?

CITIZEN: He hath our voices, sir.—*Shakspeare.*

PLYMOUTH first sent representatives to Parliament in the reign of Edward I., as the Borough of Sutton. The earliest record is dated 1298, the twenty-sixth of Edward I. The returns seem to have been intermittent until the twentieth Henry VI., from which date they have been continuous. We find the town sending to councils on maritime affairs, however, when its parliamentary voice appears to have been suspended; and the representation may have been more continuous than is now traceable. Thus in 1344 two inhabitants acquainted with shipping were summoned to London to advise the king and council; in 1369 two sufficient men familiar with mercantile affairs; while in 1374 Willian Noytour, master of the *Trinity* of Plymouth, was called by name to advise.

Right of Election.

The right of election was variously exercised, sometimes by the Mayor and Corporation, sometimes by the freemen, including the corporate body, and later by the freemen and freeholders jointly. There is no doubt now that the Commonalty were the body in whom the right of election originally vested, and that in the first instance freeman was a term of as wide an application as burgess has become, and practically included the general body of native male inhabitants of full age.

The House of Commons in 1660 decided upon a contested return, that the right of election of members to serve in Parliament for the borough of Plymouth was vested in the Mayor and Commonalty, and Sir John Maynard and Mr. Edmund Fowell, who had been elected by the Corporation,

were therefore declared unduly chosen. The Corporation, however, chose the members in 1685. From that time onward the elections were made by both freemen and freeholders, though without authority, until the creation of fictitious votes led in 1739 to the rights of the freeholders being disputed.

Mr. John Rogers and Mr. C. Vanbrugh were the opposing candidates, and the election being decided in favour of the former by 'the vast number of faggots which came from the utmost parts of Cornwall,' a petition was presented against his return. The House decided that the word Commonalty mentioned in the former decision extended to freemen only, and Mr. Vanbrugh was declared duly elected. The freeholders also claimed to vote in 1780 on behalf of Mr. John Culme against Sir F. L. Rogers. Each candidate then voted for his opponent. For Rogers 119 freemen polled; for Culme 61, and 87 freeholders. The last attempt of the freeholders was in 1807. In the freemen the right of election then remained until the Reform Bill of 1832, when the franchise was extended to the ten-pounders.

The Corporation at various times passed bye-laws regulating the choice of representatives. Thus in 1568-9 it was ordered that no burgess should be chosen 'but onelie suche men as be tounne dwellers and the counsell of the tounne'; and in 1601 it was directed that one should be a freeman.

The Freemen.

When the Reform Bill of 1832 passed Plymouth was returned to have just 240 voters (there were 426 names, however, on the roll); and fifty years elapsed ere the last freeman passed away—Mr. William Dart, whose right accrued before 1832, but was not taken up by him until 1844, and who died in 1883. In him ended the line which began with William Ketherick, named Mayor in the charter of Henry VI. There must indeed have been freemen of the ville of Sutton before then. Only we know nothing of them; and the earliest list of freemen of Plymouth extant is dated 1540, from which time to the present day materials exist for the compilation of a fairly complete list. To be a freeman of Plymouth once meant a great deal. All that it meant to Mr. Dart was the right of voting for members of Parliament without paying rates. In the old days no one could claim to reside or trade in the town without being free of the franchise, or compounding for his disability; and

there were certain classes of persons who could never become freemen at all. No 'alio borne' could attain that dignity, unless he were 'of Normandy, Gascon, Syon, Ireland, Caley, Benoyke, and the bordars of the same Being Englishe'—these being at the date of the regulation foreign possessions of the English Crown. Moreover, about the same time, in the reign of Edward IV., it was declared that freemen of Plymouth must be either whole or half brothers in 'oure Lady and saynct George is yelde,' and all 'fforeyns'—which meant simply anybody who did not belong to Plymouth—were ejected. The names of freemen were entered in the town 'ligger'; and the freedom of the borough was the highest honour the Corporation could bestow. There were four classes of freemen—honorary, of whom very few were made previous to the Restoration; hereditary, the eldest son of a freeman being entitled to the freedom after the death of his father; apprenticeship, curtailed at one time to a freeman's first apprentice only; and purchase, the price varying from a few shillings up to £25. At this latter figure the unreformed Corporation sold a large number of freedoms just before 1832, and gave only a barren honour. As the new freemen had not voted before 1832 or held the freedom twelve months, the first Reform Bill extinguished them, and the money was not handed back, but applied in building the gaol. More creditable to the Corporation was their recognition of the services of the medical men of the Three Towns at the time of the first cholera visitation. All who were not already freemen were made so; and those who were had the right to nominate a substitute, granted also to the widow of one of these gentlemen. It became the custom for each Mayor to choose a freeman on his retiring from office; and for some little time—mysterious statement—'the Mayoress was allowed to make her favourite if she had any.' As beseemed the last representative of this once important body, Mr. Dart had great faith in the 'good old times.' For some years he occupied a return in the Parliamentary register to himself.

The original list of freemen in the *Black Book*, which may be distinguished from the earlier additions by the writing (further on the names of the freemen made are entered under the respective mayoralties) contains 108 entries. These then formed the entire Commonalty in the year 1540. The names are as follows:

William Randall, James Horswell, William Hawkyngs, Thomas Clowter, Henry Harvy, Lucas Cok, Thomas Holwaye,

John Persse, John Bovy, John Ude, Robert Craswell, Richard Cuscott, William Wyks, Richard Chugg, William Ayshelegh, Stephen Burdon, John Towson, William Edgecombe, Thomas Bull, John Bygporte, John Ellyott, Thomas Byrtt, John Thomas, Thomas Mylls, Robert Dyghton, Richard Lybbe, John Keynsham, Henry Martyn, William Bullar, Robert Hampton, John Brokyng, Thomas Trowin, John Tasse, Stephen Mylls, John Moone, William Gybbons, John Grosse, Philip Collas, John Pegon, John Howell, Robert Horswell, William Hawkyns, baker, Thomas Byrtt, jun., Thomas Symon, William Trounse, Richard Crockar, Henry Bolde, Lewes Mendose, Peter Chopyn, John Gybbons, Richard Cavell, Thomas Whyddon, Edward Cok, Stephen Andrew, Richard Saunder, John Rowe, John Coram, Symon Cok, John Hawkyns, John Lowde, John Persse, jun., John Small, Thomas Kaye, Thomas Whyte, Robert Hornebroke, William Coosyn, John Charelton, Robert Charelton, John Ysan, Patryke Makane, Vyncent Bury, Richard Rowlyn, Thomas Hacker, John Dery, John Gawde, Nicholas Pounce, Thomas Rodger, John Gyll, Thomas Rowlyn, Thomas Pecock, Andrew Tooker, William Foorde, William Myll, John Notyng, Thomas Mayson, John Feltwell, John Pery, Richard Heywoode, Alexander Trott, Richard Gawde, John Pounce, Richard Rodger, Henry Howe, John Palmer, John Lowter, John Clement, John Mounforde, Nicholas Dunforde, William Macy, John Herfforde, John Hooper, John Lenden, John Peryn, Thomas Collyn, Henry Cowper, tailor, Robert Burley.

The earliest dated entry of admissions is in 1552, up to which time 135 had been made free in addition to the original list quoted; but there is no record of losses save here and there the mention of a death or an expulsion, as in the case of John Lighe, 'dysmysed for disobeinge of Mr. Edmonds comāndnt beinge Mr. Maior.' The numbers admitted in each year varied greatly, ranging in the sixteenth century from two to thirty-eight, while in some mayoralties in the early part of the seventeenth century none were made; for example, in the successive mayoralties of Clements, Colner, and Trelawny 1614-15-16; and again in those of N. Sherwell and Fownes, 1618-19. There were evidently from the earliest date more ways than one of getting on the freeman's roll; for while to the great majority of the names no note is appended, some of the freedoms are said to have been purchased, and others given by the Mayor, or by the Aldermen, as in the case of Francis Fletcher, preacher—'Gvyn by thassent of the whole masters,' in the mayoralty

of George Maynard, 1586. Honorary freemen were then almost unknown, though now and then we get the name of a member of a county family—a Carewe, a Copleston, a Budocushyde for example. But these would have some local interest, and the first purely honorary freemen on record are 'William Jackson and Hemfrie Jobson, esquires,' made free in 1605, apparently for the all-sufficient reason that they were 'secretaries to the Earle of Nottingham, Lord Admirall of England.'

It will help to complete this personal picture of Elizabethan Plymouth if we add the earliest list preserved of those who being unfree 'fyned to dwell in the town' in 1566, for in these days only a freeman could habitually reside in Plymouth as of right. The list, some of the Christian names of which are defaced, is in the *White Book*.

Philip Cocke, James Wyght, Nich. Holman, John Doble, John Gale, Thomas Allyn, . . . Cottye, Nich. Browne, . . . Edmownds, Richard Lawgh, Patrick Dyngle, Thomas Pyers, John Hawkyn, mariner, Robert Pyeke, . . . Curber, . . . Harvyne, . . . Lygh, Robert Master, . . . Courtys, Walter Perott, William Colle, Robert Johns, . . . Parke, William Waters, . . . Hancock, Robert Cowtys, . . . Granger, William Maye, Robert Snyth, . . . Ambrose, . . . Coram, Roger Swyngebye, John Metherell, Thomas Morysse, William Buttler, John Hewberd, Mr. Bandfyld, Martyn Lovet, John Gybbys, Edward Thruston, Thomas Mathew, Martyn Darton, William Bennytt, mariner, Robert Plymton, John Martyn, mariner, . . . Collyn weyver, Hewys . . . helyer, John Nycholas, tayler, Philip Barber, John Blythman, Nyghyll Jones, George Skarlytt, John Truslow, Arnold Johnson, Thomas Trypplyn, William Godfrye, William Bachyler, Harrye Lovell, William Roger, brewer, William Roger, mariner, George Tye, Robert Grigg, Jerman Blake, Ellys Welshe, Christopher Browkyng, Roger Rowlyn, Thomas Collyn, cooper, John Blake, John Francklyn, baker, John Gryffyn, Cornelius Morsse, John Towre, William Collyng, Francis Burdon, John Towker, Harry Rawlyn, Martyn Pottran, Thomas Wyllyams, mariner, John Nycks, Richard Byrt, Arthur Yeats, Vynson Browsye, John Vde, John Penrye, John Bowman, Sander Skobyll, Richard Smale, Lawrence Rowland, John Halse, Mr. Cuttyll, Edward Crosse, John Bromhyll, Lawrence Wyllyams, Thos. Davyes, William Byant, Charles Glowbbe, Thomas Horwyll, John Rowke.

The permanent character of the residence of many of these is shown by the number who subsequently become

free. If to the 99 names here given we add 200 for the freemen, we shall get a total of just 300 male heads of households at this date.

In the earlier years of the present century there was much concern among the freemen as to their rights and privileges, and they had a club, the 'Shoulder of Mutton.' Proposals made to increase their number were generally objected to, the desire of the majority being to retain the power in their own hands, for reasons which are apparent enough. At length the club quarrelled among themselves as to the choice of a mayor, and held their last meeting September 15th, 1827. In 1817 the freemen (who had sustained their right to elect the Mayor against the corporate body in 1803) made good their claim to elect Aldermen, as against a choice by the Mayor and Aldermen, out of the Common Council.

In this same year an attempt was made to open the borough by electing to the freedom upwards of a hundred of the 'respectable inhabitants,' but it was lost on a poll by 74 votes to 68.

The list of honorary freemen contains many distinguished names. The Duke of Albemarle with 'forty other gentry' were made free in October, 1676. The patents were generally given in silver boxes costing 30s., but the Prince of Wales had a gold box in 1736-7. Such names occur as Sir Cloudesley Shovel, the Archbishop of York, the Dukes of Montagu and Wharton, Lords Mansfield, Howe, and later of Nelson, St. Vincent, Wellington, Earl (Lord John) Russell.

The Reform Bill.

Intense interest was felt in the Reform cause in Plymouth, the great majority of the inhabitants being without the pale of the franchise, and having no influence whatever either in Parliamentary or local affairs. When in May, 1832, it was learnt that the Bill was lost, and that ministers had resigned, the demonstrations of public feeling were very decided. Shops were half closed, flags were hoisted half-mast high, muffled peals were rung, and on the 16th an immense public meeting was held on the Hoe, Dr. Cookworthy presiding. The news in the following month that the Act was passed was received with corresponding rejoicing; and on the 27th instant the event was celebrated in most enthusiastic fashion with a monster procession a mile and a half in length, the paraphernalia of which are stated to have cost in money alone,

exclusive of labour, upwards of £5,000. The procession started from Granby Square, Devonport, and perambulated the Three Towns. The jubilee of the Bill was celebrated July 7th, 1882, by a mass meeting in the Hoe Bull Ring.

Representatives.

The following is probably as accurate a list of representatives as is now obtainable :

EDWARD I.

- 1298 William of Stoke, Nicholas the 'Rydlera.'
- 1304 William Bredon, John Austin.

EDWARD II.

- 1311 Robert the Soper, William Smith.
- 1311 Robert Cokeman, Walter Trompere(?).
- John of Honeton, Henry Welych(?).

Soper and Smith may be for 1309. The four names given for the second Parliament of 1311 are unappropriated Devon returns, and one of the two sets may belong to Plymouth. A William Honyton was mayor in 1381.

- 1313 John Austyn, William Berd.

These early returns are very defective; some have lost their dates, others the names of the places. Nothing is consecutive in the original documents before the accession of Mary. Austin, Bredon, and Berd seem to have sat for Plymouth at other times. The local records supply many of the early dates and names.

EDWARD III.

- 1340 John Bernard, John Berd.

HENRY VI.

- 1441 John Wolston, John Carwynnak.
- 1446 William Eggecombe, William Taillour.
- 1448 Thomas Hill, William Dawen.
- 1449 Thomas Welywrought, John Brygham.
- 1450 John Radesford, William Dawny.
- 1452 William Tayler, John Clyff of Scobhill.
- 1454 Vincent Pydilyden, Richard Page.

EDWARD IV.

- 1467 John Rowelond, Richard Page.
- 1472 John Snape, Nicholas Snape.
- 1477 Alfred Cornburgh, Richard Page.

HENRY VII.

- 1487 Thomas Greyson.
 1495 William Thyckpenny, William Bree.
 1496 Thomas Tresawell, William Bree.
 1503 Roger Elford, John Style.
 1508 John Bryan, Henry Strete.

HENRY VIII.

- 1510 Roger Elford, — Legh.
 1511 Ditto . Ditto.
 1514 Roger Elford, — Bowrynge.
 1523(?) J. Orenge, — Bowrynge.
 1529 John Pollard, Thomas Vowell.
 1536 John Pollard.
 1539 James Horswell, William Hawkins.
 1542 George Ferrers, James Horswell.
 1543 James Horswell.

EDWARD VI.

- 1547 William Hawkins.
 1553(?) Sir Richard Edgcumbe.

MARY.

- 1553 Roger Budocushyde, William Hawkins.
 1554 John Mallett (or Maller), Richard Hooper.

PHILIP AND MARY.

- 1554 Sir Thomas Knyvet, Roger Buttissyde.
 1555 Thomas Carew of Anthonye, John Yong.
 1557 Humphry Specotte, Nicholas Slannyng.

ELIZABETH.

- 1562 Henry Champernowne, William Peryam.
 1571(?) Sir Humphry Gilbert, John Hawkyngs.¹
 1572 John Hawkyngs, Edmund Tremain.
 1584 Henry Bromley, Christopher Harria.
 1586 Henry Bromley, Hugh Vaughan.
 1589 Miles Sandes, Reginald Nichols.
 1593 Sir Francis Drake, Robert Bassett.
 1597 Warwick Hele, William Stallenge.
 1601 James Bagge, William Stallenge.

JAMES I.

- 1604 Sir Richard Hawkins, James Bagge.
 1614 John Glanville, Thomas Sherwill.
 1620 Ditto ditto.
 1624 Ditto ditto.

¹ There was no Parliament this year, so that the date given must be wrong. Possibly it should be 1566.

CHARLES I.

- 1625 John Glanville, Thomas Sherwill.
- 1626 Ditto ditto.
- 1628 Ditto ditto.
- 1640 Robert Trelawny, John Waddon.
- 1640 Ditto ditto.
- 1641 Sir John Yonge.²

COMMONWEALTH.

- 1654 Christopher Ceely, William Yeo.
- 1656 John Maynard, Timothy Alsop.
- 1659 Christopher Ceely, Timothy Alsop.

CHARLES II.

- 1660 John Maynard, Edmund Fowell.

These gentlemen were declared unduly elected by the Corporation and unseated on petition. In their stead were taken, chosen by the freemen

- 1660 William Morice, Samuel Trelawny.
- 1661 Sir William Morice, Samuel Trelawny, of Ham.
- 1666 Sir Gilbert Talbot, vice Trelawny, dead.³
- 1677 John Sparke, vice Sir William Morice, dead.
- 1679 Sir John Maynard, John Sparke.
- 1680 Sir William Jones, vice Sparke, dead.
- 1681 Sir John Maynard, Sir William Jones.

JAMES II.

- 1685 Bernard Grenville, Richard Jones, Earl Ranelagh.
- 1689 Sir John Maynard, A. Herbert.

WILLIAM AND MARY.

- 1689 John Granville, vice A. Herbert, created Viscount Torrington.
- 1690 John Granville, Sir J. Maynard.
- 1690 John Trelawny, vice Maynard, dead.

WILLIAM III.

- 1695 John Granville, George Parker.
- 1698 C. Trelawny, John Rogers, senr.⁴
- 1700 C. Trelawny, Henry Trelawny.
- 1701 Ditto ditto.
- 1702 John Woolcombe, vice H. Trelawny, dead.

² Yonge was elected in the place of Trelawny, expelled for having said that the House could not appoint a guard for themselves without the king's consent, under pain of high treason. Trelawny died in prison. Yonge signed the Remonstrance, and was one of the one hundred members secluded. The second Parliament of 1640 was the Long Parliament.

³ Talbot's speech was, 'Gentlemen, I desire your company, at three of the clock, at the Sun Tavern, where I have a glass of wine at your service.'

⁴ They beat Parker and Calmady by 190 votes to 135.

ANNE

- 1702 C. Trelawny, John Woolcombe.
- 1705 C. Trelawny, Sir G. Byng.⁵
- 1708 Ditto ditto.
- 1709 Sir G. Byng.
- 1710 C. Trelawny, Sir G. Byng.
- 1713 Sir J. Rogers, Sir G. Byng.

GEORGE I.

- 1715 Sir John Rogers, Sir G. Byng.
- 1720 Sir G. Byng.
- 1721 Pattee Byng, vice Sir G. Byng, called to House of Lords.
- 1722 William Chetwynd, Pattee Byng.
- 1724 Pattee Byng.

GEORGE II.

- 1727 Arthur Stert, George Treby.
- 1728 Robert Byng in place of Treby, who sat for Dartmouth.
- 1731 Arthur Stert, Robert Byng.
- 1735 Ditto ditto.
- 1739 Charles Vanbrugh.

Bye-election, Byng made governor of Barbadoes, John Rogers declared unduly elected.

- 1740 Lord Henry Beauclerk, vice Vanbrugh, dead.
- 1741 Arthur Stert, Lord Vere Beauclerk.
- 1744 Lord Vere Beauclerk.
- 1747 Lord Vere Beauclerk, Arthur Stert.
- 1750 Charles Sanders, vice Beauclerk, called to House of Lords.⁶
- 1754 Viscount Barrington, Samuel Dicker.
- 1755 Viscount Barrington.
- 1760 Vice-Admiral G. Pocock, vice Dicker, dead.

GEORGE III.

- 1761 Viscount Barrington, Vice-Admiral Pocock.
- 1762 Viscount Barrington.
- 1765 Viscount Barrington.
- 1768 Viscount Barrington, Francis Holburne.
- 1770 F. Holbourne.
- 1771 Admiral Sir C. Hardy, vice Holbourne, dead.

⁵ According to Yonge's *Memoirs* the Whig interest carried Byng by 'tricks and overbating.'

⁶ This Saunders is described as 'a man of neither figure nor character,' his election being due to the 'vile scoundrel Aldermen in place, and their lacqueys the Common Council, one half of both benches within a few years having made themselves slaves and dependents on the Board of Admiralty by getting into places.'—WOOLLCOMBE.

- 1774 Viscount Barrington, Admiral Sir C. Hardy.
 1778 Viscount Lewisham, vice Barrington, retired.
 1780 Sir F. L. Rogers, vice Hardy, dead.
 1780 Sir F. L. Rogers, Vice-Admiral G. Darby.
 1784 Captain R. Fanshawe, R.N., Captain John Macbride, R.N.
 1790 Captain Alan Gardner, R.N., vice Fanshawe, made
 Commissioner of Navy.
 1790 Captain Gardner, Sir F. L. Rogers.
 1796 Sir F. L. Rogers, W. Elford.
 1797 Francis Glanville, vice Rogers, dead.
 1802 Sir W. Elford, Philip Langmead.
 1806 Sir Thomas Tyrwhitt, vice Langmead, retired.
 1806 Sir C. M. Pole, Sir T. Tyrwhitt.
 1807 Ditto ditto.⁷
 1812 Sir C. M. Pole, Sir B. Bloomfield.
 1818 Sir W. Congreve vice Bloomfield, keeper of privy
 purse.
 1818 Sir W. Congreve, Sir T. B. Martin.

GEORGE IV.

- 1820 Sir W. Congreve, Sir T. B. Martin.
 1826 Ditto ditto.
 1828 Sir G. Cockburn vice Congreve, dead.
 1829 Sir G. Cockburn.

WILLIAM IV.

- 1830 Sir T. B. Martin, Sir G. Cockburn.⁸
 1831 Ditto ditto.

UNDER FIRST REFORM ACT.

- 1832 Dec. John Collier (L).
 Thomas B. Bewes (L) unopposed.
 1835 Jan. John Collier (L) 720
 Thomas B. Bewes (L) 687
 Sir George Cockburn (C) 667

VICTORIA.

- 1837 July John Collier (L) 780
 Thomas B. Bewes (L) 772
 Sir George Cockburn (C) 551
 Hon. P. Blackwood (C) 466

⁷ The freeholders voted for Sir W. Elford and Mr. T. Bewes, who petitioned, but the committee would not enter into their petition, holding themselves precluded by the decision of 1739.

⁸ The Hon. Captain Elliott was the third candidate. He was a Reformer, and the effort was to turn out Sir George Cockburn. At this election there was much controversy concerning the rights of the new freemen, who had become such by purchase.

1841	July	Thomas Gill (L)	821
		Viscount Ebrington (L)	787
		Alderman J. Johnson (C)	552

On Lord Ebrington becoming a Lord of the Treasury.

1846	July	Viscount Ebrington (L)	716
		Henry Vincent (Chartist)	188
1847	July	Viscount Ebrington (L)	921
		Roundell Palmer (L C)	837
		C. B. Calmady (L)	769
1852	July	C. J. Mare (C)	1036
		R. Porrett Collier (L)	1004
		G. T. Braine (L)	906
		Bickham Escott (L)	372

Mr. Mare being unseated on petition.

1853	June	Roundell Palmer (L C)	944
		G. T. Braine (L)	876
1857	Mar.	R. P. Collier (L)	1167
		James White (L)	1106
		John Hardy (C)	622
1859	April	Viscount Valletort (C)	1153
		R. P. Collier (L)	1086
		James White (L)	964

On Viscount Valletort succeeding his father, Earl Mount Edgcumbe.

1861	Oct.	Walter Morrison (L)	1179
		Hon. W. W. Addington (C)	984

On Mr. Collier becoming Solicitor-General.

1863	July	Sir R. P. Collier (L)	
1865	July	Sir R. P. Collier (L)	1299
		Walter Morrison (L)	1218
		R. S. Lane (C)	1147

UNDER SECOND REFORM ACT.

1868	Nov.	Sir R. P. Collier (L)	2086
		Walter Morrison (L)	2065
		R. S. Lane (C)	1506
1868	Dec.	Sir R. P. Collier (L)	
1870	Aug.	Sir R. P. Collier (L)	

Sir Robert Collier was re-elected without opposition in December, 1868, on becoming Attorney-General; and in

August, 1870, on being appointed Recorder of Bristol, which office he resigned immediately after re-election, as objection had been raised to his taking it. The next contested election was in 1871, on Sir R. P. Collier's becoming puisne judge of the Common Pleas, preparatory to being chosen Judge of Appeal.*

1871	Nov.	Edward Bates (C)	1753
		Alfred Rooker (L)	1511
1874	Jan.	Edward Bates (C)	2045
		Sampson Lloyd (C)	2000
		Sir George Young (L)	1714
		Walter Morrison (L)	1700
1880	Mar.	Edward Bates (C)	2442
		P. S. Macliver (L)	2407
		Sir G. Young (L)	2402
		S. Lloyd (C)	2384

On petition Sir Edward Bates was unseated for illegal payments, but exonerated from corrupt motives. To fill the vacancy—

1880	July	Edward Clarke (C)	2449
		Sir G. Young (L)	2305

UNDER THIRD REFORM ACT.

1885	Nov.	Sir E. Bates (C)	4354
		E. Clarke (C)	4240
		P. S. Macliver (L)	4132
		Hon. Baliol Brett (L)	3968

The nominal electorate had increased to 10,139, and the borough had been extended by the additions of the tithing of Compton Gifford and a portion of Laira.

On the Irish Home Rule question—

1886	July	E. Clarke (C)	4137
		Sir E. Bates (C)	4133
		T. E. Stephens (L)	3255
		E. Strachey (L)	3175
1886	Aug.	Sir E. Clarke (C)	

On the formation of the Conservative Government in August, 1886, Mr. Clarke was appointed Solicitor-General, and re-elected without opposition.

* Sir R. P. Collier, the most distinguished of modern Plymouthians, was created Lord Monkswell in 1885, and died in 1886.

Many of the names in this list speak for themselves. The earlier members were for the most part local men, many belonging to the Corporation, and others to families resident in the neighbourhood. And this local character distinctly predominated until the middle of the reign of George II., the exceptions being insignificant, and occurring, as a rule, at long intervals. The three most distinguished men who ever sat for Plymouth represented the borough in the reign of Elizabeth—Sir Humphry Gilbert, Sir John Hawkins, and Sir Francis Drake.

The arrest of George Ferrers, one of the representatives in the reign of Henry VIII. was the occasion of the statute giving members freedom from imprisonment for debt.

Throughout the first half of the seventeenth century Plymouth swelled the ranks of the popular party in the House of Commons; but after the Restoration there was a change, evidenced by the election of Sir William Morice, a Secretary of State, and one of the chief agents in promoting the King's return. Sir William's connection with Plymouth preceded by some years his purchase of the manor of Stoke Damerel from the Wises. The influence of the Court was exerted with more effect after the charter of the borough had been surrendered, and another granted appointing a new Corporation. The Revolution saw a return to the old class of representatives—the Trelawnys, and men of that stamp. Not many years, however, elapsed before the borough again fell under the domination of the powers that were. As the naval establishment at Dock grew, the influence of the Government increased, and early in the reign of George II. Plymouth became an Admiralty nomination borough, which character it retained, with few intervals, down to the time of the Reform Bill, when Devonport with Stonehouse were constituted a distinct constituency, and the reproach in popular estimation transferred to them. But there are still numerous voters connected with the dockyard and other Government establishments resident in the older town.

Many amusing stories might be told of old election humours. The struggle in 1784 between Captain Macbride and Sir Frederick Rogers was long held in memory. A popular election couplet—the Captain carried the day—was:

Macbride's a man, Sir Frederick's a mouse,
Macbride shall sit in the Parliament house.

It was chiefly through Macbride's exertions that the Parliamentary grant was obtained for the erection of the

Sutton Harbour piers; and his memory is still preserved at the Barbican, where a small public-house rejoices in the name of 'Admiral Macbride, the faithful Irishman.' But the fight was really for the independence of the borough against official dictation and corruption, which Macbride represented.

The Rogers family were among the leading merchants of Plymouth in the days of its great colonial trade. They were raised to the baronetage in 1698, and throughout the eighteenth century held a foremost position in the Corporation. In 1871 Sir F. L. Rogers, who had been Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, was raised to the peerage as Lord Blachford. The title lapsed on his death in 1889; but the baronetcy continues in his brother, Sir J. C. Rogers.

Payment of Members.

Numerous entries occur in the Corporate accounts of payments made to members of Parliament. The following are fair samples:

In 1495 we find—

Item p ^d to William Thyckpeny and to Willm Bree burgs of the pliament the same yere	xl ^a
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In the next year Thyckpeny had 20s., and Bree 13s. 4d.
Then in 1510—

It deluy ^r yd to John Bryan for harry Strete and hym beyng burgess of plement for the towne for ther labo ^r and Expences duryng the plement and for rewards and pleasurs gyven to dyus lordes of the Courte to be fryndeley to the towne	x ⁱⁱ
--	-----------------

A very suspicious entry, and only one of many pointing in the same direction. The Mayor, 'twelve and twenty-four,' were autocrats within the town, but had to be very wary of their ways without.

In 1542 Ferrers had a doublet of satin for his fees.

In 1602 Sir James Bagge was paid £32 for sixty-four days attending on Parliament, himself and man, at 10s. a day.

In 1622 John Glanvyll, the Recorder, had a bason and ewer of silver gilt given him for his service as a burgess in Parliament. They cost £33 17s. 3d. Engraven on the basin was 'a mapp of the Towne of Plymouth' after a 'Plott' by 'Robert Spry the Paynter.'

Timothy Alsop, one of the members under the Commonwealth, kept his constituents supplied with 'newes Bookes' and letters in 1659-60.

In 1680 there were £37 10s. paid for 'a large silver salver Cawdle Cupp and cover embost and thicke washed with gold,' weighing seventy-five ounces, given to John Sparke, one of the burgesses in Parliament, in token of the 'Respect and Gratitude of the Towne for his faithfull and diligent service.'

Regular payment of members in cash went out in Plymouth with the Protectorate, but presents were given, as here, at intervals during the next half century. Then the tables were turned, and the representatives commenced to pay their constituents. The two first to do this were Charles Trelawny and George Byng, who in 1710-11 gave £100 each for the use of the Corporation. The last payment of a member was in 1694-5, when John Trelawny had 100 guineas 'in consideration of his services to the town in parliament.'

CHAPTER IX.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

Enter the Mayor and his brethren.—*Shakspeare.*

OBSCURITY veils the commencement of the corporate history of Plymouth. The borough, to the extent of its present municipal limits, was incorporated by Act of Parliament passed in 1439; but a Corporation by prescription existed within a part at least of the town from a much earlier period.

An Inquisition taken at Exeter before Salamon of Roffe and his associates, justices itinerant, on the octave of St. Martin, 9 Edward I. (1281), sets forth *inter alia* that the manors of Sutton, Maketon (Maker), and Kings Tamerton, '*cum filo aque de Tamar*,' were ancient demesne of the King, but had been given by Henry I. to Roger (elsewhere called Reginald) of Valletort by the service of a knight's fee and a half—that John of Vautort then held the manors of Sutton and Maketon, and Elias of Blakeston that of Kings Tamerton, while Edmund Count of Cornwall '*tenet filum aque*,' it did not appear by what warrant. And John and Elias came and said that they and their predecessors had held these manors before the time of Richard the King. The Abbot of Buckland held Buckland Monachorum, Bickleigh, Walkhampton, and the hundred of Roborough; while Robert Gyffard (whence Compton Gifford) held the manors of Egg Buckland, Compton, and Haueknol (Honicknowle).

Moreover, it was presented that the ville of Sutton belonged to the Prior of Plympton, with assize of bread and beer, and this right was allowed. The Prior claimed that these liberties had been enjoyed for many years by charter of Henry III.

Here is the first mention of Sutton as a ville. It is thus evident that it assumed the status of a town in the modern sense somewhere in the earlier part of the thirteenth century.

Leland tells us, and unquestionably he had access to authorities no longer extant, that in the reign of Henry II. Sutton was 'a mene thing as an Inhabitation of Fischars'; and he asserts that all who had built houses in Sutton Prior since then took licence of the Prior of Plympton as their chief lord. The town, however, had increased more rapidly than his 'Litle and Litle,' or it would never have become a parliamentary borough in 1298; or in 1377 ranked next to Bristol as the most populous port in the provinces.

The establishment of a market is an excellent landmark of progress, and the first market grant for Plymouth was made in the reign of Henry III., though the dates are somewhat uncertain. The Hundred Rolls of Edward I. state that the Prior of Plympton '*habet libertatis ut assisas panis et cervisii et theolonea in villa de Sutton,*' by charter of Henry III. Elsewhere the grant is said to have been made 38th Henry III. (1253) and to be of a Thursday market with a fair of three days at the festival of John the Baptist. Some sixty years since this charter was sought for on behalf of the Corporation, without success. In the forty-second year of the same monarch, Baldwin of the Isle had a grant for Sutton of a Wednesday market and a fair of three days at the feast of the Ascension. Henry's grant to the Prior was believed to have contained particular liberties. Baldwin of the Isle is Baldwin of Redvers, the last Redvers Earl of Devon, lord of Plympton, who does not previously appear to have had any connection with Plymouth. We cannot believe that the two grants applied to the same place or jurisdiction, for they are made to two different authorities and in inconsistent fashion. No town of the size of Sutton would have needed a market two days following. Had the second grant been made to a Valletort in respect of Sutton Vawter, all would be clear enough; and we should be helped somewhat to understand certain apparent contradictions with regard to the market site, one of the spots alleged being within Sutton Prior and the other in Sutton Vawter. And as a reference to the Patent Rolls shows that the grant to Baldwin included manorial rights, possibly a dismemberment, if not a transfer, of Sutton Vawter was made in his favour.

Strivings for Incorporation.

Year by year through the reigns of Henry III. and of the two first Edwards Sutton Prior continued to grow and flourish, until it either excited the attention of royalty, or the inhabitants sought to cast off the convent yoke. A movement commenced in the penultimate decade of the 13th century which never slackened long together for just 150 years, until its end was achieved. The inhabitants were determined to assert their independence, and be kept in leading-strings no longer.

By writ from the King to the Sheriff of Devon, *circa* 1317, Nicholas of Cheigny, William of Chivelston, and Nicholas of Tewksbury, were appointed commissioners to enquire by a jury in the presence, if so desired, of the Prior of Plympton, John of Vautort of Clyst, and John of Vautort of Modeton, touching the property of the King in the town of Sutton, and a petition by the burgesses of Sutton to be granted at a yearly rent certain waste places belonging to the Crown there. In opposition the Prior and the two Valletorts declared that the King had no lands in the town; and that he had no right to make Sutton a free borough and grant thereto a fair and market, the Prior being lord of two parts of the same town, and having a fair and market by royal charter, and the Valletorts being lords of the other third. Further, that Sutton was within the hundred of Roborough, of which the Abbot of Buckland was lord. So the Prior and the Valletorts declared that the town was wholly theirs and none of the King's, and prayed the King not to grant franchise there nor any other thing.

Nevertheless upon an Inquisition held before Robert Bondyn, Sheriff of Devon, at Exeter, 'die dominica in festo Sancte Trinitatis anno regno Regis Edwardi ximo' (1318), on the oaths of John Gifforde, William Kemell, Walter of Colrigg, Vincent of Wyneston, Alan of Lydeton, John of Sergeuill, Thomas Collinge, John Adam, Robert Raffe, Ralph Cocke of Brendon, Martin the Clerk, and David Attewill, it was found that the kings of England before the foundation of the ville of Sutton had a piece of waste land near the port of Plymouth, five perches long and one perch broad; and a certain other piece of land in the withdrawal of the sea—'*in retractio maris*'—containing six acres of land, where a certain house of the town was built: at which places the King's ancestors by their bailiffs held their courts; and that fishing boats of the said ville and other places were accustomed to resort thither to dry their sails and nets, and

expose their fish for sale—paying the King a rent of 12d. and a penny on each basket of fish there brought. Moreover, that the proceeds amounted to £4 annually.

This so far justifies Leland that it shows the existence of a fishing village of Sutton to be long antecedent to the foundation of the town; and it indicates moreover the existence of certain market rights in the King's demesne, prior to and contemporary with those granted to the Priory. The royal rights recognised by the jury are practically those which formed part first of the Earldom and then of the Duchy of Cornwall in connection with Sutton Pool—'the port of Plymouth' in its original sense.

Another Inquisition, taken by Matthew of Clynedon in the same year, indicates more clearly the character of the proprietorial rights in Sutton, and locates the two main divisions. The town of Sutton was upon the coast of the port of Plymouth, but no part of it stood upon the King's soil. A certain portion of the town north of the said coast was upon the soil of the Prior of Plympton, and the Prior had assize of bread and ale, and rents to the amount of £14 9s. 6½d., and so had had from time immemorial, and there were free tenants. Another part of the town, south of the said coast, was upon the soil of John of Vautort, but the said John received nothing therefrom, save certain rents to the amount of £11 16s. 6d.; and his tenants did suit to his court twice in the year. In this part of the town the Abbot of Buckland had assize of bread and ale. The port of Plymouth belonged to the King, and rendered yearly £4 into the Exchequer; and Matthew of Clynedon found that it would neither prejudice the King nor any others if Sutton were made a free borough, and the inhabitants free burgesses, saving the service to the lords.

It is evident that the meaning we must attach to the words 'Port of Plymouth,' is 'Harbour of Sutton Pool,' otherwise the description, strained in any case, becomes absolutely unintelligible; for while Sutton Prior undoubtedly lay mainly to the north of this inlet, Sutton Vawter, though partially it might be regarded as south, was essentially west. And south of the port of Plymouth in any larger sense we have only the Channel. However, the way in which the word south is applied in the Inquisition is clearly enough indicated, by the use of the phrase Southside of the immediate south-western border of Sutton Pool; and ancient deeds show that tenements here were comprised within the manor of Sutton Vawter.

As we have seen (Chap. ii.) the rights of the Priors and their brethren were questioned on various occasions, but were always successfully defended, whether against the Crown or the Earldom and Duchy of Cornwall, though the Convent had to submit to pay a fee farm rent into the Exchequer. Still these repeated proceedings on the part of the Crown appear to indicate some peculiarity in the title of the religious lords of Sutton.

First Traces of a Governing Body.

The earliest reference to a governing body at Plymouth is the address of a writ by Henry III. (1254) to the Bailiffs of the port of Plymouth (Plymmue), among others; but this general allusion is no absolute proof that such existed. The first clear evidence of a local authority is contained in a letter dated May 31st, 1289, in which the *Bailiffs and Commonalty* of Plymouth write to the King that having been ordered to get ready a ship to transport men at arms and horses upon service, they had prepared the *Michel*, of Plymouth.

There are extant a number of writs addressed during the fourteenth century to persons in Plymouth, which indicate still further the existence of the germs, at least, of municipal government. Thus in 1326 the 'Bailiffs of Plymouth, with the Port of Sutton,' were directed to seize all suspected persons and letters; though this proves very little, for a similar writ was directed to the Bailiffs of Yalhampton (Yealampton) and of Newton Ferrers. Again, in 1344 the Bailiffs of the 'ville de Plumuth' were directed to send two inhabitants acquainted with shipping to London, to advise the King and Council; similar directions being sent to Bristol, Hull, the chief Cinque Ports, Exeter, and Dartmouth; while Portsmouth was ordered to send one. In 1358 Walter the Venour (= Hunter), of Plimmouth, and sundry others, were ordered to detain three ships there and at Dartmouth, to transport Oliver, Lord of Clissons, and men-at-arms, to Brittany. It is worth notice that John Venour is elsewhere mentioned as Mayor in 1377, so that it is at least possible that Walter occupied a somewhat similar office; and we know from other sources that the family were of considerable local note. In the following year (1359) the Bailiffs of Plymouth are directed, with others, to raise a subsidy of 6d. for the defence of the realm. In 1364 they are ordered to take steps to forbid the export of precious metals; and in 1372 the Bailiffs of 'ville

de Plymouth' are the first mentioned in a writ addressed to the western ports to stay ships and men.

In October, 1369, the *Mayor* and Bailiffs were directed to send two sufficient men to Westminster conversant with mercantile affairs; and in the December following, the same, with Thomas Fishacre, John Sampson, and Robert Pilche, were ordered to provide ships and men for the defence of the realm. This is the earliest local mention of the office of Mayor. In May, 1374, William Noytour, master of the *Trinity* of Plymouth, was ordered to come to London to advise the Council.

In addition to these writs to Mayors and Bailiffs and the like, there are many others, either addressed to unspecified authorities, or to the collectors of customs and subsidies—as in 1347 to the collectors of subsidies '*in portibus villarum de Plummuth*,' and all other places upon the water of Tamar. From 1287, when Plymouth was made the rendezvous of the fleet which sailed under the Earl of Lancaster for Guienne, down to the date of the Incorporation in 1439, not a decade passed but such writs were sent to Plymouth on sea service, and occasionally we may note them year after year.

The *White Book* of the Corporation contains the copies of several ancient deeds made by a town clerk of the sixteenth century, because they mentioned the names of divers Mayors of Sutton Prior and of Plymouth prior to the Act of Incorporation; with references to ten other 'auncyent dedes . . . by the which it is manyfest that Sutton Pryors and sythyns by the nomynation of Kyng Henry the Sixte named the burghes of Plymouthe, was a town of auncyent name and hadd yerelie an officer chosen by the name of P'positus or Custos ville de Sutton Pryors, whiche then dyd rule and governe vnder the Kynge.' These deeds were dated 8th, 10th, and 16th Edward II., and 42nd Edward III. In the deeds actually recited the word Mayor is almost always used. Prepositus and Mayor are by no means identical terms, though the offices were very much akin. The existence of a Prepositus in Plymouth so early as the commencement of the fourteenth century is certain, for Richard the Tanner held that office for Sutton in 1310; but Maurice Berd, 1370, is the first *Mayor* whose name has been preserved.

A few hints are given in records of grants of land by the Priory of Plympton. The earliest we have of these is by John [de la Stert], Prior of Plympton, 15 Edward III. (1342), to Robert, son of William the Spicer, of Sutton, and Alice, his

wife, of a tenement in Billabiri Street, south of one belonging to William of Northcote, and extending sixty feet to the east to a way leading towards the market of Sutton, and a way leading from Bilbury Street towards the Oldtowne. The only other with a date is by John Prior of Plympton, 10th Richard II. (1387), to Ade Blogge, and Isabella, his wife, of a tenement at the hill in Sutton Prior, east of the stalls and south of the pillory, with survivorship, at a yearly rent of 36s. 8d. The undated grants are all in the name of John Prior of Plympton, probably de la Stert above. There is one of an acre and a half of land in Sutton, near Martock's Well, to Margery Stilman and her heirs; a second of an acre and a half '*apud le hauedlonde*,' north of the middle of the hyauedlond, to John of Stoke; another of an acre and a half near the heauedlonde, south of the middle, to Robert of Whitelegge; and a fourth of three acres and a half to William Berde, of Sutton, next the field held by William Cocke, and a piece of waste adjoining ('*ecodum wastu sub salistu maris*').

As William Berd was Prepositus of Sutton in 1313, we have some clue to the date of this last document. Again, John Austen was his colleague in the representation of Sutton in Parliament, and John Austen appears among the witnesses to Margery Stilman's grant. The grants of the land at the heauedlonde were apparently somewhat anterior, as the first is said to have afterwards been the property of Robert Sope, who took to wife the daughter of John of Stoke; and Robert the Soper was member in 1310, as William of Stoke had been in 1298. The heauedlonde at first would seem to be represented by the field called the Headlands; but that conclusion is negatived, not merely by the fact that this was part of the manor of Lulyett's Fee, but from the entry, '*Postea Robtus Sope qui duxit in uxorem fil Johis de Sok & vendidit terr in Cart que est sup la howe vbi molendinum ventritim Mauricii Prigge sit.*'

The distinctive character of the divisions of those days is shown in the oldest deed at present in possession of the Corporation of Plymouth, 1381 (4th Richard II.). It is a release by William Okelegh, of Plymouth, to William Wrouke of the same place, of a tenement and garden in 'lo ward de Sutton Vautort.' It is dated at Sutton Vautort, and witnessed by Robert Hill, William Honiton, John Bull, and others. William Honiton is elsewhere named as Mayor in this very year, but does not appear as such in the deed. A point to which attention may specially be directed here is

the use of the phrase 'lo ward de Sutton Vautort'¹ at this early date; for it is fairly equivalent to the division which afterwards existed for centuries under the Act-Charter—'Old Town Ward.' In the assessment of tenths and fifteenths first found, the burgh of Sutton Prior is assessed at £24; Sutton Vawter at £10 12s. 8d.; and down to the middle of the sixteenth century Old Town Ward had to pay just twice as much as Vintry, though that must have been the wealthiest part of the borough.

Market Rights Acquired.

Some sort of independent action in the inhabitants was assumed and acknowledged definitely early in the fourteenth century; for market rights were acquired by the burgesses in 1311. In that year there was final concord and agreement made on the morrow of the feast of St. James, between the Prior and Convent of Plympton, and the Burgesses of the Commonalty of the town of Sutton, in the presence and by the mediation of the Bishop of Exeter, the Lord Hugh of Courtenay, Peter Abbot of Buckfastleigh, the Lord Thomas of Cilecestre, Knight, and others. A stone cross had been erected in a certain place within the borough of Sutton

¹ Before the incorporation of the town the territorial divisions were of course proprietorial; but this phrase 'ward of Sutton Vautort' naturally suggests the inquiry how far the ward divisions of later times represented the earlier manors. Leland mentions the four wards of the town in his day as being Old Town, Venners, Vintry, and Lower; and this division practically remains in the Land Tax assessment. No doubt it also represents the original arrangement; for each ward had the care and defence of one of the four towers of the 'castel quadrate' by which the town was defended. As the town grew the outer boundaries of the wards, which were purely urban in their character, would be modified; but there is no reason to assume any internal modification while the number remained unchanged. On the contrary, there is every reason to believe that the old internal ward boundaries, which can be traced back to the seventeenth century, were practically those that had existed from the beginning, and that the division was made then, as it continued later, by drawing lines as nearly as the thoroughfares allowed east and west and north and south, intersecting at the point where the Free Library stands. The manorial distinctions must therefore have been disregarded; for while Old Town did in the main represent Sutton Vawter, and Venners' Ward also in part, yet they both included portions of Sutton Prior. Vintry, however, was almost wholly in Sutton Prior, the only exceptions being the premises at Southside, in Sutton Vawter; and Lower Ward, though certainly in later days consisting largely of Sutton Raf, must then have been chiefly representative of Sutton Prior likewise.

The relative positions of the four wards in population and wealth is shown very clearly by the amounts levied in poor-rates. In the year previous to the commencement of the Siege (1642) the total poor-rate of the borough was £204 15s. Of this Vintry Ward alone contributed nearly half, £90 8s. 1d.; Venour Ward, £37 15s. 2d.; Old Town Ward, £38 19s. 4d.; and Looe Street (Lower) Ward, £32 7s. 5d.

(Holycross Lane is probably a survival of its vicinage), and certain stalls for the sale of fish, flesh, and other victuals. These, with the Church of Sutton, are stated to belong to the Prior and Convent; while the burgesses had no right to erect others without license, which however they had done. The controversy is settled by the burgesses having let to them eighteen stalls, at a penny each per year—to be paid on their behalf by the Prepositus for the time being—and agreeing not to put up any more, either in that place or any other spot within the borough, without due license. As the burgesses had no seal, Richard the Tanner, Prepositus, put his. Somewhere within the next half century, however, corporate authority must have gained a more definite existence, probably in the division of Sutton Vawter, for, as we shall see, a deed of 1368 has a seal with a ship for device, and the legend *Si . communitatis . ville . de . Sutton . super . Plymouth*, a designation assumed to be distinct from Sutton Prior. The deed is that by which Stonehouse is conveyed from the Bastards to the Durnfords, and the Commonalty of Sutton were sufficiently important to be called in as witnesses.

An Informal Charter.

At length we reach more definite ground. Edward III., towards the close of his long reign, conferred upon the inhabitants of Sutton what was essentially a charter, and was so regarded. On the 24th November, 1374, he directed letters patent to William Cole, Stephen Durneford, John Sampson, Roger Boswines,² Robert Possebury, Geoffrey Couche, John Weston, William Trevys, William Gille, Maurice Berde, William Bourewe, jun., and Humphry Passour, as burgesses of the borough of Sutton. Being mindful of the damage and disgrace that might happen to the town and the country adjacent by invasion of the enemy, in default of good rule; being willing to provide for its defence and safety; and fully confiding in the fidelity of the men above named—the King assigns them jointly and severally to survey all defaults in the town and port thereof whereby dangers might arise; to procure the same to be amended; to cause the men of the said town to be arrayed, so that they should always be ready and prepared to meet their enemies; and to do and execute such other things as might be necessary to provide for the safety of the same

² Roger Beauchamp, who lived at 'Boswines,' Plymouth, is probably intended. The name Boswines appears to be lost.

town. Moreover the Mayor and Bailiffs, and all and singular the inhabitants of the town, were to be obedient and aiding in the performance and execution of these premises.

It seems as if we have here a recognition of the existence of two rival divisions, Sutton Prior and Sutton Vawter. Had the Mayor and Bailiffs possessed full authority, the orders should, in due course, have been addressed to them; and as from other sources we gather that the twelve men named were inhabitants of Sutton Prior, the corporate body recognized in these letters must have had jurisdiction in Sutton Vawter. Under cover of this quasi-charter, the effort was made to bring the whole town under one jurisdiction; and hence probably it was that in 1378 Richard II., for the purpose of fortifying the town (which was then in great danger, and not enclosed or fortified with walls or turrets or otherwise), made a grant of customs duties for the purpose to 'the Mayor, Bailiffs, honest men, and Commonalty,' while in 1383 an order was directed in his name to the Mayor and Bailiffs against the exportation of provisions.

In 1384 we find William Cole, Thomas Fishacre, Geoffrey Couche, and Humphry Passour licensed by Richard II. to alienate six acres of land held of the King in chief to the Friars Minors; and three of these men, it will be seen, were of the twelve commissioned to take steps for the defence of the town under the letters patent of ten years previous.

In the same year, moreover, the Royal rights to toll of fish taken in the sea water of Sutton Plumpmouth and Tamar, and sold in Plymouth, were enforced against certain fishermen, by whom they had been evaded.

All this points to definite action on the part of the Crown and of the inhabitants to bring the whole town under one municipal government; and it will be noticed that the name chosen to combine Sutton Prior and Sutton Vawter was Sutton-upon-Plymmouth, thence Sutton Plymouth, and finally, when union and incorporation were completed, the Plymouth without the Sutton as now.

The old Manorial Government, and its Assailants.

The records of the controversy between the Priors and their tenants have preserved a description of the old manorial government of Sutton Prior; and the most interesting notice extant of the early municipal history of Plymouth is contained in the finding of an Inquisition taken by order of the King on the complaint of the Prior of Plympton, 8th

Richard II. (1385). It was held at 'Ekebokland,' on the Wednesday next after the feast of the Holy Trinity, before Walter Cornu and Richard Gripston, on the oaths of Peter Whitelegh, Stephen Lautron, William Wyneslond, Ralph Bytheyes, David Treweman, Richard Wylberton, Thomas Stanton, William Worston, William Lake, Thomas Boyes of Hareston, Thomas Cut, and William Godegrome. They found that the Prior of Plympton and his predecessors from time immemorial had been lords of Sutton Prior, and accustomed to hold a Monday Court, with assize of bread and beer and weights and measures, with jurisdiction over transgressors, and authority over millers, bakers, butchers, sellers of wine and hydromel, and cooks, and those who made bread outside the town and carried it therein to sell. That in this Court, held by the Prior's Seneschal, at the first sitting next after the feast of St. Michael yearly, twelve tenants of the same Prior, in the said town, were sworn to determine and choose a Prepositus of the same Prior and town, and him so chosen to the said Seneschal immediately to present, whereupon, having taken his corporal oath before the said Seneschal, the said Prepositus should from that time forth of the said Court be head, receiving for the Prior all debts, amerciements, fines, reliefs, and perquisites of the said Court, and all other like profits of the same Prior at the same place well and faithfully collecting and levying; and immediately on the end of his year of office well and faithfully accounting for the same to the aforesaid Prior in the Priory of Plympton. Moreover, all other things to his said office of Prepositus belonging, without favour he should do and execute, in all respects as had been accustomed, holding the sittings of the Court aforesaid under the license of the Prior, and all else that a Mayor in the aforesaid town should do, or as had been accustomed from remote times.

And now (said the jury) Humphry Passour, cunningly and falsely plotting subtly to usurp the rights of the lord King and to make himself Mayor of the aforesaid town, instead of John Sampson, recently-chosen Prepositus (that is to say, in the Court held on Monday next after the feast of St. Michael last past, in the said Court elected, presented, and sworn to the said office), him to amove, and the said Prior and Church of the Apostles Peter and Paul of Plympton maliciously to disinherit in this part, the aforesaid John before the lord King and his Council of divers offences and misdemeanours assailed and accused. Moreover, under cover of a certain brief of the lord King to the Bailiffs and honest men of the said town of

Sutton Prior by the name of the town of 'Sutton Plympton,' certain burgesses of the said town Humphry Passour to the office of Mayor of the same town chose and elected, admitting him as such and obeying him in that office, and themselves to him in all things touching the said office submitting and obeying, whereas they would not allow the said John to enter and exercise his office. And in the King's Chancery the said Humphry Passour fraudulently, under colour of the brief of the lord King, sought to set himself in the mayoralty of the said town without the Court of the Prior, not being chosen before the Seneschal of the aforesaid Prior (whereas the mayoralty of the town with the Mayor of the same ought not so to be); and the removal of the aforesaid John from the office and exercise of the said prepositure he procured and made, and the same office of Mayor, without sufficient authority and warrant, he for a long time has occupied and at present occupies—that is to say, from the feast of the Conversion of St. Paul last past; and John Martyn, the Seneschal of the said Prior, he has prevented from holding the Monday Court by force of arms from the aforesaid feast; and has held it himself without the licence of the said Prior by his own authority, exercising all the rights of the said prepositure, and up to this time has continued to do and perpetrate other enormities and injuries, and as many and as grievous deeds as lay in his power. And further the jurors aforesaid say under oath that never was there Mayor in the aforesaid town of Sutton Prior before the aforesaid feast of the Conversion of St. Paul last past, neither ought there so to be, nor used there to be but a Prepositus, until the day when the aforesaid Humphry caused himself to be chosen Mayor of the aforesaid town of Sutton Prior.

If this finding were strictly accurate, then, as we find Mayors of Sutton mentioned nearly twenty years prior to the inquiry, they must have been Mayors of Sutton Vawter. But the absolute accuracy of the finding is not quite certain; for the term mayor had been used of the chief officer of Sutton Prior antecedently to that date, though of course it may have had no authority. John Sampson, the Prepositus, will be noted as one of the twelve put in commission with Passour.

The proceedings did not end with the Inquisition; for in 1386 we find Passour rejoining in defence of his right to the mayoralty that at various times during the reign of Edward III., and during the reign of the present King for the space of twenty years, mandates had been sent both under the King's privy seal and by his letters patent to the Mayor of

the town, under the name of the Mayor of the town of Sutton Plymouth, and had thus appointed the inhabitants to have a Mayor. However, judgment was given against Passour and his friends, 'because it has not been the custom for a Mayor to govern in the town of Sutton Prior.'

The point to be specially noticed throughout this controversy is that everything turns upon Sutton Prior, and that no judgment is given in respect of Sutton Vawter, which, though termed a hamlet in the Act of Incorporation, is frequently called a town in earlier documents, and at times even takes precedence of Sutton Prior; while it is significant that from the time of the opposition raised by the Johns of Valletort of Clyst and Moditon in 1318 to the creation of the borough a free community, we have no evidence of any further opposition on behalf of the owners of Sutton Vawter. All the difficulty is with the Priory of Plympton, and in respect of Sutton Prior. There thus seems reason for believing that the older town had acquired and maintained its claim to corporate rights, and that the line which the Plymouth Reformers then took was one of extension and comprehension. Thus in 1411—stimulated by the destruction of 600 houses in the Breton invasion in 1403—we find the inhabitants of Sutton Prior and Sutton Vawter jointly petitioning for incorporation—the right to elect a Mayor, and to levy dues and tolls for defence; the answer being, 'Let the petitioners compound with the lords having franchises before the next Parliament, and report having made an agreement.'

Incorporation by Act of Parliament.

The present Incorporation of the town within existing boundaries was, as already stated, effected in 1439 by Act of Parliament, which seems to have been needful to carry out legally the arrangements made with the Prior of Plympton. No other rights of government were recognized by the statute as existing in the town; but there were saved out of the provisions of the Act the rights of Sir John Cornewaill, Lord of Faunhope, to the Duchy property held under lease by him, and out of the provisions of a subsequent charter his rights, and those of Thomas Courtenay, Earl of Devon. No one seems to have succeeded, unless the Courtenays, to the claims set up by the Valletorts; and the Priory had suffered so severely by the French inroad that it was well disposed to surrender on terms.

The prayer of the Act is in somewhat significant words, that the town of Sutton Prior, the tithing of Sutton Raf, parcel of the hamlet of Sutton Vautort (commonly called Plymouth), with a parcel of the tithing of Compton, should be a free borough incorporate with *one* Mayor and *one* perpetual Commonalty. The Act did not provide for the election of any officer besides the Mayor, save the creation of fresh burgesses: and its chief provisions, beyond the general powers of incorporation, were for the acquisition of the manorial rights of the Priory (saving only the advowson of St. Andrew and three messuages which were never to be parcel of the borough³), by the Mayor and Commonalty, under terms to be arranged; and for the satisfaction of the Abbot of Buckland touching the loss of his Hundred jurisdiction.

On the 25th of July following (1440), Henry VI. followed up the Act by a Charter, which gave power to elect a Recorder and a Coroner, made the Mayor and Recorder justices of the peace, conferred the right to hold pleas and to exercise criminal jurisdiction, and to have and hold a Merchants' Guild, 'with all and singular the appurtenances to a Merchants' Guild, as the Mayor and Bailiffs of our city of Oxford jointly and severally better and more freely have and hold, or may have and hold.' Moreover, there was a fresh market grant—a market on Monday and Thursday, and two fairs of three days annually, at the feast of St. Matthew the Apostle, and the feast of the Conversion of St. Paul—the latter, be it noted, the time of year assigned to Passour's 'usurpation,' and a curious coincidence, if nothing more.

Either in the Guild Merchant, or in the continuance of a pre-existing custom, does it seem most probable that we must look for the origin of the form the Corporation assumed. The Charter mentions only the Mayor, Recorder, Coroner, and Commonalty; but within half a century we find existing the 'twelve and twenty-four'—the Aldermen or Masters, and the Common Councilmen—who formed the executive down to the year 1803, when the Commonalty successfully asserted their right to choose the Mayor. It was not indeed until the charter of Elizabeth, in 1601, that the 'twelve and twenty-four' had the recognition of authority; but they may well have been a modified survival of a pre-existing administrative body. The peculiar way in which the Mayor was elected until the Commonalty obtained the power, by a

³ These were on the south of Bilbury Street, north of Note (Notte) Street, and north of Stillman Street.

jury of thirty-six chosen by four alfurers or affeerers—two Aldermen appointed for the Aldermen, and two of the Common Council chosen by the Commonalty—recalls the method of electing the Prepositus, and may also have been a survival of the twin manorial jurisdiction of Suttons Prior and Vawter.

Boundaries.

There remains among the Plymouth muniments a copy of the Act-Charter in the vernacular—or rather of its earlier portion, written certainly not later than the reign of Henry VII., but which differs so remarkably in some points from the present translation of the same Act that it may represent, in part at least, an original draft:

Knowe ye that wher as the towne of Sutton pryor and the thyngne of Sutton Raf and parcellys of the hamelet of Sutton vautor wherch towne tethynge and pcellys Comynly be callyd and namyd Plymouth and a sertayne of the tethynge of Compton wythyn the Cowtye of deynshere beyng and sett so ny to the stronds and costys of the see and soo many and soo greate and soo Comyn applying of fletys of Shyppys and of vessels aswel of Enymys as of others yn the port of the same towne tethynge pcellys of the hamelet and tethynge of Compton lying that fro time to time hyt hath be that the towne tethynge and pcellys aforesaid a fore thys tyme of x tymys yn gretter ptye of the same for the faute of Co——— and aswell the same yn tymes of oure nobyll executors often broke and distrevyth and aswell the ynhabitans of the same of theyre goods and catellys nyghtly and dayly Spoylyd and many of theym of the ynhabitans by the same enymyes take and lede to the owte contryes and there kepte yn to the tyme that they had made fennans and Ravnson and they were yn harde keypyng p'sament and vnderful kept yn gevys stocks and other wayes and other evyll losts and vnpfytabyle not lytyll to the same towne Tethynge and pcellys of the hamelett and of the Tethynge of Compton and to the ynhabytance of the same yn tymys past eu^r and were hade and many ither yn tymes to Time they doth but yf relef fortelynge and betterynge of the towne tethynge and pcell aforesaid the other remedy be vyded be howfull by the apetycyon to us yn our plement beyng at Westmyster the xijth daye of Noueber last past holden [and then it is enacted] . . . for the Rest of the malys of oure enymys theryn dayes applying and for the saluacion of the Towne tethynge and pcellys aforesayd and that the ynhabytance of the same the Rather that the townetethynge and pcellys aforesaid be fro hensforthward a fre Borough In corporat of one Mayer and of one Comynaltie for eu^r and hytt shalbe callyd the borowgh of plymouth . . . and that the aforesaid borowgh By the makys and boundys vnder wretyn all tymes that ys to Wete

hytwyne the hyll callyd the Wynderygge by the Banke of Sowre pole a yenst the North on the grete dyke otherwyse callyd the greate deche and fro thens ayenst the North vnto Stoke damfele flete and fro thens by the stronde of the same flete vnto mylbroke brygge ynclewdyd and fro thens to the yate of thorne hylle pke ayenst motley pkelane and fro thens vnto lypstone brygge ynclewdyd and fro thens by the seestrond to the lary poynt To the Catte to henstone fyse store and Est kyng and fro thens to the said hylle callyd Wynderygge as the mkys and bonds eu^r were that be directyd and fyxed fully and opynly schewyth.

The metes and bounds given here differ materially in some points of expression, though the general effect is the same, from the language of the Act of Parliament, as copied directly from the original roll :

*Inter montem vocat Wynrigg p ripam de Sourpole v'sus boriā usque ad le grete dyche alias dict' le grate diche et exinde it'um v'sus boriā ad Stokedamarleflete et abinde p litus eiusdem flete usque ad Millebroke brigge inclusive et deinde v'sus orientam p le middeldiche de Houndescom usque ad Houndescombrigge inclusive et abinde usque ad Thornhilpark exclusive et deinde usque ad Lypstonbrigge inclusive et abinde p litus maris continue usque ad le lare ad le Catte ad Hyngeton Fysshore et Estkyng, et abinde usque dict' montem de Wynrigg.*⁴

It is difficult to understand the use of the term 'parcel of the hamlet of Sutton Vawter'—for the whole of that manor seems included. It may, however, be that both in this case

⁴ We must see here that the vernacular version has an independent authority of some kind. There is an important proviso in the Act-Charter of Henry VI. wholly excluding from its operation the Manor of Trematon, to which Sutton Pool belongs; and hence and because of the words in the description of the ambit 'by the sea shore' the Sutton Harbour Company, on their rating being greatly raised in 1889, appealed against the rate on the ground of non-liability among other points. The custom has been, however, to take the boundary of the borough across the mouth of Sutton Pool from Fishers Nose, and rates had been regularly paid for a century and a half. The Recorder, Mr. Bompas, Q.C., held that the Trematon proviso did not operate in this respect, and that the description of the metes and bounds was general rather than particular, and to be interpreted by marks which had been fixed; hence gave judgment for the Guardians. From this decision the Company again appealed; but without effect. The documentary evidence for the exclusion of Sutton Pool as part of the Manor of Trematon was regarded as in their favour; but judgment was given against them on the score of usage and continued rating.

The clause in the Act-Charter excluding Trematon runs: 'Prouise semp quod pdeus actus et ordinacie minime se extendant ad man'rii de Trematon Burgu de Saltayshe aqua de Tamer nec ad aliqua alia possessiones franchesias libtates aquas piscarias redditus seuie cur' iurisdicciones officia hereditamenta forisesturas escaetus aut aliqua alia excitus profitua seu commoditates qui Johes Cornewall dñs de flauhope tenet ad tr'm vite suo reu'sione inde ad nos spectante.'

and in that of the tithing of Compton, no portion of which as at present recognized forms part of the municipal borough of Plymouth, the omission and inclusion were of the very slightest (and soon forgotten), for the purpose of the rectification of the boundary, which followed the natural lines of coasts and watercourses wherever practicable; and only at two places crossed from one such point to the other. One of these was on the verge of Sutton Vawter, next Stonehouse; the other next Compton. Moreover as Leland places Sutton Vawter on the north, giving Sutton Prior the 'middle and heart' and Sutton Ralf the east; and as he states that the oldest part of Plymouth in his day was north and west, and some thereof sore decayed, it seems clear that Sutton Vawter extended much further up the hill and along the ridge between Surpool and Stoke Damarel Fleet (Stonehouse Mill Lake) than implied in the later use of the words 'Old Town.' We have also recorded the existence of a spot called 'The Vawters' on this ridge, closely adjoining Stonehouse, which aids a similar inference.⁵

Unperpetual Commemoration.

An agreement made on the 28th August, 1440, between William Keterigge, Mayor of Plymouth and the Commonalty of the same, and the Prior and Convent of St. Germans, sets forth that Richard Trenode, merchant of Bristol, and Thomasia Venour, widow of William Venour, formerly of Plymouth, and sister of the said Richard Trenode, had been at great expense and labour to have Plymouth made a corporation of 'one Mayor and Commonalty.' In recognition of this the Mayor and Commonalty, to keep the same Richard and Thomasia in perpetual remembrance as their principal and special benefactors, bound themselves to the Prior and Convent, to maintain a chaplain to say mass daily at the altar of the blessed Virgin in the Church of St. Andrew, for the souls of Richard Trenode, Alice his late and Joan his present wife, William Venour and Thomasia his widow, for their children, for Richard Trenode and Dionisia his wife, father and mother of Richard Trenode, for John Venour and Joan his wife, parents of William Venour; and for the souls of all others for whom Richard Trenode, William and Thomasia Venour, were bound to pray.

⁵ In the early 'fifteenths' Vawter's Ground and Stonehouse were each assessed in the same amount, 2s. 6d.—distinct from Plymouth; and we find the entry '*terra tenentis apud Vaulard ex pte Boriali le mylle poole tenentia solvere.*'

As another means of remembrance—equally, as the result has proved, *unperpetual*—one of the wards of the borough received the name of Venar Ward; and this was in the part of Sutton Prior which lay immediately west of Sutton Pool, in which locality some of the family had lived. We are not told what Trenode and his sister did; but as expense was involved as well as trouble, probably the passage of the Act was smoothed after a fashion well understood. The Venours were people of position; for one was Mayor in 1377—John, no doubt the father of William—and their exertions may not have been confined to the finally successful effort.

Early Mayors.

The following names of Mayors and Headmen prior to the full Incorporation have been preserved: 1310, Richard the Tanner, prepositus of Sutton; 1313, William Berd, prepositus; 1318, Richard Tannere, prepositus; 1325, Edward of Northcote, prior's prepositus; 1370, Maurice Berd, mayor; 1377, John Venour, mayor of Sutton Priors; 1381, William Honyton, mayor; 1383, Humphry Passour, mayor of Sutton Priors; 1384, John Sampson, prepositus; 1395, Walter Crocker, mayor of Sutton Priors; 1397, Richard Row, mayor; 1398, Walter Dymmick or Dymcock, prepositus; 1397, Henry Boon, mayor of Plymouth; 1399–1403 (?), William Pollard, mayor; 1408, William Bentle, mayor; 1412, William Rogherne, mayor of Plymouth; 1413, William Bentley, mayor of Sutton; 1414, William Boon, mayor of Plymouth; 1418, William Bentley, mayor of Sutton Priors; 1439, William Totwell (the old form of spelling the modern Tothill), prior's portreeve of Sutton.

Though we have here only twenty mayoralties for a period of over a century and a quarter, it is probable from the repetitions preserved that several of these Mayors and Prepositors held office still more frequently, the range of choice being narrow. Moreover, the fact that between each of Bentley's three recorded mayoralties five years elapsed, seems to indicate the existence of a select body—as of Aldermen—from whom the choice was made in turn, and is fair collateral evidence of the existence of organized corporate authority.

The good standing of some of these early Mayors is shown by one of them having been chosen to represent the borough in Parliament—William Berd, in 1313; while John of Honeton, no doubt father or grandfather of William Honyton, was elected, probably for Sutton, in 1311. From various sources we learn that several others were men of wealth for those days.

The name of Plymouth.

Since it is in the charter of Henry VI. that the substitution of the name of Plymouth for that of Sutton is first officially recognized, some notes on the origin of the word will be here in place. It is spelt in very nearly 300 different ways in various records—Plimu being the shortest and Pilimmouthe the longest. The port of Plymmue is named as early as 1254; but late in the reign of Edward II. the town is still '*Sutton villa supera costera portus de Plymouth.*' There was a Plympton long before there was a Plymouth; but Plympton is not and never was on the river now called the Plym. It was upon the estuary afterwards called the Lary. Why then should it be named after the river? The answer lies in the derivation of the word. In all likelihood the Keltic name for the estuary was simply *lyn*—a 'lake or pool,' retained at the present day locally by the estuary of the Notter—the Lynhir, or 'long lake;' and found translated into Saxon in such names as Stonehouse Lake, Keyham Lake, St. Johns Lake, Millbrook Lake. Penlyn is 'the head of the lake.' Penlinton exactly expresses the site of the original Plympton, which we find in *Domesday* as Plintona. Precisely this contraction has taken place in Cornwall, where Pelynt is often called Plynt. On this hypothesis Plympton gave name to the Plym, Penlin being first blunderingly applied by the Saxons to the estuary, and thence to the river. We have several instances in Devon of names being carried up rivers. Such are the East and West Dart, and the East and West Okement; whereas many tributary streams of less importance have distinctive titles. Only those who were ignorant of the true names of the branches would duplicate that of the lower river. Mewè, or Meavy, the name of the main branch of the Plym, really means 'the greater water'; and as Lary is easily resolvable into the 'lesser water,' that may well have been the name of the branch which of late years, without the smallest authority, because of a poetic 'slip,' it has been the fashion to call the 'Cad.' Plin passed into Plym through Plinmouth, whence Plymouth, just as at the present day the local pronunciation of Lynmouth is Lymouth.

Transfer of the Priory Property.

The value of the property transferred from the Priory to the new Corporation was assessed at a public Inquisition, held by the Archdeacon of Totnes, in the nave of the Priory Church on the seventh of January, 1440. The jury found

that the conventual property had been in part destroyed by the descent of the Bretons in 1403, that the yearly rental of lands was £8, that of courts, markets, and fairs 60s., and the profit of the mills over £10. Under these circumstances the offer of the Corporation of a fee farm rent of £41 was deemed a sufficient compensation, and was accepted. In 1464 this rent was reduced to £29 6s. 8d., in consequence of the 'povertie and dekaye' of the town; and in 1534 to £20. The arrangement with the Prior included the payment of ten marks annually to the Prior of Bath; and under it the lordship of the fee of the manor was vested in the Mayor and Commonalty for ever, with the appurtenances, the assize of bread and beer, fishery, view of frankpledge, tolls of the market, ducking-stool, and pillory. There is an ordinance that the Prior's rent was to be wholly discharged by the grant of the advowsons of Ugborough and Blackawton, but the town paid the £20 until the Dissolution, and was relieved by the King in 1545. The livings had not been vacated, which was the condition.

The fee farm rent payable to the Crown—40s. to Henry VIII.—became eventually £1 13s. 10d. It was granted to Lord Somers in 1697, and redeemed by the Corporation in 1875, by the payment of £40 to Mr. William Latham, to whom Earl Somers had sold it in 1853.

The Charters.

The oldest known charter of the borough is that of Henry VI.—1440—but the original does not exist; and that of Mary—1558—is the earliest preserved. Charters have been granted by Henry VI., as above, Edward IV. (1464), Richard III. (1484), Henry VII. (1490), Henry VIII. (1510), Edward VI. (1547), Mary (1553), Elizabeth (1601), James I. (1604, 1613), Charles I. (1628), Charles II. (1668, 1684), William III. (1697). Most of these were simple confirmations, and only four effected any material changes in the constitution.

The charter of Elizabeth was important. Mathew Boyes, the town clerk, had £170 for it; the charter being entered as 'purchased,' and as being renewed by his 'meanes and industrie.'⁶ Under this the late Mayor was made a fellow-justice with the present Mayor and Recorder, theretofore the only ones. In 1628 Charles I. granted a charter which added the two senior Aldermen to the bench of justices. This cost £136 7s.

⁶ Court favours were costly. In 1597-8 there were spent 'for charges in London on town business at the Court this year' £137 8s. more than was collected.

In accordance with the usual policy when towns were governed by corporations regarded as inimical to the higher powers, Plymouth in 1684 was made to surrender its charter to Charles II., although it had been closely 'regulated' in 1662. The requisition for the surrender was made by the infamous Jefferies, the man of the Bloody Assize; and the Mayor and five other members of the Corporation were authorized to make it in due form, and to get the best terms they could. The surrender was made at Windsor (after the Corporate property had been duly secured by transfer to trustees), and a new charter granted in answer to a petition, which, after setting forth that much of the income of the Corporation was held by prescription, and that it was encumbered by debt, concluded thus:

We, your most humble petitioners, do therefore in all dutiful manner implore your majesty to vouchsafe your princely compassion and favour to your said town and to pardon its past offences, and out of your abundant royal grace and bounty to accept of a surrender of the whole governing part of the said Corporation, in such manner as is most conducing to your majesty's service; we only beseeching your royal favour that what is not useful for your majesty's service, but of great benefit and advantage to the said town, may be preserved, wherein we most humbly pray your majesty to signify your royal pleasure in such manner as your most sacred majesty in your great wisdom shall think fit.

The new charter varied in several particulars from the old one, and named the members of the new Corporation—staunch Church and King men all. It vested the power in thirteen Aldermen, of whom the Mayor was one, and in twelve Assistants or Common Councilmen, instead of twenty-four.

And yet the Corporation had done their best to keep the King in a good humour. In 1660 they had given him the wine fountain now among the royal regalia.

Item paid m^r Tymothy Allsopp for two Royall pieces of plate bought by him of Alderman Vynar of London, by order from the maior and Cominalty of this Burrough, which vpon theire speciall Request was presented to the Kings most Excellent majesty vpon his happy Restauration to the Government of his Dominions by the hands of Sir William Morrice knight, the kings chiefe Secretary of State and Samuel Trelawny Esq^r Burgesses of the Burrough in this p^resent parliament, Sergeant Maynard Recorder of this Burrough and Edmond ffowell Esq^r the Towne Councill, the sum of fflower hundred pounds.

Moreover, they had spent £49 15s. 9d. in proclaiming 'the merry monarch,' paid £16 14s. 4d. for putting up his arms in the Guildhall, and 17s. 6d. for painting them on the new shambles!

There is an entry in an old court book of the persons who in public court declared their humble acceptance of His Majesty's gracious pardon, June 4th, 1660. The declarations were made in open court, before John King, Samuel Northcott, and Robert Gubbes the elder, who also 'laid hold on and accepted' the pardon aforesaid. Nevertheless, the Roundhead ringleaders were almost to a man ejected from the Corporation when it was 'regulated' by the Commissioners, and this charter of 1684 placed them wholly at the mercy of the Court. It cost some £620.⁷

The old charter was practically restored by William of Orange in 1697, Sir Francis Drake being the moving spirit, at an outlay of £504 5s. 6d. This made the Corporation to consist of a Mayor, Recorder, twelve Aldermen, and twenty-four Common Councilmen, with twenty-six freemen. The number of the freemen varied, but the municipal body continued the same without alteration down to the Municipal Reform Act, which added twelve Councillors to the twenty-four, and divided the town into the six wards of St. Andrew, Frankfort, Drake, Charles, Sutton, and Vintry.⁸

Mayor-Choosing in the Olden Time.

Under the old *regime* the Mayor was chosen on St. Lambert's Day (17th September), on whatever day of the week that might fall, the last Sunday Mayor-choosing being in 1826. For three centuries a very curious mode of election was followed. The Mayor and Aldermen (at one time the Mayor only⁹) would elect two Aldermen, under the name of *alfurers* or *affeerers*; and the freemen two more, out of the

⁷ In 1683 the Aldermen usurped the election of Councilmen for 'five years,' but this was put an end to by the new grant. The old Corporation was essentially a self-elected one, but there was occasionally much controversy touching the hands in which the power lay, not unfrequently followed by litigation. At times the Aldermen claimed the sole right of electing their colleagues; at times, as in 1683, the sole right also of choosing the 'twenty-four,' who on their side were equally tenacious; while now and again the freemen asserted their right to appoint sometimes one, sometimes both; and there were kindred disputes touching the election of freemen. But the full story would be a very long one, and of no practical interest now.

⁸ By the Local Government Act of 1888 Plymouth was made a county, and the town- became a county-council April 1st, 1889.

⁹ *Trans. Plym. Inst.* v. 555. YONGE'S *Memoirs*.

Common Council. By the four a jury of thirty-six would be chosen, and by this jury one of the Aldermen was elected.

A contest arising at the Mayor-choosing in 1802, the matter was brought to trial at the Exeter Lent Assizes in 1803, before Mr. Baron Thompson. It was then declared to be an infringement upon the rights of the Commonalty, and therefore illegal; and the elective franchise was restored to the freemen at large, every freeman being eligible. Mr. J. C. Langmead was the first Mayor thus appointed by the Commonalty. This memorable victory of the freemen over the old Corporation is commemorated by a medal, worn suspended to the chain of office which was then presented to the Mayor, and first became part of his paraphernalia. It bears on the obverse the arms of the borough, and the following inscription: "Usurpatione depressi, Legibus Restituti. Turris fortissima est nomen Jehovæ. 17 Martis, 1803." On the reverse: 'The freemen of Plymouth request your wearing this medal, to be returned at the expiration of your Mayoralty, in honourable token of that inestimable branch of the British Constitution, trial by jury, by whose verdict the right to elect a chief magistrate for the borough was restored, after having been unjustly withheld for upwards of three centuries.'

Notices of the Mayor-choosing used to be given in the churches, after the Nicene Creed, two Sundays previous to St. Lambert: 'The Right Worshipful the Mayor desires the Commonalty of this Borough to meet him in the Guildhall thereof on the seventeenth day of September next at 10 o'clock in the forenoon, then and there to elect a Mayor of the said Borough for the year ensuing.'

Harris's description of the procedure in 1807 is as follows:

Mayor-choosing-day is ushered in by the ringing of the church bells, which continue ringing at intervals. At 10.30 the corporation met in the Guildhall, and proceeded to church, where the vicar preached on the duty of magistrates and brotherly love. When returned to the Guildhall the list of the freemen was called and the names ticked. If there was opposition a short poll would be taken and the freemen sworn, three or four at a time, in the same manner as at the election of representatives. The Mayor must be chosen before the meeting was dissolved, and many times it was midnight before this was done. The rest of the business being done, they went to church again for to pray, as sly rogues say, that the dinner might be good. From the church they used to go down High Street to the New Quay, thence to the Mayoralty

House [Woolster Street]. At present they go the same road as far as Woolster Street, then into Foxhole Street, Tin Street, up Broad Streets, [Bilbury and Buckwell Street] to the Guildhall again.

The Mayor did not take office until Michaelmas Day; and between Lambert and Michaelmas was Freedom Day, when the Corporation 'saw the franchise about,' and 'the boyes have liberty to take w^t they meet y^t is eatable.' This was a local Saturnalia, kept as such from the earliest times, fruit and the like being provided by the Corporation for the boys to scramble for, in addition to that to which they helped themselves. The proceedings closed in Freedom Fields. In later years one of the incidents of the day was the fighting between the Old Town and Burton [Breton] boys for a barrel of beer. Martyn's Gate was the dividing line of the two districts, and the beer was given by the Mayor. The practice was abolished in 1782, because 'some young gentlemen had their collar bones broken.' Nickey Glubb, a porter pugilist, who died in 1809 blind, was the latest Burton chief. The charity boys were the last who held to the ancient custom of 'self-help.'

The swearing in of the Mayor on Michaelmas Day was the occasion of a very curious survival. Under the Act-Charter the Mayor had to be sworn before the Prior of Plympton or his steward, if either chose to attend, and the Commonalty had to wait until eleven in the morning for them. Priors and stewards alike ceased to be at the Dissolution of the Monasteries; but the burgesses continued to wait! And thus down to the passing of the Municipal Reform Act, though it was the practice of the freemen to assemble on Michaelmas Day at ten, the customary hour elapsed ere his worship was sworn.

Lo! in the Apple of the Charter's Eye
The Prior and his Steward never die:

Our Guardian Angels must await for these
Ecclesiastical nonentities.
In Common Hall assembled, Reason says hence,
Until the Law that supersedes their presence.¹

The old corporate processions were somewhat imposing affairs. When Harris wrote the order was thus: The old governor of the Barbican, the town corporals, the constables, a band, a standard bearer armed, with the town flag, the Mayor, Aldermen, Justices, and Recorder, two and two in

¹ BARON'S *Mayors and Mayoralities*, 20.

scarlet robes, Vicars and Clergy gowned, Common Councilmen two and two in black silk gowns, Town Clerk, Coroner, freemen, gentlemen not members of the Corporation.

The Aldermen seem first to have assumed scarlet gowns, which they wore by regulation sixteen times a year, in 1572, though the practice was subsequently dropped, to be renewed in 1598. In 1669 the gowns of the 'twenty-four' were of black cloth, guarded with black velvet, and having square collars lined with fur.

The Corporate Insignia.

The Seals of the borough are interesting. There is only one impression known of the seal of the early Corporation of Sutton. It is attached to a deed of 1368 in the possession of Earl Mount Edgecumbe; the device a ship on the water, and the legend *SI COMMUNITATIS VILLE DE SVTTVN SVPER PLYMOVTH.*

The seal which was used down to the Municipal Reform Act is a quaint composition. It is circular, with, in the upper part, three elaborate canopies. Beneath the central canopy is a figure of St. Andrew, with cross and book, and nimbus surrounding the head; and beneath the others figures bearing respectively shields of St. George and the royal arms. In the lower part is a shield of the arms of the borough—the saltire and castles with lion supporters. It bears the words, *THE COMEN SELLE OF THE BOROVGH & COMENALTE OF Y^e KYNGS TOWNE OF PLYMOTHE.*



This, however, is a late reproduction of the original seal of 1439, two fragmentary impressions only of which are known to exist, dating respectively 1479 and 1493. These show portions of the legend in black letter instead of Roman capitals, while the device is more skilfully cut, and the tabernacle work in better taste. Altogether this was a very fine seal, and with a very marked ecclesiastical character. The figure of St. Andrew refers to the dedication of the church; the shield of St. George to the Freemen's Guild.

The accompanying illustration represents the more perfect of the existing impressions, with the full restoration otherwise suggested — the legend being '*Sigillu: comune: burgi: et: communittatis: bill: Regis: de: Plymouth.*'



A third and smaller seal is also circular. The field is occupied by the shield of the saltire and castles, with Gothic tracery at the sides, and surmounted by a crown of fleurs de lis. This is the original Mayor's seal of 1439, and bears the legend: '*S'officij maioratus burgi ville dni regis de Plymouth.*' The words '*dni regis*' have been defaced, probably in the days of the Commonwealth. There is further a plain circular seal of rude workmanship, having the borough arms (saltire and castles) in a shield, with the date 1595. In 1580 the town seal is mentioned in the



singular. In 1623-4 6s. 9d. is entered for a small silver seal with the town arms; and in the following year we read that the town seal was 'graved' at a cost of 6s. 4d. by John Bardsey. If this was the later St. Andrew seal the smallness of the pay may excuse the poorness of the work.

The modern seal introduced in 1837 under the Municipal Reform Act was designed by Col. Hamilton Smith, who combined the two coats of arms [see p. 198], by placing the saltire and castles with the lion supporters on board the ship with beacons; and added six flags of the saltire and castles, to represent the six wards, to the coronal crest. The town motto is placed round the device, and in an outer circle the words, COMMON SEAL OF THE MAYOR ALDERMAN & BURGESSES OF THE BOROUGH OF PLYMOUTH. 1835.



The first mention of a Mace is in 1486-7, when James the goldsmith, mended 'John gele ys mase ij tymes,' and 'rystaffer ys mase.' In 1494 we have 'ye lyttell mace.' The maces came so frequently to repair in early days as to suggest that they were more for use than ornament. In 1576 four maces were procured, costing £3 11s. 10d. for silver and £2 2s. for work. In 1625 three small maces were new made and gilt at a charge of £2 13s. 6d., while three new maces cost £19 15s. 8d. Two others were bought in 1710 for £90.

These maces mostly disappeared in the reign of Queen Anne. Some no doubt had been thrown aside before. The fate of others can be traced. Roche, the mayor, amoved in 1711 for malpractice, retained the maces in his possession, and had to pay £41 11s. 6d. for three. These were, however, recovered, for £16 11s. 6d. was paid to the person to whom he had sold them; but in 1714 two were sold for £14.

The three maces now belonging to the borough date from the reign of Queen Anne. The largest was given by Colonel Jory, when one of the others was ordered to be carried before the mayoress.

The most ancient members of the civic paraphernalia are a couple of silver-gilt Cups. One, called the 'Union cup,' was given June 5th, 1585, 'The gyft of Iohn Whit of London,

Haberdasher, to the Mayor of Plymouth and his brethren for ever to drinke crosse one to y^e other at their Feastes and Meetings." The second was given by Sir John Gayer, founder of the 'Lion Sermon,' in 1648.

The Mayor's Chain dates only from 1803, as already noted, when chain and medal were bought at a cost of £77 10s. 6d., a sum which there was an unfortunate delay on the part of the donors in paying. The medal now attached to the chain bears the date of 1816, so that it is not the original.

The Mayor's Hammer of office was the gift of Mr. John Kelly in 1873.

Plymouth is unquestionably entitled to two Coats of Arms. The saltire vert between four castles sable, with the rampant lion supporters or, found on the large seal, probably dates from the charter of Henry VI. It combines the cross of the parish church of St. Andrew, the four turrets of the town castle, and the national lions. But the device on the seal of Sutton is a ship, and the *Heralds' Visitation* of 1575 gives a three-masted ship on the waves, the masts surmounted by blazing fire beacons.

A manuscript Armorial in the Exeter Cathedral Library, of about the same date, gives a three-masted ship on the waves with the motto, '*Si vela tendas nimium navis mergitur.*' The modern motto, '*Turris fortissima est nomen Jehovæ*' is probably traceable to the Puritan feeling of the siege time.

It became the custom from the year of the Municipal Reform Act to treat as the local coat the unauthorized combined device arranged by Colonel Hamilton Smith for the modern Corporation seal (see p. 197). In 1887, however, in



the second mayoralty of Mr. W. H. Alger, a return was wisely made to the simple and dignified coat of the Incorporation: Argent a saltire vert between four castles sable; supporters two lions rampant or; crest a royal coronet or.

The Municipal Records.

The Municipal Records have been reported upon by the Historical Manuscripts Commission, and are duly arranged and calendared;² but valuable as they are only represent the smaller proportion of what once existed. The first destruction appears to have been at the time of the Western Rebellion, 1548-9, when we have the cited record, 'Then

² The reports are by Mr. J. C. Jeaffreson and the writer.

was our stepell burnt, wth all the townes evydence in the same by Rebelles.' In 1601-2 further damage was done by a Totnes man, who burnt a chest in the Council Chamber.

The present charter chest dates from about this period. Here is the entry from the Receiver's Accounts—

Itm. rec. of Nicholas Goodridge of Totnes mrchaunte vppon an agreement made between the Towne and him for an offence committed by him the said Nicholas in burning of a cheste in the Council Chamber wherein were contayned divers evidences and writings concerninge the Towne. Cth.

It is probably to this severely punished piece of arson (the fine would be equivalent to nearly £600 now) that one William Jennens and John Warren, in the course of a suit with the Corporation, referred when they declared, about 1665, that the town records had been burnt some seventy years previously.

The wonder, however, rather is not that so much has been lost, but that so much is left. The borough records passed through a worse peril than even the fires raised by the Western Rebels or by Nicholas Goodridge, when the sometime old Guildhall, now the Free Library, replaced its Jacobean predecessor at the commencement of the present century. Books were taken some care of, but it is said that accumulated papers were thrown into heaps in the streets, and carted off, and that whoever cared to do so helped themselves at pleasure. There may be a little exaggeration; but if the story were not essentially true it would be impossible to account for the almost entire absence of current letters and papers during the eighteenth century; whereas those since that date and a small proportion of the older ones have been preserved. When the penultimate Guildhall was finished, and the records moved back again, confusion became worse confounded. There was no room to arrange them properly, and a lot of loose papers were thrust under the roof, where they remained for many a long year. The first attempt to arrange the municipal records was in 1813, when a committee was appointed, and did much valuable work. Insufficient space, however, prevented them from carrying out their intentions fully; and meantime deeds and papers rapidly accumulated. When the late Mr. Henry Woolcombe, F.S.A., was appointed Recorder he continued the task which he had commenced as a member of this committee, and by him a large number of loose papers and parchments were carefully preserved by being mounted in portfolios. He utilised

his researches also by writing the first history of Plymouth, which remains in manuscript at the Plymouth Institution. More than he did it was impossible, with the very limited office facilities of the old building, to do; but when the present Guildhall was projected a large and well-lighted muniment room was provided; and the papers and books of the old Corporation down to 1835 are now separately classified and arranged, in such a manner that with the help of an index catalogue any document may be turned to without difficulty or delay.

Several missing books and papers have been recovered, the most important being the volume of Receivers' Accounts between the years 1570 and 1658. This was found in January, 1881, among the muniments of the Morshead family at Widey Court, and restored to the Corporation. The Receivers' Accounts are thus practically complete from the year 1486. There are some other accounts of the end of the fifteenth century, chiefly relating to works connected with the church of St. Andrew; but the most valuable records of this period are to be found in an old book, which some one kept as a kind of commonplace or day-book for the entry of miscellaneous matters. It contains notices of the proceedings of the manor courts, of the borough and pie powder courts, of inquests by Simon Carswell, coroner, probably the writer; copies of various deeds, some of considerable interest and value; the earliest borough rental, commencing 6th Henry VII.; precepts and warrants concerning the water of Sutton Pool; a very curious abstract in English of the Charter of Henry VI.; and a copy of the earliest noted bye-laws. Some of the entries are as early as 38th Henry VI., and it contains the oldest series of contemporary records now in the possession of the Corporation. Next in point of date, but first in importance, is the ancient 'Town Ligger,' a bulky volume in oak boards and tattered pigskin, long known by the name of the *Black Book*. This is the new 'lygger,' for which, and writing therein all that was in the old, 20s. was paid in 1535-6. It commences, '*Jesus Christus. Liber maioris et Communitatis burgi de Plymouthe in Com. Devon.*' The earliest current entries refer to the year 1540; but it contains copies of charters and of a number of ancient documents of importance relating to the town, for which in most cases it is now the sole authority. The *Black Book* was evidently intended to be a repertory of all matters of note relating to the community—proclamations, bye-laws, Acts of Parliament, guild orders,

assessments, with lists of Mayors and freemen. Eventually it came to be used as a registry, in which deeds relating to private properties in the town were enrolled by the town clerk for safe keeping. All communications from the King or court were not only to be entered 'for the good gyding of the towne,' but every article in the 'lygger' was to be read once a quarter or twice a year in the hall 'for the good remembraunce and good rule of the same to be hadde,' an order which can never have been literally fulfilled. A very important feature of the *Black Book* is the fact that it became the custom to enter under each mayoralty brief memoranda of leading local and national events. The book remained in use as a record of the mayoralties down to 1709, and its lists of freemen continue to 1658. Without it much of the early history of Plymouth would be a blank.

Next in importance to the *Black Book* is the *White Book*, a volume given to the town by John Ford, Mayor in 1555, and used from 1560 down to 1754 for the entry of bye-laws and orders of the 'twelve and twenty-four,' and of the sessions. The orders are for the most part signed by those who made them.

There are a number of letters from the Privy Council and various persons of note in the reign of Elizabeth still extant, but only a very small proportion of those which once existed. There is merely one autograph letter of Sir Francis Drake, whereas there must have been scores; and although there are several papers of various kinds connected with William Hawkins, Sir John is all but unrepresented. There are, however, autographs of nearly all the statesmen of the Elizabethan Court; and of the local notables from this period downward the autographic representation is complete.

From the early part of the seventeenth century the various sets of current Corporation books are fairly continuous; and there are a few of the day-books, which it was the custom to destroy, with the vouchers generally, when they had been produced and examined at the annual audit. The most interesting volume of seventeenth-century accounts belonged to the Committee of Defence at the time of the siege of Plymouth by the Royalists, containing a full statement of their expenditure from February, 1644-5, to January, 1645-6.

The papers of the Borough Court date back to the reign of Henry VII., but there are only a few of the older ones left. The Court books now extant commence in 1636, and some of the volumes contain quaint illustrations of the manners and

customs of old Plymouth. There are some very curious entries respecting the style in which 'conventicles' and their frequenters were dealt with under the second Charles and James.

Corporate Bye-Laws and Regulations.

The powers exercised by the mediæval municipality of Plymouth were very wide. Save in great matters of imperial concern Plymouth in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was in all essential respects a little republic, governed by its oligarchical 'twelve and twenty-four,' the Mayor at the head of whom wielded an authority almost as great and mysterious as that of a Venetian Doge. As the townsfolk were charged with the defence of the port—with building the fortifications, finding the guns, keeping watch, and manning the bulwarks—so the Mayor was general of the town by land and sea. Whether he could actually hang any one may not be quite clear; but he could banish an offender as easily as lock one up; and what with prison, pillory, whipping-post, stocks, and ducking stool, had plenty of ways and means of making his will obeyed. He was not only the president of the free burgesses, but the direct representative of the Crown, and to him royal letters and mandates were sent, involving at times no little charge. Moreover, he issued passports, and there is one extant in which William Thyckpeny, on the 16th of March, 1492, in choice mediæval Latin, bespeaks for one John Cropp peaceable passage, without being vexed or troubled, in his journey to visit divers shrines—to wit, that of the blood of Christ at Haylys, 'San Johem in pria de Scotland,' the blessed Virgin of Walsingham, St. Thomas of Canterbury, thence to transact certain business, and then to return by 'Beatem Regem Henry ap^d Wyndstore' (Henry VI.) to Plymouth.

The Freeman's Oath, as taken prior to the 'Regulation' of 1684, shows how independent in many ways a mediæval corporation was. The borough was 'to be held harmless,' even against the King:

You sweare, to be true & faithfull to o^r sovereign L^d y^e king, his heirs and successors, and you shall be obedient, and Ready to the Mayor, his ministers, & keepers of this Burrough, officers under y^e king; the Franchise, and franchises, libertyes, and Customes of this Burrough you shall keep, and maintain, after y^r power; and as farr forth as you can, you shall save this Burrough harmles, ags^t y^e King, and all his Leige people, and you shall be partaker of all manner of charges, touching this Burrough, as in

sumons, Contributions, watches, wards, tole, taxe, and Tollage, as other freemen be of this Burrough after your power. you shall avow noe forraigners goods, as your own goods, nor buy and bargain with any forraigner, or stranger in your own name, to y^e use, behoof, & profit of another forraigner, and stranger, whereby any Custom, or duety may be Lost or withdrawn, from y^e Mayor and Commons of this Burrough. You shall take noe apprentice for less than seven yeares, and within that tyme, you shall see them taught, and Instructed of some honest mystery, craft, or occupation. And if you shall hereafter know any forraigners, merchanta, or handy crafts men, that shall use to buy, or sell, or practice any craft, continually within this Burrough, not being free of y^e same, you shall then give warning thereof, unto the Mayor, of this Burrough, for the tyme being, or his officers. and you shall not Implead, or sue any person, out of this court, or courts of this Franchise, or liberty, of any action, cause, or quarrell, that is pleadable, or determinable within y^e said court, or courts, holden and kept here within the precincts of this Burrough, and you shall give & keep in counsell, of all things that shall come to your knowlidge, concerning the publike weal of this Burrough, and you shall wear noe man's Livery otherwise than y^e Law Suffereth and permitteth, & *you shall maintain no cause, or quarrell, ag^t y^e Mayor, & comons of this Burrough,* and you shall pay yearly for your freedom to the Mayor and Comonalty sixe pence. to these points, and all other things, touching this franchise, & Liberty, you shall truly keep and observe, as nigh as God shall give you grace, soe help you God.

The Freemen's Oath of 1684 differs in some very material restrictive particulars from this old oath. For the words 'and as farr forth as you can, you shall save this Burrough harmles, ags^t y^e King, and all his Leige people,' the words 'you shall save this burrough harmless as farr as Lawfully you may' are substituted. The passage, 'whereby any Custom, or duety may be Lost or withdrawn, from y^e Mayor and Commons,' is altered by the insertion of the words 'from the king and' before 'y^e Mayor.' And before the words 'and you shall pay yearly for your freedom' there is inserted the significant clause, '& you shall from time to time give notice to y^e Mayor of this Burrough for y^e time being, of all conventicles or unlawfull Assemblies y^t you shall know to be within this Burrough.'

Here is an order made by the Mayor *circa* 1450, which shows the strict local police of those days:

Maister mayer chargyth and comaundyth yn our sourayng lord the kings be halffe that all man of stranges resortyng to this towne bere no wapyn swerd byll glevys or other wapyng vppone

the forfayture of the same wapyng and there bodys to pson and ffyn and Ransom to the Kyng.

And alsoe that none of then habytance of this said towne w^oute the mair ys comaundement were no wapyn vppon the forfayture of the same excepte siauntes and constables or suche as be assigned thereto by the mayr or suche officer as ben w^tyn the said towne for oure said souraigne lard the kyng.

Itm that eury strang loged w^tyn the said towne be atte his loggyg sone vppon vj or vij atte clocke att leste. And thake vppon theyme to loge any pson or psons butte as they wolles onswer for theyr goode beryng.

Itm that no vacabundes or travelyng men or beggers passing thorowe the contray a byde here ovyr a day and a nyght vppon the payne of ymponment and theyr hosts to answer yn lyke wyse for the same. And also that all man^r of vytelers w^tyn this said towne sell theyr vytaill att aresonabyll p^ree aswell to stranges as to deynzyens vppon payn of forfayto^r of the same as well yn brede, fflesch, ffyshe, wyne, ale, Eggs butt^r chese and all other vytaill so that eury pson as well strangs as other maybe resonably yntretyd.

And also that eury pson loged yn the schyppe a nyght take theyr loggyng ther be tymes by the our aforesaid.

And also that no pson nor psons w^tyn this said towne take vppone hym tobe owte of his house ovyr viij atte cloke excepte offyces or wachemen by the maire there to assigned.

And god save the king and send vs pease.

The general trade and commerce of the port was controlled by the Corporation, and so remained, in part at least, to within the eighteenth century. Only free residents had the right to conduct business. From the brewing of beer to the building of a church steeple; from the regulation of fisherwomen to the sustentation of a guild, nothing came amiss to the 'twelve and twenty-four.'

The first act, order, or constitution of the Corporation extant was made by the Mayor and Commonalty in the second mayoralty of William Paige (1474-5); and declared that no man should be free of the Corporation unless he were a whole or half brother of Our Lady and St. George's Guild, a whole brother paying 12d. quarterly, and a half brother 6d.; while each of the 'twenty-four' had to pay 8d. yearly, and each of the 'twelve' 12d. Moreover, 'no foreigner' (all were foreigners who were not natives of Plymouth) was to be made free. This sweeping act of disfranchisement 'was appoynted by the hoole Councell of the Toune, and John Yogge, John Shippen, and other foreyns putte owte of theyre freedom.'

Less than twenty years later (1492) the stringent step

was taken of banishing from the town Nicholas Law and Avys his wife; and a series of orders were made to uphold the dignity of the Mayor:

Yf any pson or psons of the Inhitaunce of the said Towne rebell and dysbey the Mayer for the tyme being or distvrbe and lett him to doo and execute even Justice within the said Bouroughe or drawe a knyfe hanger swerde vpon the Mayer or sott his hondes vpon his knyve hanger or swerde entending to drawe it vpon the Mayre or Bill Axe or Cleve or any othe Abylements of werre, or letting of the Mayre and his officers to mynistrer their office according vnto the kinges lawes then hit shalbe at the libertye of the said Mayre to punishe him or theym so offending in svche prison within the said Bouroughe as it shall please him.

Freemen were to be imprisoned in the Guildhall. Moreover, fine and disfranchisement, or other penalties at the discretion of the Mayor, followed on declaring the 'counsell' of the town to any foreign person, or seeking 'any helpe and mayntinaunce of any lorde, knyght, or any other, what degree or condition he be of, agenst the Mayre.'

About the same date, or a little earlier, appear the following regulations:

The Mayor comaundith in the king's name of England that all maner of Bakers make good brede and of good corne and holsome for man's bodye, and that they make a loffe for a peny ij loffes for a peny and iiij loffes for a peny, and that yo^r brede keepe weight att the first tyme vpon payne of a grevous am^ccem^t and the second tyme a grevouiser am^cciament and the third faulte a payne of the pillorie and to forfaite their Bread and their bodie to prison and there to make or fyne att the Mayor's will.

Also that all manner Brewers make good ale and of good malte holsome for man's bodye, and that they sell a gallon of the best in the keve for 1^d and q., and when it is cleare and stale in the Barrell for 1^d ob. And of the second ale in the kyve for iiij farthings, and when it is cleare and stale in the Barrell for 1^d, and that they sell no ale by wyne measure but onlye by ale measure and sealed. And that they sell none till the Ale Taster have tasted it, and so that it be good holsome and able for man's bodye. And that no manner of Brewster neither hoggester sell none ale till they have sett out their signe on payne of forfeytur of all together and their bodies to prison there to make a fyne and Raunsome at the Mayor's will.

Also that no man^r men sell no corrupt wyne neyther reboyled wyne, neither melled wyne ne no other but it be good and wholsome for man's bodie, neither sett two prices on one pype hoggeshead or toun to raise the price that is to saie first for iiij^d and after for vj^d on payne, &c.

[Then the butchers were only to sell wholesome meat—'no Bulls flesh, no Ramms flesh, no Cowe flesh that be an Calfe and the Calfe be quicke.' They were also to bring 'their kidneys in their muttuns and their skynnes of all manner of flesh to markett,' and were not to make any filth in the shambles. Linen and woollen cloth were only to be sold by measures tested by the King's standard in the Guildhall; and the only weights to be used were those of Winchester standard.]

Also that no hostler ne any other man oste no vacabunds neyther anye other man passing two dayes and two nights, but he be a man of knowledge and whence he came and whether he will and where his busienes be in Toun, and that no man walk vp and downe working daies to ale and to wyne but he be a man lyvelichode a m'chaunt other wayting vpon any gentleman, on payne of ymprisonm^t of their bodies and a grevous fyne to be att the Mayo^r will for it is suspiciou.

Also that no hosteler nor Taverner by color of their Taverne or hosterie suffer anye suspetious people of their lyving to ryott accompanny or lodge together as man and a woman but he knowe verielie that it be a man and his wief, and that no Tav^rner keepe in his house harlote neyther strumpett, but voyde her awaie hastelie on payne of a grevous am^cciament.

[Furthermore no man was to forestall before all victuals were in the market; none to regrate 'before the towne be full served.' No fish to be bought in boats, but all to be landed, 'and that everie man haue a parte thereof that is present att the buying of the same pounce and pounce if it like them.']

The Borough Court was a local law court, dealing with debts, of large powers and considerable importance, with a settled procedure, and came to an end in 1842. The town clerk, who was always a barrister, presided, and the custom was to hold it weekly on Mondays. Quarter and Petty Sessions were held under the old charters. Quarter Sessions were re-granted 6 William IV., and a Commission of the Peace. In old days there was a Court of Pie Powder in connection with the fairs.

Corporate Finance.

Fines were long levied on members of the Corporation and freemen not present at Mayor-choosing; and persons who refused to take office were imprisoned until they complied or found surety. In 1520 the fines leviable for non-attendance were: 'twelve' £5, 'twenty-four' 40s.; 'freemen' 12d.; and in 1566, the fine for refusing the mayoralty was raised to £20, from £10, at which it had been fixed in 1560.

Only the Aldermen could be chosen Mayors, and they were taken to some extent in turn; while there are several orders of the discharge from all liability to serve of those who had filled the office on several occasions. In 1571, to relieve the burden, it was ordered that no one should be made Mayor who had been Mayor within six years, four having been the limit. In 1597 this was increased to eight years; the six was restored in 1643.

As further illustration of the general powers of the Corporation, we may quote an order of 1566, that all alien servants received within a year were to be discharged within a month; and others of 1603 and subsequently, fining and imprisoning those who spoke evil of the local dignitaries, using disparaging words and making slanderous speeches; for example:

Itm rec of Joseph Gubbes for an offence in speeches on
St Lamberts daie at thelation of the newe maior . x^s

The chief sources of the town revenue in early days were rents, petty customs, the mills, pound, and market, ale and wine 'wits,' tonnage, land-leave, rollage, and package. Most of these were really manorial rights, and transferred at the Incorporation from the Priory. The town customs were, however, granted by Richard II. in aid of the fortifications. Tonnage was a payment of a penny per ton by ships coming into Sutton Pool; land-leave was a landing due; rollage and package were paid by brewers, and connected with the landing, &c., of casks; ale and wine wits were dues paid by drinking-houses—in fact, licences. The total ordinary receipts from these sources in the fifteenth and early in the sixteenth centuries ranged from £50 to £60 a year.

There were also certain miscellaneous sources of income, such as a mysterious 'dawnsyng money' in 1483. A few samples will be of interest.

1513-14. m^d that ther was taken owte of a flemyng
shyp this yere yn the tyme of warre vj ffrenshe
men psons w^t the which was taken of ther goods
yn the said shyp viij butts & j hoggshed of
Romney where oon butt went to vlage the other
so remayned but vij butts & j hoggshed of the
whiche ther was solde to dyus psons vj butts & j
hoggshed pce for the butte liij^s iiij^d & the hoggshed
for xxiij^s iiij^d sm^a . . . xvij^s iiij^s iiij^d

- Itm Rec^d of oon of the forsaide ffrenshemen that were taken psons yn the said fflemynge shyp the which was a pilott yn the same shyp for his Raunson (xls) & of ij other of them (xx^a) a pece beside oon of them that dyed & beside ij of them the whiche went home for their Raunson and came not ageyn iij^{li}
- 1527-8. Itm Rec of tharrogosye [the argosy] for defendynge theyre shyp ageynst the ffrenshemen that wold have taken her xvj^{li} xij^a iij^d
- Itm Rec of ij Spaynards for lyke defens xxvj^a viij^d
- Itm p^d for wyne at the welcom of the ffrenshe Kyngs capteynes when they were comaundyd to com a lond out of theyre shippes to be spoken w^tall for the peace to be kept w^tn the porte ij^a
- Itm p^d ffor fyndyng of the said Capteynes & theyre Sruants iij dayes when they were kept alond ageynst theyre wylls xxvj^a viij^d
- Itm spent in wyne when the ffrenshemen went hens xij^d
- Itm spent in wyne when the Spaynards p^d theyre money xxj^d
- 1538-9. Itm for a ffustyan blankett & for a harte of Sylu^r and gilte which was taken from lytell Rawe the taylor for an Excheyte to the Towne vj^a
- 1541-2. Itm p^d for the shroudyng & buryeng of Johanne lyons whose hangyd her selfe by meanes whereof her goods wer forfeytt to the Town iij^a iij^d
- 1592-3. Itm rec of a ducheman for a fyne for a hains offence by hym and his compayny done ccc^{li}
- 1654-5. It Recd of Margarette the wife of Anthony Skynner for a Fine beinge Convicted for breach of a Late Ordinance of the Lord Protector against Duells Challenges and all provocofis therevnto in abusinge Mary the wife of Benjamin Dymond whereof the said Dymond's wife had £10 see Remaines £10 20 00 00

So in 1603-4 a man was hanged, and the town 'seased on his goodes.'

Rates were at first only made for special objects. When money was short it became the practice to borrow, and in later times to hamper the town property by leases. The Corporation would grant leases on lives or for fixed terms for fines at nominal rentals, and when all the property was leased would lease it again in reversion, two and three leases deep, securing the best bargains for themselves. Thus the estates of the town were rendered almost wholly unproductive, for the fines were spent as soon as got. By and bye

the Corporation went a step further and got rid of the fee. Very few Plymouthians have any idea of the once enormous extent of the town lands. If they had been properly dealt with there would be no need of any rates in Plymouth; but they were wasted and spoiled. The lands of the Corporation included the Marshes, on which Union Street and its adjuncts stand; the 'Great hill' above Pennycomequick; Tamelary, Windmill Park, &c., on the east; the Vawtlers, Crosse Down, Well Park, Mayes Cross, on the north; Frankfort Fields, adjoining the Marshes, on the west; and houses in Green, Bilbury, Kinterbury, St. Andrew, Stillman, Tin, Looe, Lyme, Lyneham, Buckwell, Petherick, Market, Castle, Vennell, Whimple, Treville, Finewell, High, Batter, Market, Notte, East, and Woolster Streets; Katherine, Hoe, Loaders, Whitefriars, and Peacock Lanes; also at Briton Side, Cockshedd (Coxside), Southside, Friary Green, Old Town, the Hoe and the Quay, with Corpus Christi House and other properties adjoining.

Most of the lands belonging to the Corporation, with some belonging to charities! were finally disposed of between 1822 and 1827 in 238 lots. Between March 9th, 1822, and June 25th, 1825, 52 lots were sold, realizing £10,898.

It will be of interest in this connection to quote the details of the earliest town rental preserved — Michaelmas to Michaelmas, 1491–2. It is the oldest existing list of Plymouthians:

Thos. Tregarthen, heirs of Jayben, heirs of Wm. Cornu, 'Dom^{us} psbiteros ij^a id,' Wm. Rogger, Robt. Harry, Ste. Hamelyn, Ralph Chompelayn, heirs of John Rowland, Thos. Grayson, Wm. Tregoll, Wm. Chopyn, Wm. Baylly, Rd. Pomeray, John Bailly, Isabel Dowrygge, Thomasia Lawry, 'Ten See Cruce vj,' John How, Wm. Russell, Wm. Taylor helyer, wife of John Mayen, heirs Wm. Bykbury, late Geo. Elysworthy, heirs Nich. Henscotte, Margaret Henscotte, heirs Robt. Hylle, Awing She, Rosa Sherman, And. Alenson, Rd. Bovy, Cornelius Burg, heirs of Eggbeore, late Thos. Bymmor, Alexander Vppecote, Walter Prdyaux, Thos. Wyett, Robt. Bear, John Carkeke, John Furnes, Thos. Phyllypp, Wm. Nycoll, Thos. Byne, John Greselyng jun., Rd. Dowrysh, heirs John Foote, heirs Hugh Davy, Thos. Bulle jun., heirs Belworthy, heirs Trecarrell, Wm. Brune, Alice Bady, heirs John Benet, John Rougemont, John Colles, John Banadon, Nich. Holand, Wm. Gole, Garrard Barry, 'Decan et capit Exon vij^a jd,' heirs of Margaret and John Stubbys, heirs Wm. George, heirs Thos. Gew, Thos. Browse, Thos. Cotterell, Thos. Bykporte, heirs Prymeton, heirs Rd. Page, Robt. Savage, Joan Stubbys, heirs John Gwyn, Joan Fox, Andrew Hunt, Thos. Cropp, Peter Carswyll, 'frat^{us} nitat

corpis xpi jd,' Peter Lygger, John Beke, heirs Vincent hogge, Marquis of Dorset, Walter Dusty, John Grysby, Radegund Bailly, Wm. Lucas, cordwainer, heirs of Porter, Thos. Tresawell, 'foxhole ix^d,' Joan Daw, Elias Crocker, John Parker, Isabel Sarges, Margaret Cornysh, John Mona, 'Custod domq Eleosinar ij^a iiij^d,' 'Custod. sci marie vj^d,' heirs of Spyller, 'Dymn^r at Moreshed,' Robt. Hayes, 'Custod Eccleie sci Andr de plyoth vj^d,' Lord de Broke, heirs John Cok, Walter Pollard, Wm. Polhaman, Thos. Ford, Thos. Furlong, Thos. Gaym, Thos. Coche, Wm. Cokeram, Robt. Nele, Rd. Cade, Rd. Gela, Robt. Holbeme, Thos. Kelly, Jn. Chopyn, Wm. Rede, Henry Gray, Walter Yewan, Rd. Dabnon, Joan Pollard, Peter Carswyll, Joan Baker, Thos. Yogge, John Ilcombe, Thos. Sayer, Walter Honychurch, Robt. Lawrans, Joan Newton, John Morles, John Glynne, heirs John Hawken, Philip Hop [Hooper], Peter Eggecomb, Peter Erle, Rd. Whytley, Wm. Colman, John Bucke, John Horswyll, Wm. Attre, Thos Butsyde.

In shambles—Wm. Bold, Robt. Warwyke, Rd. Goe, Wm. Joseph, Wm. Chopyn, Robt. Ayer, Matthew Chopyn, Gelam Bocher, Rd. Drap, John Moysen, Robert Hore, Roger Joseph, Thomas.

The total paid by 157 tenants was £23 13s. 7d.

'Feasts and Treatments.'

Entertaining and banqueting figure prominently in the Corporate records. In 1486 we read:

Itm payd ffor vj lovys of sugg^r weyyng xxxviii q^r at vj
y^e lb y^e whyche was gevyn to my lord steward and
vnto Syr John Sapcott at plymton when we made
owre benevolence of C mark for the whole town
of p xiiij^a ij^d

In 1494-5 there are entries of wine given to the Sheriff to look after the interests of the town in empanelling a jury to decide in a lawsuit with Sir John Crocker; and

to S Willia^m Courteney at S. Carsewylls hows ij galons
of wyne at his dyn^r & a galon at Sop [supper] by
cause he was one of o^r best Jurors ij^a

William Thykpeny also laid out money at Exeter to help to pay the jury. He was then Recorder.

The townsfolk were always desirous to stand as well as they could with their more powerful neighbours, and they seem to have been on terms of special amity with the Edgcumbe family. The first reference of this kind is the following:

Coste done to mast^r Eggecomb by advys of m^r Mayr m^r
Record^r the xij & the xxiiij when he was made
Knygt and Shyryff.

ffirst for ij Sug^r loffe weyeng x li qrtr iiij li qrtr y^e of at
 xvij and ye vj li at ij v^d sm^a iij^s xi^d
 It ij botells of Redde wyne pce ix^d
 It a potell of Malmsey viij^d
 It a Galon of Clarett wyne & bayne wyne viij^d
 It a botell of bastard v^d
 It do dos of pownegarnarde a pownde sedo and a dos
 do of Orenge viij^d

A hogshhead of wine was drunk in the market in 1511, 'at the pcession for the byrthe of the prynce'; and in the next year we have—

Itm to John Gryslyng for a hoggshed of wyne which
 was sette a broche & dronken vpon the key when
 the pry^{or} of plympton & his Company were here to
 rescuwe the town when it was said the frenshemen
 had brende [burnt] fflowey xx^s

Bishop Veysey in 1521 was treated to 'gresyd Congers,' oranges, figs, raisins, great figs, conserve, and marmalade; in 1533-4 hake was sent to London to 'Mr. Crumwell.' In 1547 there was a 'tryumphe' for the 'victory in Scotland,' (Pinkie) at which a hogshhead of wine was drunk, and a 'bankett' had.

Itm pd to them w^{ch} made the bankettyngge housse and
 for nayles viij^d
 Itm p^d for meate & drynke for them w^{ch} played the
 antycke the same tyme xij^d
 Itm pd to them w^{ch} toke paynes to fett forthe the boats
 to fetch the vysyters from Aysshe xij^d

Grenville, Drake, Raleigh, Hawkins, Howard, Essex, Mansell, Blake, Cromwell, Fairfax—in fact all distinguished visitors to the town were entertained by the Corporation, even if they went no further than the 4d. expended in London beer on Bishop Cotton in 1599.

Among the most curious items of entertainment is that of 'four Indian Kings' in 1709-10; and the gift of £5 5s. to the 'Prince of Chesroan' in 1709-10, with 19s. for his travelling expenses to Liskeard. Here the Corporation was evidently 'done.'

And Corporation banquets formed a leading feature in the civic life. The Mayor in 1558 was allowed £20 yearly towards his expenses; with power to modify the several feasts then held. In 1571 all feasts and banquets were utterly done away; but this regulation was not long in force. In 1646 the rents and profits of the shambles were

settled on the Mayors, their charges being so great, and their allowances so small. Then this was qualified by the Mayor being expected to repay £13 a year, the old rent, and £30 interest of £600 advanced by the Poor's Portion, out of the market profits. Later the £30 was reimbursed, and eventually in 1738, when great efforts at retrenchment were made, a fixed allowance of £100 was substituted; and the entertainments restricted to feasts on Lambert and Michaelmas Days, and cakes and wine on Freedom Days. The freemen's dinner was given up in the mayoralty of Mr. George Eastlake (1819-20), and the Mayor's allowance finally stopped.

The Mayorality House in Woolster Street, where the later feasting took place (now the Mayorality Stores), was bought for £168, and £230 paid towards its repairs in 1736-7. Then it was burnt, and in the following year rebuilt at an outlay of £748 19s. 10½d.

Mayors under the Present Incorporation.

1439-40 William Kethriche.	1467-68 William Yogge.
1440-41 Walter Clovelley.	1468-69 John Page.
1441-42 William Pollard.	1469-70 John Rowland.
1442-43 John Schepeley.	1470-71 William Yogge.
1443-44 William Nycoll.	1471-72 William Page.
1444-45 Ditto.	1472-73 Richard Bovy.
1445-46 John Schepeley.	1473-74 Nicholas Heynscott.
1446-47 John Facye.	1474-75 William Page.
1447-48 John Carwynyk.	1475-76 Nicholas Heynscott.
1448-49 John Facye.	1476-77 Ditto.
1449-50 John Paige.	1477-78 John Pollard.
1450-51 Stephen Chapeman.	1478-79 Nicholas Heynscott.
1451-52 Ditto.	1479-80 William Rodgers.
1452-53 Thomas Tregle.	1480-81 Thomas Tregarthen.
1453-54 Vincent Petelysden.	1481-82 Thomas Tresawell.
1454-55 Ditto.	1482-83 Nicholas Heynscott.
1455-56 John Dernford.	1483-84 Thomas Greyson.
1456-57 Vincent Petelysden.	1484-85 Pers Carswell.
1457-58 John Carwynyk.	1485-86 Thomas Tresawell.
1458-59 Thomas Tregle.	1486-87 Thomas Greyson.
1459-60 William Yogge.	1487-88 Nicholas Heynscott.
1460-61 John Pollard.	1488-89 Peryn Earle.
1461-62 William Yogge.	1489-90 Thomas Greyson.
1462-63 John Page.	1490-91 Nicholas Heynscott.
1463-64 John Rowland.	1491-92 John Paynter.
1464-65 Ditto.	1492-93 William Thykpeny.
1465-66 Ditto.	1493-94 Ditto.
1466-67 Richard Bovy.	1494-95 Thomas Bygports.

1495-96	William Nycoll.	1542-43	James Horswell.
1496-97	William Rodgers.	1543-44	Thomas Holwaye.
1497-98	Thomas Tresawell.	1544-45	Thomas Clowter.
1498-99	John Paynter.	1545-46	William Randall.
'99-1500	John Ilcombe.	1546-47	Lucas Coke (Cocke).
1500- 1	William Byle.	1547-48	John Elyott.
1501- 2	Thomas Cropp.	1548-49	Richard Hooper.
1502- 3	John Horswell.	1549-50	Wm. Wiks (Weekes).
1503- 4	John Paynter.	1550-51	John Keynsam.
1504- 5	John Brewne.	1551-52	Thomas Clowter.
1505- 6	William Tregle.	1552-53	John Thomas.
1506- 7	Thomas Tresawell.	1553-54	Lucas Cocke.
1507- 8	Simon Carswell.	1554-55	John Ilcomb.
1508- 9	John Paynter.	1555-56	John Ford.
1509-10	Richard Gew.	1556-57	Thomas Clowter.
1510-11	Walter Pollard.	1557-58	John Derry.
1511-12	William Brokyng.	1558-59	William Wiks.
1512-13	John Grylsyng.	1559-60	Lucas Cocke.
1513-14	John Pounce.	1560-61	John Elliott.
1514-15	William Brokyng.	1561-62	William Lake, died November 10th. Edward Whyte chosen in his stead.
1515-16	John Paynter.	1562-63	John Forde.
1516-17	John Brewne.	1563-64	John Derry.
1517-18	John Herforde.	1564-65	Nicholas Slannyng.
1518-19	William Randall.	1565-66	Nicholas Bickford.
1519-20	John Pounce.	1566-67	John Ilcomb.
1520-21	William Randall.	1567-68	William Hawkyngs.
1521-22	Stephen Pers.	1568-69	Lucas Cocke.
1522-23	Thomas Bull.	1569-70	John Martyn.
1523-24	John Bovy.	1570-71	Gregory Cocke.
1524-25	William Brookyng.	1571-72	William Hollowaye.
1525-26	John Pounce.	1572-73	John Blythman.
1526-27	John Herforde.	1573-74	William Brookyng.
1527-28	Henry Bykham.	1574-75	John Amadas.
1528-29	James Horswell.	1575-76	Walter Peperell.
1529-30	William Brokyng.	1576-77	John Ilcomb, senr.
1530-31	William Randall.	1577-78	George Maynarde.
1531-32	John Bygporte	1578-79	William Hawkyngs. ⁴
1532-33	William Hawkyngs. ³	1579-80	Gregory Cocke.
1533-34	Christopher Moore.	1580-81	John Blythman.
1534-35	John Elyott.	1581-82	Sir Francis Drake.
1535-36	James Horswell.	1582-83	Thomas Edmonds.
1536-37	Thomas Bull.	1583-84	John Sparke.
1537-38	Thomas Clouter.	1584-85	Christopher Broking
1538-39	William Hawkyngs.		
1539-40	Thomas Byrte.		
1540-41	John Thomas.		
1541-42	Thomas Mylles.		

³ Capt. Will, father of Sir John.⁴ Brother of Sir John.

1585-86 Thomas Ford.	1628-29 Nicholas Sherwill.
1586-87 George Maynard.	1629-30 William Hele.
1587-88 William Hawkyns. ⁵	1630-31 John Bownd.
1588-89 Humphry Fownes.	1631-32 John Waddon, jun.
1589-90 John Blythman.	1632-33 Philip Andrews.
1590-91 Walter Peperell.	1633-34 Rob. Trelawny, jun.
1591-92 John Sparke.	1634-35 John Martyn, jun.
1592-93 John Gayre.	1635-36 Thomas Crampporne.
1593-94 John Phillips.	1636-37 John Cawa.
1594-95 George Barons.	1637-38 Nicholas Sherwill.
1595-96 James Bagg.	1638-39 William Hele.
1596-97 Humphry Fownes.	1639-40 Robert Gubbea.
1597-98 Sir John Trelawny.	1640-41 William Byrche.
1598-99 Martin White, died; John Blythman.	1641-42 Thomas Ceely.
'99-1600 Richard Hitchens.	1642-43 Philip Francis.
1600- 1 Thomas Paine.	1643-44 John Cawse.
1601- 2 William Parker.	1644-45 Justinian Peard.
1602- 3 John Martyn.	1645-46 Barth. Nicholl.
1603- 4 Sir Richard Hawkyns. ⁶	1646-47 Christopher Ceely.
1604- 5 Walter Mathew.	1647-48 Richard Evenes.
1605- 6 James Bagge.	1648-49 Timothy Allsop.
1606- 7 William Downeman.	1649-50 Oliver Ceeley.
1607- 8 Robert Trelawny.	1650-51 Robert Gubbea.
1608- 9 Thomas Sherwill.	1651-52 Philip Francis.
1609-10 John Buttersby.	1652-53 John Madocke.
1610-11 Thomas Fownes.	1653-54 Richard Spurwell.
1611-12 John Trelawny.	1654-55 John Paige.
1612-13 John Waddon.	1655-56 Christopher Ceely.
1613-14 John Scobell.	1656-57 Justinian Peard.
1614-15 John Clement.	1657-58 William Gefferie.
1615-16 Abraham Colmer.	1658-59 Samuel Northcot.
1616-17 Robert Trelawny.	1659-60 John Kinge.
1617-18 Thomas Sherwill.	1660-61 Oliver Ceely.
1618-19 Nicholas Sherwill.	1661-62 William Allen, re- moved for noncon- formity; William Jennens.
1619-20 Thomas Fownes.	1662-63 William Jennena.
1620-21 Robert Rawlyn.	1663-64 John Harris.
1621-22 John Bownd.	1664-65 John Martyn.
1622-23 John Martyne.	1665-66 William Harpur.
1623-24 Leonard Pomery.	1666-67 George Strelley.
1624-25 Thomas Ceely.	1667-68 Thomas Stutt.
1625-26 Nicholas Blake.	1668-69 William Symons.
1626-27 Thomas Sherwill. ⁷	1669-70 Daniel Barker.
1627-28 Robert Trelawny; Abraham Colmer.	1670-71 William Cotton.

⁵ Brother of Sir John.⁶ Son of Sir John.⁷ There were three mayors in 1627, Sherwill and Trelawny dying of the plague.

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| 1671-72 Peter Schaggell. | 1716-17 Abraham Joy. |
| 1672-73 John Lanyon. | 1717-18 John Beere, died ;
Robert Hewer. |
| 1673-74 Henry Webb. | 1718-19 Edward Deeble. |
| 1674-75 William Weekes. | 1719-20 William Bartlett. |
| 1675-76 John Dell. | 1720-21 George Ridout. |
| 1676-77 Andrew Horseman. | 1721-22 John Fletcher, died
the day after elec-
tion; John Elford. |
| 1677-78 William Tom. | 1722-23 Sir John Rogers. |
| 1678-79 John Munyon. | 1723-24 Andrew Phillips. |
| 1679-80 James Hull. | 1724-25 John Crabb. |
| 1680-81 William Symons. | 1725-26 Samuel Brent. |
| 1681-82 Daniel Barker. | 1726-27 Benjamin Berry. |
| 1682-83 Peter Foote. | 1727-28 Edward Deeble. |
| 1683-84 William Martyn. | 1728-29 John Rogers. |
| 1684-85 Isaac Tillard, died ;
William Martyn. | 1729-30 Samuel Allen, died ;
William Cock. |
| 1685-86 Samuel Madocke. | 1730-31 John Tapson. |
| 1686-87 John Trelawny. | 1731-32 John Wadden. |
| 1687-88 Thomas Stutt. | 1732-33 Robert Hewer. |
| 1688-89 William Symons. | 1733-34 John Hellier. |
| 1689-90 Philip Andrewa. | 1734-35 Thomas Phillips. |
| 1690-91 John Paige. | 1735-36 William Strong, died ;
Robert Hewer. |
| 1691-92 John Martyn. | 1736-37 John Veale. |
| 1692-93 John Munyon. | 1737-38 Greenhill Darracott. |
| 1693-94 Philip Willcox. | 1738-39 Henry Tolcher. |
| 1694-95 James Yonge. | 1739-40 Edward Deeble. |
| 1695-96 Robert Berry. | 1740-41 John Waddon. |
| 1696-97 John Munyon. | 1741-42 Richard Gortley, died ;
Sir J. Rogers. |
| 1697-98 John Warren. | 1742-43 Launcelot Robinson. |
| 1698-99 John Neel. | 1743-44 John Rogers. |
| '99-1700 Richard Opie. | 1744-45 Edward Hoblyn. |
| 1700- 1 Joseph Webb. | 1745-46 William Martyn. |
| 1701- 2 William Davies. | 1746-47 Wm. Davis Phillips. |
| 1702- 3 William Cock. | 1747-48 Michael Nicholls. |
| 1703- 4 Nicholas Ginnya. | 1748-49 John Ellery. |
| 1704- 5 Thomas Darracot. | 1749-50 John Facey. |
| 1705- 6 Jonah Lavington. | 1750-51 James Richardson. |
| 1706- 7 Samuel Allen. | 1751-52 Robert Triggs. |
| 1707- 8 James Cocke. | 1752-53 John Drake, died ;
Michael Nicholls. |
| 1708- 9 Robert Hewer. | 1753-54 John Morshead. |
| 1709-10 James Bligh. | 1754-55 Jacob Austen. |
| 1710-11 Wm. Roche, amoved ;
Richard Opie. | 1755-56 Thomas Bewes. |
| 1711-12 Robert Cown, died ;
Benjamin Berry. | 1756-57 John Forest. |
| 1712-13 Andrew Phillips. | |
| 1713-14 William Hurrill. | |
| 1714-15 John Pike. | |
| 1715-16 John Crabb. | |

1757-58	Antony Porter.	1803- 4	Edmund Lockyer.
1758-59	John Facey.	1804- 5	James Elliott.
1759-60	James Richardson.	1805- 6	John Hawker.
1760-61	Robert Phillips.	1806- 7	Thomas Lockyer.
1761-62	Michael Nicolla.	1807- 8	Thomas Eales.
1762-63	John Morshead.	1808- 9	William Langmead.
1763-64	Jacob Austen.	1809-10	Joseph Pridham.
1764-65	Thomas Bewes.	1810-11	Edmund Lockyer.
1765-66	John Nicolla.	1811-12	George Bellamy.
1766-67	Wm. Davis Phillips.	1812-13	John Arthur.
1767-68	Richard Beach.	1813-14	Henry Woolcombe.
1768-69	Henry Tolcher.	1814-15	Sir Diggory Forest.
1769-70	Samuel Peters.	1815-16	William Lockyer.
1770-71	Joseph Tolcher.	1816-17	Samuel Pym, Capt. R.N.
1771-72	Diggory Tonkin.	1817-18	Thomas Miller.
1772-73	Joseph Brent.	1818-19	Richard Arthur, Captain, R.N.
1773-74	Robert Fanshawe.	1819-20	George Eastlake, jun.
1774-75	Sir F. L. Rogers.	1820-21	Richard Jago Squire.
1775-76	Ralph Mitchell.	1821-22	Edmund Lockyer.
1776-77	Henry Tolcher, jun.	1822-23	W. Adams Welsford.
1777-78	Samuel White.	1823-24	Nicholas Lockyer, Captain, R.N.
1778-79	Joseph Freeman.	1824-25	Edmund Lockyer.
1779-80	Thos. Blyth Derricott	1825-26	Wm. Henry Hawker.
1780-81	Jacob Shaw.	1826-27	Richard Arthur, Captain, R.N.
1781-82	Joseph Austen.	1827-28	Richard Pridham, Captain, R.N.
1782-83	George Marshall.	1828-29	Richard Freeman.
1783-84	John Arthur.	1829-30	William Furlong Wise, Capt., R.N.
1784-85	John Nicolla.	1830-31	Nicholas Lockyer, Captain, R.N.
1785-86	Joseph Tolcher.	1831-32	Aaron Tozer, Capt., R.N.
1786-87	Diggory Tonkin.	1832-33	George Coryndon.
1787-88	Robert Fanshawe.	1833-34	William Hole Evans.
1788-89	Peter Tonkin.	1834-35	John Moore.
1789-90	John Cooban.	1836	Thomas Gill. ^a
1790-91	Stephen Hammick.	1836-37	James King.
1791-92	George Winne.	1837-38	William Hole Evans.
1792-93	William Crees.	1838-39	George Wm. Soltau.
1793-94	Andrew Hill.	1839-40	Joseph Collier Cook- worthy.
1794-95	William Symons.	1840-41	Ditto.
1795-96	Robert Fuge.		
1796-97	Richard Burdwood.		
1797-98	Peter Tonkin.		
1798-99	Bartholomew Dun- sterville.		
'99-1800	John Arthur.		
1800- 1	Philip Langmead.		
1801- 2	Thomas Cleather.		
1802- 3	Jn. Clark Langmead.		

^a First Mayor elected under the Municipal Reform Act. Mr. Moore held office to the end of 1835.

1841-42 George Wm. Soltau.	1865-66 Francis Hicks.
1842-43 William Prance.	1866-67 William Radford.
1843-44 Nicholas Lockyer.	1867-68 ditto.
1844-45 Philip Edward Lyne.	1868-69 Alexander Hubbard.
1845-46 Benjamin Parham.	1869-70 William Luscombe.
1846-47 Thomas Hillersden	1870-71 Robert Coad Serpell.
Bulteel.	1871-72 Isaac Latimer.
1847-48 John Moore.	1872-73 John Kelly.
1848-49 William Burnell.	1873-74 Alfred Rooker.
1849-50 James Moore.	1874-75 Wm. Foster Moore.
1850-51 David Derry.	1875-76 ditto.
1851-52 Alfred Rooker.	1876-77 ditto.
1852-53 Herbert Mends	1877-78 Joseph Willa.
Gibson.	1878-79 Edward James.
1853-54 Copplestone Lopes	1879-80 William Derry.
Radcliffe.	1880-81 Francis Morrish.
1854-55 Thomas Stevens.	1881-82 Charles Frederick
1855-56 John Kelly.	Burnard.
1856-57 Fras. Freke Bulteel.	1882-83 John Shelly.
1857-58 Richard Hicks.	1883-84 John Greenway.
1858-59 James Skardon.	1884-85 Edward James.
1859-60 John Burnell.	1885-86 Wm. Henry Alger.
1860-61 William Luscombe.	1886-87 ditto.
1861-62 William Derry.	1887-88 Henry John Waring.
1862-63 ditto.	1888-89 ditto.
1863-64 Charles Norrington.	1889-90 ditto.
1864-65 ditto.	1890-91 John Thomas Bond.

Mayoralty Notes.

A William Keterigge, probably the Mayor named in the Charter, sat for Tavistock in 1423 and 1425. Heynscott was a man of position. He is mentioned by Roger Machado, Ambassador to Spain and Portugal, who put into Plymouth in 1489 with the Castilian ambassadors, as a knight, under the name of Nicholas Aynsle, and as entertaining some of the party. Others lodged with John 'Tickpeny,' one of the customers; some with Thomas Tresawel, alderman; others with the Mayor. William Yogge was another early Mayor of note, a great benefactor to the town and the builder of the Old Church tower according to one authority, though a second gives the Christian name of the builder as Thomas. John Yogge, put out of the freedom in 1472, was no doubt a relative.

The most notable Mayors are those of the Elizabethan period—William Hawkins, Mayor of the Armada year, Sir Francis Drake, Sir Richard Hawkins, and a little later the Fowneses, Trelawnys, Waddons, Sherwills, and men of that

stamp, who had worthy colleagues or successors in the Ceelys, and the Mayors of the Siege days—Philip Frances, John Cawse, Justinian Peard, and Bartholomew Nicholl. A Thomas Ceely, who may have been the father of the Mayor of 1624, declares in 1588 that he had been thirteen years in prison for the Queen's sake. In 1604, according to Yonge,⁹ an amusing contest of dignities occurred. Sir Richard Hawkins was succeeded in the mayoralty by Walter Mathew, said to have been Sir Richard's servant, and his wife Lady Hawkins's. The latter 'disdaining to sitt bellow one y^t had been her mayd, endeavoured to keep y^e uper hand, w^{ch} the other attempting, y^e Lady struck her a box in the eare.' To make satisfaction Sir Richard is said to have given the town a house in the Market Street. There is, however, no trace of this in the records, and the story seems somewhat apocryphal. Mathew indeed was a man of means, for he built a new conduit in Briton Side at his own cost.

Nicholas Blake was ruined by the charges he was compelled to incur in connection with the Cadiz expedition—£624 6s. 4d. He petitioned piteously for payment in 1632, want of the money having caused him to be imprisoned and sell his estate. He was then eighty years of age.

Samuel Northcot, Mayor in 1658–9, was also ruined by office. As a matter of conscience he refused to give currency in Church to a proclamation of Parliament, and was sent for to London and imprisoned. In 1662 William Allen was ejected for Nonconformity. In 1711 William Roche was amoved, and prosecuted for malpractice, having 'broken open the chest to get at the seals, in order to make one Hugo vicar of the New Church, in the absence of the majority of the aldermen.' Opie succeeded Roche, but the latter kept the maces, and every Sunday hung them out at his windows in derision as Opie went to church.

There were times when party feeling ran very high in the Corporation, as may be seen by a perusal of Yonge's *Memoirs*. The highest pitch was probably reached in 1728, when the Lambert Day contest lasted until midnight. The jurymen were equally divided between Colonel George Treby and Mr. Rogers. It is said that actual bloodshed was only prevented, the 'mob' feeling running high, by a providential fire in Gascoyne Street. Edward Deeble, the Mayor, called a new meeting the next day, and a new jury was sworn, which also proved equally divided, between Mr. Hewer and Mr. Rogers, Treby and Rogers had drawn their swords on each other;

⁹ 'Plymouth Memoirs,' *Trans. Plym. Inst.* vol. v.

and Hewer refused to be sworn. In Michaelmas term both sides applied for a mandamus—one to swear Hewer, the other to proceed to a fresh election. Both applications were granted, but the Treby-Hewer party did not proceed. On the 11th December there was another jury, and again there were eighteen for Hewer and eighteen for Rogers. Eventually it was agreed that John Rogers should be chosen. His Tory friends had been joined by many zealous dissenters. In 1729 the contest was prolonged until noon the following day.

In 1745 there was such a high tide on Freedom Day eve, that the corporate feasters were carried out of the Mayoralty House on men's shoulders.

In consequence of the operation of the Test and Corporation Acts, Plymouth was without a sworn Mayor from September to December, 1811. Dr. Bellamy, who was elected, was not, to quote the 'poet corporate' (R. W. S. Baron), swearable, in consequence of having omitted to take the sacrament within the previous twelve months. It was a Sunday swearing day, and he was perfectly willing to qualify at once, but the vicar of St. Andrew, the Rev. J. Gandy, declined to administer on the spur of the moment; the town clerk refused to put the oath; and the Corporation did not go to church, where the congregation were waiting for them. There was great excitement, not only in the Common Hall, but in the streets. Eventually the Mayor was sworn under a writ of mandamus, December 16th, having qualified himself in the meantime. Dr. Bellamy was one of the candidates in another memorable contest in 1825, when the Aldermanic party in the town put forward Mr. Wm. Henry Hawker, and the 'Shoulder of Mutton' party among the freemen, Dr. Bellamy, who was beaten by ten votes.

Mr. Alfred Rooker, who died while on a visit to the Holy Land, is commemorated by a fine statue (Stephens, A.R.A., sculptor) at the western end of the Municipal Buildings.

Recorders.

There is no complete list of the Recorders, but there can be few omissions in the following statement. From the beginning of the seventeenth century the dates are those of appointment. Before that period the years are those in which the names occur:

- 1480 Thomas Tresawell.
- 1482 John Denya.
- 1487 — Bowrying.
- 1493 Thomas Tresawell.

- 1495 William Thykpeny.
- 1522 Andrew Hillersden.
- 1539 Peter Courtenay.
- 1547 John Charles.
- 1564 John Williams.
- 1569 John Fitz.
- 1574 John Williams.
- 1585 Sir John Hele.
- 1609 John Hele.
- 1611 Sir W. Strode.
- 1620 Serjeant Glanville—Strode resigned.
- 1640 Serjeant Maynard—Glanville resigned.
- 1684 John [Grenville], Earl of Bath—Maynard displaced.
- 1697 Sir F. Drake.
- 1717 Sir John Rogers.
- 1744 Sir John Rogers, son of the former.
- 1774 Sir F. Rogers.
- 1777 Sir F. L. Rogers.
- 1797 Sir William Elford. Unavailing efforts were made to get him to resign on several occasions previously to
- 1833 H. Woolcombe.
- 1837 W. C. Rowe, afterwards Sir W. C. Rowa.
- 1856 C. Saunders.
- 1872 H. T. Cole.
- 1885 H. M. Bompas.

Serjeant Maynard was displaced under the new charter of Charles, and the Earl of Bath substituted. After the Revolution Maynard, notwithstanding his great age, represented the borough in Parliament. It will be noted that for eighty years in succession during the last century the recordership was, so to speak, hereditary in the Rogers family. Mr. Woolcombe was elected by the Mayor and Commonalty, previous appointments back to an unknown date having been made by the Corporation. Under the Municipal Reform Act the office is in the gift of the Lord Chancellor.

The early stipends were very small. Bowryng, in 1487, had £1 6s. 8d.; Fitz, in 1570, had £4; Glanville, in 1634, £2 13s. 4d.

Lord High Stewards.

Plymouth rejoices in the possession of Lord High Stewards, whose duties are now purely honorary, whatever they may have been in times past. The origin of the office and its early history are involved in much obscurity.

Lord Willoughby De Broke is the first holder of the stewardship whose name is traceable. Sir William Courtenay seems to have held it for some time previous to his death in

1536, and to have been followed by Sir Richard Edgecumbe. Sir Robert Cecil was steward for many years before his death, and had £10 a year for his fees. Then we have the Earl of Suffolk in 1613; the Earl of Bedford in 1631; Lord Robartes in 1666; the Earl of Stamford—succeeded in 1722 or 1723 by the Earl of Berkeley; Frederick Prince of Wales. Lord Anson was appointed in 1751; the Duke of York in 1762. It has long been the custom to create one of the Royal Family. George IV. held the office when but a child, and was succeeded by the Duke of Sussex, the Prince Consort, and in 1862 the Prince of Wales.

Town Clerks.

The first Town Clerk whose name has been preserved is Nicholas Slanning, who held the office in 1552; Thomas Purkins occurs in 1562; William Wells *alias* Ferneworthy in 1563 and 1566; William Wills, jun., 1580; George Barons, 1592; John Luxton or Lupton, 1601; Matthew Boys followed in 1605, and was succeeded by John Fowell in 1613. The same surname occurs in 1635; but the holder of the office in the latter year was Edmund Fowell, son of the preceding. William Yeo, appointed in 1647, was town clerk in 1662 when the Corporation was 'regulated,' and was replaced by Philip Shapcote, who held office until 1665. Edmund Pollexfen was town clerk when the charter was surrendered and the new one granted in 1684. He was succeeded in 1699 by Robert Berry; and Berry in 1705 by Francis Pengelly; who was followed in 1722 by Richard Waddon. In 1725 Aaron Baker was appointed; and in 1764 Philip Vyvyan resigned. John Heath, who afterwards became Justice of the Common Pleas, held the office until 1768, when he resigned, and was succeeded by Charles Fanshawe, who in his turn resigned in 1780. Warwick Hele Tonkin was next elected, and held on until 1835, when Mr. C. C. Whiteford who (as his father, Mr. Joseph Whiteford, before him) had been deputy town clerk, was appointed under the Municipal Reform Act. He resigned December 31st, 1878—when his bust was placed in the Council Chamber—and was followed by the present holder of the office, Mr. J. Walter Wilson, January 1st, 1879.

There used to be Town Counsel and Town Attornies. In 1503 Elford was town attorney at a fee of 13s. 4d.; Adam Williams in 1543; V. Calmady in 1561. From 1572 to 1658 we have the names in the former capacity of Coplestone, Hele,

Maynard, Glanvill, Rattenbury, Mason, Rolles, and Fowell; in the latter of Pope, Chollwiche, Tozer, Rich, and Treby.

Coroners.

It is impossible to compile a full list of the borough Coroners. Simon Carswyll occurs as holding the office *temp.* Henry VII.; Thomas Payne, Charles I.; Thomas Paige, Charles II.; Thomas Payne, William III. In 1713 Andrew Phillips was succeeded by Matthew Roe; and George Woodward Mallett by Richard Rosdew in 1791. The office was then held in succession by George Eastlake and R. J. Squire (1821), and Mr. Squire was followed by Mr. John Edmonds, who gave up the aldermanship to which he had been chosen in the then newly-reformed Corporation, for the purpose. Mr. Edmonds resigned in 1868, when Mr. T. C. Brian was appointed, and on Mr. Brian's death in 1888, the present Coroner, Mr. A. Clark. A curious custom prevailed during the latter part of the last century, in the frequent absence or incapacity of Mr. Mallett, of appointing temporary coroners to hold single inquests, their power ceasing when the individual enquiry ended. Hence the roll of Plymouth coroners includes the names of Digory Mills, George Strode, Robert Saunders, Moses Williams, Henry Woolcombe, and Thomas Reynolds. The formula ran, 'for this occasion only.'

Clerk of the Peace.

The Clerk of the Peace dates from the Municipal Reform Act; and Mr. R. E. Moore, then chosen, still holds the appointment.

Receivers and Chamberlains.

The Receiver was a member of the Corporation, chosen annually; but eventually his duties came to the Borough Steward or Chamberlain, a paid official; the offices being combined in 1807. Since then the office has been filled by Messrs. Rattenbury, R. L. Stephens, R. Treeby, C. W. Croft, and Mr. G. G. Davey, its present holder.

Borough Surveyors.

The first public Surveyor in Plymouth was an officer of the Commissioners; and John Eastridge Adams, who held that office until his death from cholera in 1849, was not only Surveyor, but Captain of the Watch, and, in fact, general head of the executive. He was followed by Augustus Bampton, who held the office from 1849 to 1854; and Robert Hodge, from 1854 to 1880. On Mr. Hodge's retirement on

a pension as Consulting Surveyor Henry Alty was elected; and on his death in 1882 Mr. G. D. Bellamy, who had been Assistant Surveyor in charge of the waterworks, became Chief Surveyor, and so remains.

Town Improvement.

The work of town improvement, so vigorously prosecuted by the present generation, dates more than a century back, although so long ago as 1673, in the mayoralty of John Lanyon, it is recorded that the debts of the town were paid, the streets cleansed, houses of office built on the quays, new pounds built, &c., whilst in the following year a fire engine with buckets was provided. Not long before the inhabitants had been ordered to put out a light nightly until nine o'clock, from All Saints to the Purification. The streets had needed cleansing, for in 1634 they were so filthy that a royal writ required them to be put in decent order. These reforms, however, were of a spasmodic character: the town was little the better for them after their novelty had worn off.

Towards the middle of the last century the authorities were inspired by visions of rural loveliness. In 1737 elm trees were planted about the town, at Millbay, Pennycome-quick Hill, Frankfort Gate, and other localities. Within the next twenty years the tide of improvement fairly set in. In 1753 the Horse-pool without Frankfort Gate was filled up, levelled, and planted with two rows of trees ('le hors pole' is named temp. Henry VII.); rails, gates, and turnstiles were erected on the Hoe, and towards the water side in various directions; and 'a gutter made in Butcher's Lane (now Treville Street) to carry the water underground,' in plain English, a sewer. In the following year trees were planted on the Hoe by the 'king's engineer.' These are but trivial matters, but they show people were beginning to think that after all the old town was not quite what it might and should be. Soon after the accession of George III. streets began to be paved, and lamps to be set up; and in the tenth year of that monarch the first of four special Acts for paving, lighting, and watching the town, and regulating the carmen and porters therein, became law; the second and third following in quick succession, in 1773 and 1775 respectively.

These statutes were repealed in 1824 by an Act for local improvement, which established a body of Commissioners, with power to levy rates to the amount of 2s. in the pound. By the Municipal Act the control of the watching was

transferred to the Corporation, and the Commissioners limited to a 1s. 3d. rate, the average expenditure of the previous seven years, exclusive of the cost of watching; the average rate having been 1s. 6d. and the cost of watching 3d. In the twenty-eight years from 1824 to 1852 inclusive, the Commissioners raised and expended in rates £140,322 9s., and incurred a debt of £15,000, chiefly for widening Treville Street. Some of the improvements commenced by them at the outset of their career, notably the widening of Old Town Street, are as yet uncompleted, and others have been carried out by the Local Board.

At length it was felt that the powers of the Commissioners were inadequate to the wants of the town. The cholera had made great ravages, Plymouth ranking in point of unhealthiness and mortality the seventh town in England and Wales.¹ This increasing death-rate led (January, 1846) to a public meeting being called, and a committee being appointed, to make systematic enquiry into the whole matter; and, subsequently, to the publication of the *Plymouth Health of Towns Advocate* (the first number in January, 1847), and the preparation of a very exhaustive and valuable report by the Rev. W. J. Odgers. At this time there were thirty streets in Plymouth without drainage, and fifty only imperfectly drained, whilst two-thirds of the houses were in the same condition, the Commissioners' Act containing no power to compel persons to connect their premises with the sewers.

Under these circumstances an enquiry was directed by the General Board of Health, and made by Mr. (now Sir) Robert Rawlinson, one of the inspectors of that body, in January, 1852. He did not present his report until the January succeeding, and in the interim application was made to Parliament for a private Act repealing the old Improvement Act, and giving enlarged powers to a new body of Commissioners. Mr. Rawlinson reported against this measure, and in favour of the adoption of the Public Health Act; and in 1854 the Town Council was duly authorised to act as a Local Board, and the functions of the Commissioners ceased, their assets and liabilities being transferred to the new body. There was much controversy concerning the respective merits of the two schemes. Proceedings were taken against sixteen gentlemen who promoted the private

¹ Cholera in 1832 carried off 779 people in Plymouth, and in 1849 1894 —there being 1894 cases in 99 days in the first year; and 3360 cases in 127 days in the second. The annual death-rate has since the latter date been considerably decreased as the result of sanitary improvement.

Act, resulting in their being saddled with very heavy costs, the greater portion of which was however defrayed by subscription. The worst result of the dissensions was the loss of the opportunity for improving George Street. The opening of the Millbay railway station gave this thoroughfare a business importance not previously possessed. Nearly every house then had a small garden in front, part at least of which should have been thrown into the road or footway. Instead of this these spaces were suffered to become covered with shops; and the authorities have paid thousands of pounds to make small improvements where substantial ones might almost have been made for shillings.²

² The improvement of the town under the Municipal Authority will be treated of elsewhere. It was necessary, however, to trace here the course of events which led first to the establishment of the Commissioners and then to their extinction. The Court of Guardians originated in a charity, and is noticed in the Chapter on Charities.

CHAPTER X.

RELIGION.

Who with another's eye can read,
Or worship by another's creed ?
Revering God's commands alone
We humbly seek and use our own.—*Scott.*

Of every race
We nurse some portion in our favoured place,
Not one warm creature of one growing sect,
Can say our borough treats him with neglect.—*Crabbe.*

The British Church.

PLYMOUTH in the reign of Edward the Confessor was attached ecclesiastically to the College of SS. Peter and Paul at Plympton (the oldest religious foundation in the neighbourhood); but there is no ground, as already shown, to believe the story of Leland that part of its site belonged to that community, or that Sutton as such had a church. What evidence we have points in the other direction. There is nothing to suggest the existence of a benefice until after the Conquest, when the original parish of Plymouth stretched from the Plym to the Tamar, including the whole of the angle between the Laira and the Hamoaze, the parish of Stoke Damerel excepted. *Domesday* shows that the population of this area was small and scattered. No church would then be called for in Sutton; though it may very well be that one of the preaching stations of the canons of Plympton was on the high ground by the Workhouse, which long bore the name of Cross Down. But there is very distinct evidence that Christianity was originally established within the limits of the old parish by the British Church, in the dedications of St. Budock at St. Budeaux and St. Pancras at Pennycross. Both these saints belong to the elder British Church, which preserved its independence in Cornwall until the tenth century; and

the last is specially characteristic. It is worth noting too that the parish of St. Stephens-by-Saltash crosses the Tamar at Saltash Passage, and that the ancient chapelries of St. Budeaux and Pennycross form simply a prolongation of that tongue of Keltic ecclesiastical authority.

The Parish of Sutton.

If Camden is correct, Ealphage—a Saxon by his name—was a priest at Sutton in the time of Rufus, and was succeeded in turn by his son Sadda, Alnodus, Robert Dun-priest, and William Bacon. The dispute in the middle of the twelfth century between the Prior of Plympton and John of Valletort as to the right of presentation proves that the benefice was not only then in being, but had so long existed that the Prior was able successfully to plead custom in his favour.

It is in the thirteenth century, however, that we find ourselves first upon firm ground, and that the consecutive history of the parish begins, with the entry in Bishop Bronescombe's *Register* that on the 16th October, 1264, Master 'William de la Stane' was instituted to the vicarage of Suthtone; patrons, the Prior and Convent of Plympton. Of much the same date is the transitional Norman arch now in the Athenæum, found in pulling down the old almshouses, and which, there is no reason to doubt, formed part of the earlier church of St. Andrew. In 1291 the *Taxation* of Pope Nicholas gives the value of the living at £5 6s. 8d.¹

Religious Orders.

As time rolled on, various monastic bodies established themselves in the growing town. First came the Carmelites, or White Friars, who settled the only house of their order in Devon or Cornwall, on the site still known as the Friary, in 1313. Some irregularity in this procedure was overlooked by the bishop, at the request of the King. They had extensive buildings, and a stately church with a tall steeple; and here in 1387 the Commissioners in the Scrope and Grosvenor controversy, touching the right to the arms 'Azure a bend or,' held a sitting. John of Gaunt was one of the witnesses, and declared for Scrope. It has been said that at the Disso-

¹ For fuller details on all these heads see the exhaustive papers by Mr. J. Brooking Rowe, F.S.A., on 'The Ecclesiastical History of Old Plymouth,' in the fourth and fifth volumes of the *Transactions* of the Plymouth Institution; also republished with additions.

lution the buildings of the Friary passed to the Corporation; but the town records seem absolutely silent on this head, and the probability is that they were acquired by Giles and Gregory Iselham, who obtained possession of other ecclesiastical property in Plymouth. And not long after we find the Friary in the Sparkes family, who resided there, and

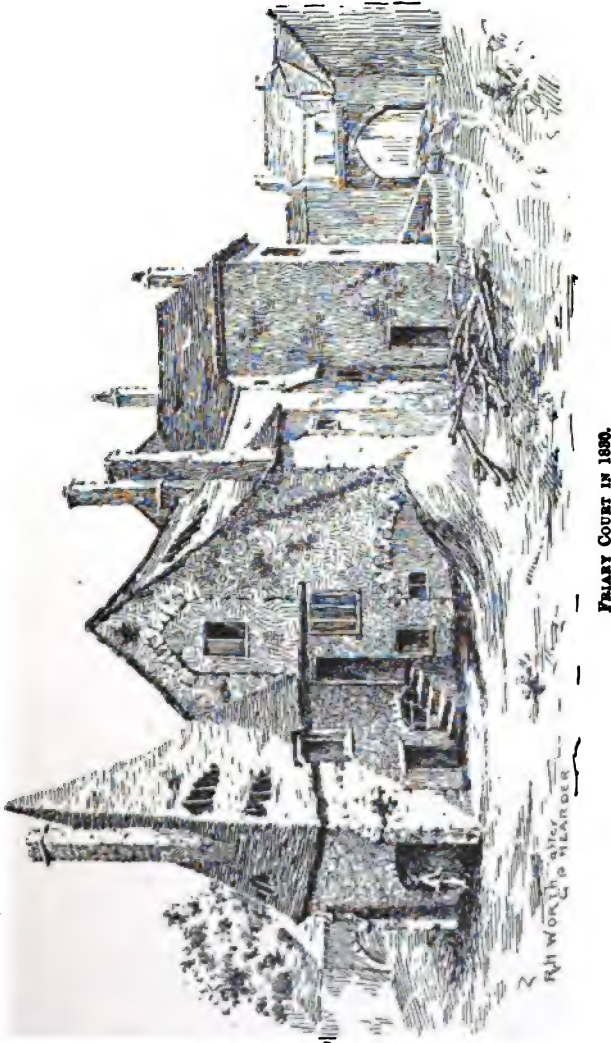


SPARKE'S GATEWAY AT FRIARY.

from whom it passed through the Molesworths and Clarkes to the Beweses. The steeple was still standing in the latter part of the reign of Elizabeth, so that it was not the steeple burnt with the 'town's evydence' by the Western rebels. The buildings were converted into a hospital for sick soldiers in the year 1794, when great mortality prevailed among the troops detained at the port for the West India expedition. They were subsequently used as an infirmary for the troops stationed at Millbay and Frankfort Barracks. Portions

were used as dwellings, Friary Court not being one of the most aristocratic purlieus of Plymouth.

Now all has disappeared; the bulk of the site is occupied



FRIARY COURT IN 1880.

by the Friary terminus of the London and South Western Railway; but part by the Roman Catholic Church of the Holy Cross.

All that is certainly known of the establishment in Plymouth of the Franciscans, or Grey Friars, is that Richard II. in 1384 licensed William Cole, Thomas Fisher, Geoffrey Couche, and Humphry Passour, to alienate to them six acres of land in Plymouth for a church, belfry, houses, buildings, and closes. Then they got into difficulty. Having proceeded without license to erect their church in '*Villa de Sutton juxta Plymouth*,' and having obtained its consecration by one John Berham, who pretended to be Bishop of Naples, they were punished by Bishop Brantyngham, who laid the church under an interdict.

The Franciscan house was in Woolster Street, and some of the old granite doorways in that locality are now its only relics. Part of the ancient building was eventually used as a public-house, and known as the 'Old Mitre.' Oliver² observes: 'The Inn was entered from the street through a low arched doorway leading into a quadrangular court, having on the eastern side a cloister supported by twisted spiral pillars. At the end of this a staircase led to apartments formed out of the Convent church. The lower part had been used as cellars for merchandise.' All this was removed in 1813, when the present Exchange was built. Giles and Gregory Iselham were the grantees of the Franciscan property in 1546; but its history cannot be traced.

The Dominicans had a house in Southside Street. Nothing however is known of their connection with Plymouth; and the one thing that links the existing remains with that body is the name Blackfriars Lane. Curiously enough these remains, now the distillery of Messrs. Coates and Co., are all that is structurally extant of either of the monastic houses of Plymouth. After the Dominicans were ejected, the house came into the hands of the Corporation, who long used it as the town Marshalsea. In 1672 it became the first meeting-place of the Plymouth Nonconformists after Bartholomew, under Nicholas Sherwill; and later it was occupied by a congregation of Huguenots. For nearly a century it has been a distillery. The refectory has been divided, but is still perfect, and has a singularly elegant roof. An ancient burial-ground existed in New Street, not far distant.

There are considerations that seem to point to the settlement in Plymouth of other religious orders; and there is a tradition, but nothing more, of the presence of the Cistercians. Leland says that St. Andrew Church stood by the 'Grayes,' though the Franciscans were clearly settled

² *Monasticon Ezoniensis*, p. 157.

in Woolster Street. So in laying the foundation of the tower of the Guildhall an ancient burial-ground was discovered, evidently of great antiquity. Moreover, during a suit promoted by the Rev. Dr. Wilson, Vicar of St. Andrew, in 1637, in the Star Chamber against the Corporation, one of the points in dispute was the building of the Hospital of Orphans Aid, where the Vicar had anciently a house. These facts render it clear that the site of the Guildhall was occupied, in addition to the old almshouses, before the



'RESURRECTION' CARVING, FOUND IN PULLING DOWN PALACE COURT.

seventeenth century, and that the buildings thereon were at least partially ecclesiastical. Houses were built by Charles Kiddewe 'on the viccaridge near the churchyard' in 1620; but these were in Whimble Street, where the old vicarage stood.

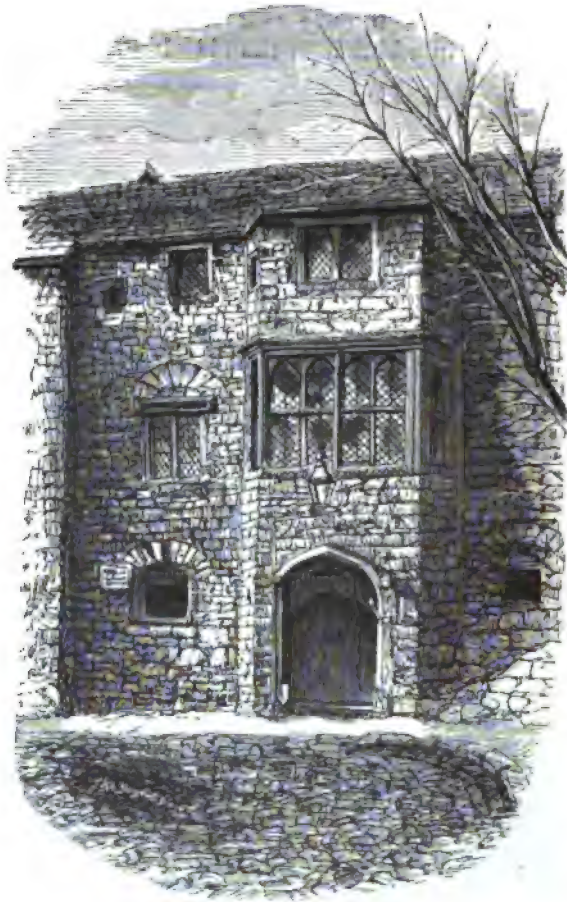
Corpus Christi.

The house of the Guild of Corpus Christi was near what is now the northern end of Westwell Street, and passed to the Mayor and Commonalty. In 1610 we read: 'William Brooking and John Brooking for a Tentt adioyning to the Church yard wherein Robert Stephens weaver nowe dwelleth, knowne by the name of Corpus Christ house, w^h the garden

to the same house adioyning on w^h garden certen dwelling houses are buylded. viijth.

The 'Prysten House.'

The so-called 'Abbey' south of St. Andrew Church is not an abbey or monastic house at all, but the old 'prysten' or



THE 'PRYSTEN HOUSE.'

clergy-house of the town. Rent was paid to the Corporation for the 'prysten-house' in the reign of Henry VII.; and at a much later date, early in the sixteenth century, there is record of a grant by the Corporation to 'Sir' Thomas Flyte,

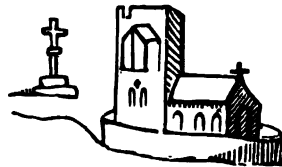
chantry priest, of the 'prysten-house,' for life, in consideration of his outlay in repairing the kitchen.

The Maudlyn.

There was a Maudlyn or Leper House at North Hill, which occupied in part the site of the Blind Asylum. It has been stated that the Maudlyn of Plymouth was dedicated to the Trinity and St. Mary Magdalene, and that it was the occasion of a dispute with the Prior of Plympton in 1370, at which date it was said to be of unknown antiquity. This is an error, which arose from confounding Plymouth and Plympton. The only important record concerning Plymouth Maudlyn House is the entry in the Chantry Rolls (1547) that there was then in Plymouth an almshouse called 'Goddeshowse for the releife of impotent and lazare people with owte any certayne number appoynted.' At the date of this report there were fourteen inmates; but sometimes there were twenty, more or less, 'as the occasyon of tyme dothe offerr.' Beside their 'mansyon howse,' they had the rents of lands given by different benefactors, amounting to £14 7s. The Maudlyn is mentioned in 1569 as the subject of an intended gift by William Weekes, and it is shown in the Cecil and British Museum maps of the Plymouth Leat as existing about thirty years later. When it disappeared we cannot say, but it must have been somewhere within the next half-century, since at the Siege the site was occupied by a fort. It is quite possible that the Siege was the cause of its destruction; for we have the record of a sale in 1648 to John Martyn of land 'neere the late howse called the mawdlyn howse . . . neere Plymouth,' which appears to indicate a very recent removal. The road leading thither was long afterwards called Maudlyn Lane.

St. Katherine.

The 'fair chapel' of St. Katherine on the Hoe, first noted in 1370, was in use down to nearly the end of the sixteenth century. The 'hermyt of Seynt Katyn' is mentioned in 1511. The engraving is a *fac-simile* from the old chart *temp.* Henry VIII. Probably it was originally a votive chapel, like that of St. Michael, of which all we know is that it stood upon Drake's Island. Originally that island was called after St. Michael; but a dedication to St. Nicholas apparently led



to the name being changed, and the fame of Drake caused it eventually to be again re-named, with the appellation it now popularly bears. This chapel was destroyed before the middle of the sixteenth century, a letter written concerning the fortification of the island in 1548 stating that it was plucked down to the foundation. It is mentioned by William of Worcester in his *Itinerary*, 1478.

It is probable that this chapel, in conjunction with that at Rame Head, and that of St. Katherine, also served the purpose, like many other cliff chapels, of mediæval lighthouses—the three giving a fair lead into Sutton Pool. Another ancient chapel, St. Lawrence, stood at Devil's (Duval's) Point, and it is quite possible that the ancient part of the abandoned dwelling on the Mewstone had some ecclesiastical connection. The 'Hawe bell' was cast by 'Platter of Bucklande' in 1592-3—225 lbs. weight and 19 pounds of 'mettell,' 47s.

A cross will be seen in the sketch of St. Katherine Chapel. There were others in the town, and one near the Custom House had Sanctuary rights.

Chantries.

Among the smaller foundations were certain chantries, and a hermitage of our Lady at Quarrywell, also called St. Marie Attewille, and '*le capell beate Marie de font.*' It is doubtful that this is represented by the modern Ladywell. Wardens of St. Mary occur in 1491.

The fullest information touching the chantries is contained in a series of deeds belonging to the Earl of Mount Edgcumbe. Herein is set forth the grant to Edward Grymstone, senior, and Edward Grymstone, junior, in 1579, of a messuage and barn called 'the hermytage of our ladie at Quarrywell,' with two acres of land in Plymouth, lately belonging to Plympton Priory, and, *inter alia*, certain messuages, tofts, lands, and tenements in Sutton Prior, Sutton Vautorte, and Sutton Rauff, given for the maintenance of a chaplain to say mass daily at the altar of St. John the Baptist in the south aisle of the church of St. Andrew, for the soul of John Jabyen. Eventually these properties came to Piers Edgcumbe; and in 1582 a general commission issued to enquire into various lands, &c., detained from the Crown in Devon and in Cornwall; which sat at Plymouth in September. Jabyen was living in Plymouth in 1419, and died in 1441, when he was buried near the altar of St. John the Baptist in the north aisle of St. Andrew Church, which aisle he had probably built. The evidence given before the Commissioners went



OLD BUILDING ON THE NEWSTONE.

to prove that Jabyen's chantry was sometimes called Tregarthen's chantry, and that there were also the 'rood chantry,' and 'Dabarns chantry.' The chantry priests mentioned are Sir Thomas Fleete, Sir Keysar, and Sir John Nichols; and it is perfectly clear that the bulk of the chantry land did not pass to the Crown and its grantees. Jabyen's chantry is set down as being worth about £7 a year.⁵

Dabernon's charity, according to the *Chantry Roll* (1547), was established by 'Dabnone and John Paynter to fynd a pryst to praye for the soules of the founders, and mynystre dyvyne service in the quyer in y^e parish cherch of Plynmouth. Paying unto Margaret Sommeester, sometyme a wyf unto John Paynter, one of y^e sayd founders, xvij^s. yerely for her dowry, w^h is deue unto her during her lyf.' The value of the lands and possessions of the foundation is set down at £9 2s. 4d. Some of these lands lay south of St. Andrew, some in Old Town, and some near Tothill.

Licences to celebrate divine service in domestic chapels or oratories were granted by Bishop Stafford, whose episcopate seems to have been a time of peculiar local activity in this direction, to the following in the parish of Plymouth: Roger and Margaret Beauchamp, of Boswyns, 1395; Joan, relict of William Cole, 1400; Stephen and Radegund Durneford, in their mansion of East Stonehouse, 1414; Richard Row, his mansion in the parish of Plymouth, 1411; Joan

⁵ The inquiry was conducted by interrogatories administered to each witness in the same form, and duly set forth: 'Imprimis doe you knowe that there was a chauntrie founded in the Church of St. Andrewes in Plymothe called Jabyens chauntrie or Tregarthans chauntrie and whether was the said chauntrie founded to haue continuance for euer Or what haue you harde by Credible reporte concerninge the same Itm what lands tenements or hereditaments eyther within the towne or pische of Plymouth lonsalus in Cornewall or elsewhere belonginge to the said chauntri or chauntrie priste thereof or ymployed towards the necessary vse of the said chauntrie by whom where the said lands geuen and in what mann^r were they soe geuen and whoe were ffeoffees thereof Itm what pristes haue you knowen to singe or saye masse or other s'uice within the said chauntrie and how longe aithens whether did you knowe one Sir Thomas Fleete Clerke Sir John Crofte Clerke and one Thomas Washington Clerke, or eyther of them to be chauntrie priestes there in what princes raine and aboute what yere thereof did the saide seu'all chauntrie pristes or eyther of them s'ue the said chauntrie Itm were not the rents and pfiitts of the said lands ymployed paid or bestowed towards the findinge of the said chauntrie pristes within fyve yeres before the deathe of the late kinge henry theight and how longe after were they paid by whom and to whome and how muche was there paid yerelye out of the said lands towards the said chauntri or chauntrie pristes and by whom Item whoe were tennaunts and ffarmers of the said lands at the time of the gevinge over of the said chauntrie and whoe the nowe tennants and occupiers thereof.'

Schaldon; and William and Christina Haisende, at Kynterbury.

St. Andrew.

But of the ancient ecclesiastical institutions of Plymouth only one remains, and that the oldest of them all, the parish of St. Andrew. Its original area has been limited from time to time, but St. Andrew continues the mother parish, and the patronage of its older divisions still remains in the hands of its Vicar. So far back as the fourteenth century there is record of the ancient chapels at St. Budeaux, Stonehouse, and Pennycross. St. Budeaux became a distinct parish in 1482, and the church of that date was replaced by the present fabric in 1563. License to celebrate divine worship in the church of St. Lawrence, Stonehouse, was granted by the Bishop in 1472; but the chapel of St. George, on the site of the present edifice, existed and had chapel wardens in 1497, though Stonehouse continued distinctly within the parish of Plymouth until its register began in 1697. Pennycross, or the tithing of Weston Peverel, is still a chapelry of St. Andrew; although, like St. Budeaux, the tithing of Compton, and the township of East Stonehouse, in civil parochial matters it has always managed its own affairs. Touching the other tithing of Sutton Raf, we have no information on this head.

We glean a few dates and facts concerning the early history of the present church of St. Andrew. An aisle dedicated to the Virgin, then *noviter constructa*, was licensed in August, 1385. This, Mr. Rowe suggests, was the south chancel aisle. An aisle dedicated to St. John the Baptist was added in 1441. Twenty years later it is recorded that Thomas Yogge built the tower, the town, to use Leland's words, 'finding the stuff,' also adding, again to quote Leland, a 'fair chapel' on the north side of the church—no doubt the north transept. Yogge is the name we find now as Young. There was a John Yogge, as we have seen, put out of the freedom as a 'foreyn' in 1474; but the Mayor of that surname was called William, and the tower builder Thomas, and that the town continued on good terms with him is clear. Gew, the Receiver in 1495, rode to Ayspton (Ashburton) to see him when he was sick, and 8d. was spent 'when he came fro London at seynt Tomas ys day yn the towne ys name yn wyne,' the same year.

At the earliest recorded date the connection of the Corporation with St. Andrew and its services was very close.

In the Receiver's Accounts of 1482 we find entries of payments by them on 'Seynt John ys Ile,' and on the 'Styppyll,' for which later four wardens were appointed—one for each ward of the town—William Thykpeny, Peryn Erle, William Rogger, and John Browne. The 'southe Ilde,' and 'Sent George ys yele' also occur. The works were in hand several years. John Dawe is first named as mason, and afterwards John Andrew, on to 1488.

Thenceforward there was no important change in the structure of the fabric, beyond the choking with pews and galleries; and the demolition under the name of renovation by Mr. Foulston in 1826; until the restoration by Sir Gilbert Scott in 1874–5. In 1818 it was actually proposed to divide the building into two places of worship by a 'Babylonish wall.' Of the church which preceded the present there are a couple of relics, two defaced sepulchral effigies of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. St. Andrew Church, as it stands, is the chief link with antiquity which Plymouth possesses—the building in which Katherine of Arragon returned thanks for her safe voyage; wherein the Elizabethan heroes worshipped; whence the congregation swarmed to the shore to welcome Drake; where the Puritans of the Commonwealth took the Solemn League and Covenant, and vowed to defend the town to the last; where the second Charles touched for the evil; which supplied a resting-place for portions of the bodies of Frobisher and Blake; and in which Johnson critically sat to hear the sermon Mudge preached for his special delectation.

Church Ale.

In the closing years of the fifteenth century we find the Corporation paying for sermons, for playing 'to organs,' for singing men, and (1490) making regulations for the due use of the copes and vestments at interments, the wardens accounting for the money received for the same. Many years before this they had established a church ale to be kept by every ward of the Borough in the feast of Corpus Christi

yn the Parishe Church Yarde of Seynte Andrewe aforesaide; and every person of the said wardes to bring with theym, except Brede and Drinke, such vytayle as they like best. And have there such and as many persons, estraungers, as they thinke best of theyr friends and acquaynted men and women, for the encreasing of the sayde Ile; paying for brede and ale as it cometh thereto in rekening for theyr dyners and sopers the same day, etc. Item, it is agreed, that every taverne of Wyne and Ale within the said

Burghes do forbear theyre sale the same dayes of theyre wyne and ale, for the well of the said Church: every person of the xii. upon payne of vi^s viii^d, and every of the xxiii. iii^s iiiii^d, and every of the commoners one pound of waxe, or the value of the same, to the said churches behoufe. And he or they doing the contrary at the Mayre, xii. and the xxiv., is wyllod to stand in jupardye of his fredome; and to paye the said fyne: and every fyne or fynes so forfayte to be levyed by the Mayre for the tyme being, within iiiii. dayes after the said feaste; and in his defaulte to be levyed of his fee. And upon the audyte thereof, item, the Mayre for the tyme being, allwayes in his owne Warde in the Hall so made for hym and his Warde, &c. Item, that the xii. and the xxiii. aide and helpe the Mayre to levy the said paynes forfayte at every yere and tyme therto called. Item, that no person that shall goe about with the Shipp of Corpis Xti. bring no body there but himselfe to charge the yle. Item, that they make a rekenyng to every person for mete and drinke, and notte to paye at theyr leasure. Item, that every Ile from hensforthe for the welthe of the Church in tyme comyng be accomptabyle afore the Mayre, the xii. and the xxiii. in the Gyldehall of the Burghes aforesaide, and the debet of every of theym to be sett in the legger of the said Towne entered; and the said debet to be atte the Mayre xii. and xxiii. disposicion in every yere and tyme for the welthe of the said Church.

The record goes on to lay down certain regulations for assuring every freeman to be present, or pay his fine, and for other purposes.

The Ancient Church Plate and Ornaments.

The Vicarage remained in the Priory of Plympton until the Dissolution of the Monasteries, when it passed to the Crown, being valued at £25 10s. 9d. In some way or other the church plate, however, fell into the hands of the Corporation, as set forth in the following entries of 1539-40:

here followth thacompte of willm hawkins, mchaunt, made before the auditors in the tyme of John Thomas mayre a^o xxxij h viij of certen of the Church Juells & other thyngs to the said willm hawkins delyuyd in the tyme of his laste mayraltie a^o xxx h viij firste delyuyd to the said William hawkins a chalice belongyng to o^r lady store ij Cruetts of Silu^r a lytell pax of Silu^r the Roode shoes a Crowne for the ymage of o^r lady certen small beds stones of silu^r a Crucifix of Silu^r, a bokell & a pendant of a gurdell weyeng lix vncs & do.

Itm more delyuyd to the said willm hawkins an olde Crosse that stode yn the hande of the ymage of Seynt Savyo^r weyeng i vnce & iij qrtres

Itm more delyuyd to hym certen offeryng pens & a lytell
 shype of Silur hangyng apon Seynt Clere cloth
 weyeng i vnce & do
 Itm more delyuyd to hym by the hands of Thomas Clowter
 a Chalice that was at o^r lady chapell at quary well
 weyeng xij vnces

Sm^a lxxiij vnces & iij qrtres
 The which was sold one wth a nother for iij^s and iiij^d the vnce

Sm^a of the money xij^{li} ix^s ij^d
 Itm more the said willm hawkyns had of Seynt Clere store xliij^s xi^d
 Itm more he had & rec of John bovy for wax of Seynt
 Clere taps and other taps viij^s ix^d

Sm^a liij^s ix^d
 Sm^a Tot^l Rec by the said willm hawkyns xv^{li} xxiiij^d
 Whereof paid to willm wike for that he paide to Robert
 Dighton for Seynt Katyn Chalice that lay wth hym to
 plegge xx^s

Itm p^d to John Moone to acqyte a chalice of the church
 that lay wth hym to plegge xxxiiij^s x^d ob

Itm m^{tr} John hals hath in his honde a chetyll whiche he had
 of the wardyns of Seynt Andrew is store at Compton.

m^o to call for o^r ladyes Cote & her childs cote & for the vestments
 of Crymson velvett that Dr. John Melyn gave to the Churcha.

We also read under 1543-4:

plate & juells delyuryd to willm hawkyns m^{ch}^{ant} the
 xiiij daye of february a^o xxxvj^{to} h viij yn the tyme of
 Thomas holway to by therwth for the Toune gunpowder
 bowys & for arrowys ffirste the foote of the crosse
 weyeng xlv vnces & do gilte at iij^s & x^d the vnce
 Sm^a vij^{li} iij^s vj^d

Itm iij Silur candelstycks pcell gilte weyeng xv vnces & do
 at iij^s vj^d the vnce Sm^a liiij^s iiij^d

Itm a Chalice vngilte weyeng xij vnces & j qrtre at iij^s vj^d
 the vnce Sm^a xliij^s x^d ob

Itm a Chalice gilte weyeng xx vnces iij qrtres at iij^s vj^d the
 vnce Sm^a iiij^{li} xix^s vj^d ob

Itm a shyp of Silur pcell gilte weyng xvij vnces at iij^s vj^d
 the vnce Sm^a iiij^{li} iij^s

Itm more the said Mayre delyuryd hym to sende on to
 london xv^s

Sm^a of the vnces cxxxvij
 Sm^a of the money xliij^{li} xiiij^s v^d

Whereof rebate for tynne & sawdye vij^s & also p^d thereof
 to the said Willm hawkyns & to Thomas Mylls to
 them due for money that they layde owte for the
 townys busynes iiij^{li}

So reste xxxvij^{li} vj^s v^d

Of this Hawkins spent £21 5s. on ten barrels of powder in London, 1000 lbs., at 5d. a lb.; £2 for 20 bows, at 2s. each; £2 15s. 'for xxx^{te} sheffe of arrowys at xxij^d the sheffe'; £2 15s. for a cwt. of saltpetre. Canvas for bow cases, carriage, &c., came to £3 19s. 1d., leaving with Hawkins £5 1s. 11d. In 1545-6 William Hawkins paid £18 12s. in part payment of plate sold by him in London; and £14 11s. 8d. were received for plate sold by Richard Saunders to pay for ordnance. Nearly one hundredweight of plate at 2½d. the pound fetched £1 1s. 10d. This 'plate' was probably pewter.

Since the Dissolution.

The Dissolution introduced important financial changes. The town was relieved of the payment of the annual fee farm rent to the Priory; and in 1572 Elizabeth granted the advowson to the Mayor and Corporation (at a cost for the letters patent of £59 7s. 8d.) on condition that they should find a fit person to serve the cure (which had been burdened with a pension of £8 a year, payable first to the Prior and then to the Crown) and maintain a free grammar school. Some rights in the Vicarage had been previously acquired from a Mr. Maslar.

This proved at first an excellent arrangement, but the Puritanic leanings of the townfolk speedily brought them into collision with the Court; and Dr. Aaron Wilson was instituted by the King, first Alexander Grosse and then Thos. Ford, having been refused.⁴

Wilson and his flock soon quarrelled over temporalities, and he took proceedings in the Star Chamber. He failed to prove allegations of encroachment on the Vicarage; but the Corporation thought it wise to surrender the right of presentation to the King, who regranted it under conditions.

When the Civil War broke out Wilson was sent prisoner by the townsfolk to Portsmouth, and died at Exeter in July, 1643. On this the King intruded the lecturer, Thomas Bedford (chosen in 1635 at the instance of the King and Bishop), whom Walker describes as having been still more roughly treated; but who, instead of dying from his persecution as stated, lived till 1653 a Presbyterian and Parliamentarian. Hobbes the clerk is said, by Walker, to have been frightened to death by the Puritan threats. The

⁴ It was the custom at this time for the Vicars to enter into bond to the Corporation to resign when called on; and there are many entries of payments to preachers, who seem to have filled the position of informal 'lecturers,' chosen by the Mayor and Council.

retaliation of the Corporation was the appointment of the great Puritan leader of the county, George Hughes, to whom eventually they gave a fixed income of £200. There were Acts of the Commonwealth to rate the town for the better maintenance of the ministers, and for building on the vicarage lands.

Under the Municipal Reform Act the advowsons of St. Andrew and Charles were sold (the next presentation on the death of Mr. Gandy had produced £5050), and the Corporation ceased to appoint lecturers of St. Andrew, as they had done, when unhindered, from the reign of Elizabeth.

There are many unedifying records of squabbles in regard to the rights to official seats in the church, especially with the wives and daughters of the corporators, which were revived even within living memory.

The register of St. Andrew commences in, 1581, the first entry, May 10th, being the baptism of 'Fraunces the sonne of Mr. William Hawkynges,' and a nephew of Admiral John. There are few entries of peculiar interest. From September, 1653, down to September, 1662, the register was kept by Henry Champlin, who was appointed by the parish and approved by the Mayor. During this period entries of 'contracts' occur.

Vicars of St. Andrew.

The following list of Vicars of St. Andrew is substantially that given by Mr. J. Brooking Rowe. All the dates from the reign of James I. are those of appointment, and most of those before; but a few are simply the years in which the names are found.⁵

Ealphage.	1397 John Gyles.
Sadda.	1409 Thos. Guldesfelde.
Alnodus.	1427 John Cokworthy.
Robert Dunpriest.	1433 Ranulph Morewill.
William Bacon.	1464 Thos. Mochell.
1264 Wm. of the Stane.	1472 John Stubbes.
1309 — Martin.	1502 John Anthony Bonfaunt,
1313 Robt. Russell (?).	Cardinal de Castello.
Wm. of Wolley.	1509 Thos. Griffith.
1334 Nich. of Weyland.	Richd. Follet.
1371 John Hanneye.	1528 John Gybbons.
Thos. of Amcotes.	1530 Edward Wygan.
John Edenes.	1540 John Peryn.
Mich. Sergeaux.	1558 Ranulph Newton.

⁵ William of Suttons, priest, was instituted vicar of Totnes, May, 1288. Sir John of Suttons was deprived of a canonry at Crediton in 1319.

1600 Thos. Upham.	1667 Hen. Greensworth.
1604 Henry Wallis.	1681 John Gilbert.
1633 Alex. Grosse.	1723 Wm. Stephens.
1634 Aaron Wilson.	1732 Zachary Mudge.
1643 Thos. Bedford.	1769 John Gandy.
1643 George Hughes.	1824 John Hatchard.
1662 Roger Ashton.	1870 Charles T. Wilkinson.

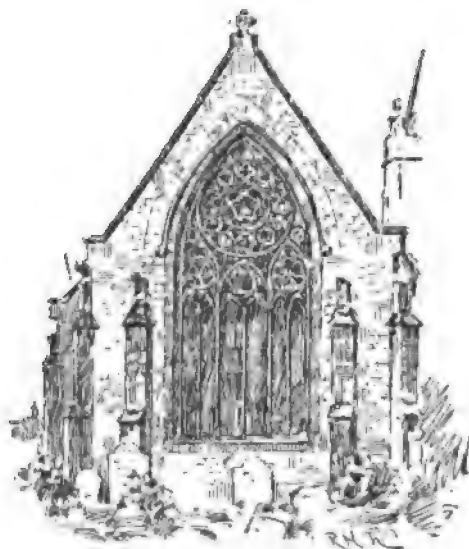
Charles.

Down to nearly the middle of the seventeenth century the parish of St. Andrew included the entire town. Ostensibly in consequence of the want of accommodation for the whole of the inhabitants in the Old Church, but partly it would seem with a view to obtain a more Puritanical ministry, a petition was presented to the King in 1634, praying him to grant permission for the building of a new church on a spot called the Coney or Gayer's Yard, which had been given by John Hele, of Wembury, for the purpose. Letters patent were accordingly passed granting the prayer of the petition; and in 1640 the parish of Charles was formally constituted by Act of Parliament, as soon as the new church should be built. The Act, which cost the Corporation upwards of £150, recapitulates the grant to the Corporation by Queen Elizabeth of the advowson of the Vicarage of St. Andrew, and of a pension of £8 issuing out of the same; and confirms the license granted by the King to the Mayor and Commonalty to build the new church, to set forth the boundaries of the new parish, and to prefer a Vicar to it, as they had hitherto done to the old one. The Mayor and Commonalty on their part undertook to build the church, to maintain a hospital for the use and relief of poor persons within the parish, and confirmed their agreement to keep up a grammar school with a stipend of £20 a year.

For some reason, now unknown, the Coney Yard, which was a 'pallace' in Tin Street, on the shore of Sutton Pool, was abandoned, and the present site given in 1665 by William Warren, vintner, to whom was assigned in return a place of burial adjoining the chancel, and a seat, 14 ft. 6 in. by 3 ft. 6 in., to 'hear divine service and the word of God preached.'

Money was given by several donors, and other funds raised by rating the inhabitants. The erection of the church commenced soon after the date of the Act, but the Civil War and Siege delayed its progress. In 1643, when operations were suspended, it had reached the roof; and the fabric

seems to have been used—possibly there was a temporary covering—for there is record of a baptism in December of this year. In 1646 the work was resumed, but slowly. A rate of £500 was levied on the inhabitants for the purpose in 1656, and the building was not completed until 1658—the tower is dated 1657. It was dedicated in 1666. The first spire, wooden, covered with lead, was built in 1707–8, and a few years later a clock with chimes was given to the church by Colonel Jory. This spire was taken down, and the present stone one erected in 1767. The building is one of the finest post-Reformation Gothic churches in the kingdom, the east and west windows being notably good, and recent restoration has made its singular excellence more clearly apparent.



CHANCEL, CHARLES CHURCH.

The parish has been, and is now frequently, called Charles the Martyr, and sometimes St. Charles, from a belief that it was dedicated to the monarch in whose reign it was commenced, whereas it is simply named after him. The 'martyr' affix originated with a zealous parish clerk, and was officially expunged in 1868. It was held with the curacy of Compton Gifford, and the vicar presented to Charles Chapel, now St. Luke. Familiarly St. Andrew is still called Old Church and Charles New Church.

The following is a list of the Vicars of Charles. Porter was a Presbyterian who conformed. He had laid aside the liturgy before Hughes came. On the vacation of the living by Martin a controversy arose, and an illegal appointment of a Mr. Hugoe was made by the mayor, William Roche, who broke open the chest to get at the seals in the absence of a majority of the Aldermen. For this he was amoved; his *protégé* retired. Dr. Hawker is the most noteworthy Vicar of Charles. A very voluminous writer, he was the leader of the revival of Calvinistic theology in the West.

1646 Francis Porter.	1784 Robert Hawker.
1675 Francis Collier.	1827 James Carne.
1686 Abednego Sellar (non-juror).	1832 Septimus Courtney.
1690 Thomas Martin.	1843 Charles Greenhall Davies.
1711 Walter Hugoe.	1845 Sir Cecil Bisshop.
1711 Charles Monkton.	1846 Henry Addington Greaves.
1725 Nathaniel Boughton.	1878 G. F. Head.
1748 William Brent.	1885 J. M. Laycock.
1759 John Bedford.	1889 N. Vickers.

A hundred years ago the provision for religious worship in Plymouth consisted of the two churches, and eight chapels and meeting-houses unconnected with the Establishment.

Modern Church Extension.

From the building of Charles Church until 1812 nothing was done to provide additional church accommodation in Plymouth. In that year a bill was suggested to divide the town into four parishes with a church in each; while in 1813 one was promoted to build two new churches—the money to be raised by levy on the inhabitants. The Dissenters strongly opposed this scheme (though offering to contribute towards a new burial ground), and it fell through.*

The first practical step was the building in 1823 of St. Andrew Chapel, at a cost of £5,000, and at the joint expense of the Rev. Robert Lampen, Messrs H. Woollcombe, J. Pridham, and T. Gill. Mr. Foulston was the architect. The death of Dr. Hawker next led to the erection of Charles Chapel (now St. Luke) for the Rev. Septimus Courtney, who had been the doctor's curate. The chapel was built in 1828–9 from designs by Mr. Ball, at a cost of £4,000.

In the first case there was some little controversy touching the damage that might be done by 'competition' to the pro-

* Church rates ceased to be levied in 1834.

prietary rights of the Corporation in the advowsons; but 'unqualified consent' was given in the latter.

Next followed a chapel erected at Eldad—then 'the first field in Noplace Lane'—for the Rev. John Hawker, who left the Church on the concession of Catholic emancipation. The Corporation consented, on condition that Episcopalian rites and ceremonies were observed. Licensed in 1848, as the church of the new parish of St. Peter, it was replaced in 1882 by the present handsome fabric, designed by Mr. Fellowes Prynne. Holy Trinity Church, begun in 1840, was completed in 1842. Then came Christ Church (1845-6), Mr. Wightwick, architect; St. John, Sutton-on-Plym (1855), architect, Mr. Ferrey; St. James (1861), Mr. St. Aubyn, architect. These, with St. Peter, were churches of new parishes, taken out of the old ones under Sir Robert Peel's Act. The movement which led to their formation originated in an appeal by the then Bishop of Exeter, Dr. Phillpotts, to provide for the great spiritual destitution of Plymouth and Devonport.

In 1870, were consecrated the churches of Emmanuel, Mr. Reid, architect; and St. Saviour; in 1874, All Saints, taken out of St. Peter; and in 1876 St. Jude, Mr. Hine, architect; in 1887, St. Matthias, Messrs. Hine and Odgers, architects.

In the last forty years at least £80,000 have been spent on church building and restoration, &c., in Plymouth.

Incumbents of Modern Parishes.

For the following list of appointments to the modern parishes of Plymouth we are indebted to Mr. A. Burch, Diocesan Registrar:

ST. ANDREW CHAPEL. Robert Lampen, October 4th, 1823. George Hadow, October 19th, 1849; Death of R. Lampen. John Challice Street, July 6th, 1855; Cession of G. Hadow. John Erskine Risk, February 20th, 1867; Resignation of J. C. Street.

CHARLES CHAPEL (ST. LUKE). Septimus Courtney, December 8th, 1829. Meshach Seaman, February 1st, 1834; *r.* of S. Courtney. George Ferris Whidborne, August 5th, 1839; *r.* of M. Seaman. William Hawker, December 2nd, 1846; *c.* of G. F. Whidborne. George Bellamy, September 20th, 1850; *r.* of W^d Hawker. George David Doudney, January 20th, 1852; *c.* of G. Bellamy. Frederick Courtney, August 5th, 1865; *d.* of G. D. Doudney. Isaac Hawker, February 8th, 1871; *r.* of F. Courtney.

TRINITY. Hinton Castle Smith, October 24th, 1843. Francis Barnes, November 18th, 1851; *r.* of H. C. Smith.

ST. JOHN, SUTTON-ON-PLYM. George Greystock Carrigham, November 1st, 1844. Charles Coombs, August 16th, 1866; *d.* of G. G. Carrigham. Arthur Wynell-Mayow, November 29th, 1888; *d.* of C. Coombs.

CHRIST CHURCH. George Ferris Whidborne, May 4th, 1846. Richard Malone, November 16th, 1849; *c.* of G. F. Whidborne. Thomas George Postlethwaite, October 14th, 1851; *c.* of R. Malone. William Crofts Bullen, December 13th, 1861; *r.* of T. G. Postlethwaite. Theophilus Bennett, August 26th, 1865; *r.* of W. C. Bullen. Henry George Gervase Cutler, October, 6th, 1869; *r.* of T. Bennett. James Metcalfe, July 6th, 1870; *r.* of H. G. G. Cutler. Thomas Whitby, May 24th, 1877; *c.* of J. Metcalfe. Benjamin Mills, December 19th, 1881; *c.* of T. Whitby. Albert Bonus, November 29th, 1888; *c.* of B. Mills.

ST. JAMES. George Stephen Hooke, April 8th, 1847. James Bliss, May 31st, 1858; *r.* of G. S. Hooke. Horace Stone Wilcocks, January 9th, 1873; *r.* of J. Bliss. Frederick Gurney, April 30th, 1875; *r.* of H. S. Wilcocks. William Humphrey Child, September 30th, 1884; *c.* of F. Gurney.

ST. PETER. Edward Godfrey, May 29th, 1847. George Rundle Pryne, August 16th, 1848; *r.* of E. Godfrey.

EMMANUEL, Compton Gifford. George Henry Fletcher, April 1st, 1872. George Benton Berry, March 11th, 1879; *r.* of G. H. Fletcher.

ALL SAINTS. Samuel William Elderfield Bird, June 26th, 1875. Charles Rose Chase, December 5th, 1878; *r.* of S. W. E. Bird.

ST. JUDE. Thomas Henry Howard, June 25th, 1877.

ST. MATTHIAS. Philip Williams, November 12th, 1889.

ST. SAVIOUR. Joseph Jones, 1884.

The Sisters of Mercy.

Plymouth is the seat of the oldest of the various sisterhoods connected with the English Church. Originally established in a house in Milne Place, Morice Town, it was called the Devonport Society. Statements concerning the working of the sisterhood caused Bishop Phillpotts in 1849 to hold an inquiry into its character and operations; when his lordship not only exonerated Miss Sellon, the lady superior, but wished her God-speed. Much controversy arose concerning the alleged Romish nature of the Society, and the Devonport Sisters of Mercy became famous from one end of the land to the other. In 1850 the foundation-stone of the Abbey in the North Road was laid; and it is now the head-quarters of the sisterhood, which has

ramifications in many parts of England, and also abroad. There are large schools and a house of refuge on the premises. The Abbey is in the parish of St. Peter, the use in which of what became known as High Church or Ritualistic practices—then denominated Tractarian or Puseyite—by its incumbent, the Rev. G. R. Prynne, led to an inquiry by the Bishop in September, 1852, with regard to the question of confession, and was the fruitful source of controversy and pamphleteering.

The Church Congress met at Plymouth in October, 1876.

Puritanism and Nonconformity.

Nonconformity in Plymouth dates to the Puritan feeling of the early years of the seventeenth century. In 1620, when the Pilgrim Fathers called at the port on their way to America, they 'were kindly entertained and courteously used by divers friends there dwelling.' The Pilgrim Fathers were Independents; and the earliest recorded Nonconformist organization of Plymouth was such a mixed congregation of Independents and Baptists as was then common.

The local Puritanism developed remarkably during the reigns of Elizabeth and James. In 1609 an order was made that no beer should be carried through the streets on the Sabbath except for the supply of strange ships; and we have other Puritanic clues in the constitutions of the Hospital of Orphans Aid, founded in 1617; and of the Hospital of the Poor's Portion, founded in 1630.

Plymouth Puritanism had its first check when Charles I. in 1631 ordered that Thomas Forde of Brixton should not be chosen lecturer, and in 1632 instituted Aaron Wilson to the Vicarage instead of the choice of the Corporation, Alexander Grosse. The Corporation seem to have tried to sustain Grosse as lecturer; and this was met by the institution of Bedford, as already noted. Hence the probability that the petition of 1634, to erect a new church, had far less to do with the want of church accommodation in the town (the population had been greatly reduced by pestilence) than with the lack of Puritan preaching. Wilson could not be got rid of, the lecturer was of the same type; what more ready mode of solving the difficulty than the erection of another place of worship? Charles Church was built, largely if not wholly, out of the rates of the town; and since the Civil War not only delayed its progress, but prevented its consecration until the Restoration, and in the interval it was

used for Presbyterian worship, there is a sense in which it may fairly be called Plymouth's oldest 'Nonconformist meeting.'

During the Siege (1642-46) there were several religious assemblies in the town, and not only Presbyterians, but Baptists, Independents, and Fifth Monarchy Men, were represented. Plymouth, moreover, was the refuge of ministers of adjoining parishes, who could not exercise their functions in the presence of the Royalist soldiery; as it was likewise the prison of Episcopal clergy, zealous for the Royal cause.

There is little to record concerning the progress of Nonconformity during the Commonwealth, when Presbyterianism was the established faith. St. Andrew was occupied by George Hughes, a man of high character, unblemished reputation, sincere piety, and great ability. Francis Porter was preacher of Charles. There were two Nonconforming congregations. The oldest, the Baptist, is now represented by the Baptist Churches of George Street and Mutley, of Devonport, and of many other places in the neighbourhood. A careful, detailed, and interesting history of this Church has been written by Mr. H. M. Nicholson. It sprung from the mixed congregation of Baptists and Independents already mentioned, and its records date back to 1648. In that year Abraham Cheare, a native of Plymouth, and a fuller, was baptized, and shortly afterwards received an invitation to the pastorate, which he accepted. The society must have been large, as the invitation was signed by one hundred and fifty members. In 1651 a piece of land was bought in the Pig-Market, now Bedford Street, and a meeting-house erected. This was rebuilt in 1751, abandoned in 1789 in favour of the chapel in How Street, and finally, having been converted into stores, removed in April, 1865.

The Early Friends.

The Independents of the old united congregation, and those of the garrison during the Siege, do not seem to have left successors, and the Baptists continued the only separatists in Plymouth until the middle of 1654. There then came thither John Audland and Thomas Arey, two of the early Quakers, who were 'received of many who were waiting for the Lord's appearance.' They held several meetings in public and in private; 'and on the first day the s^d John Audland went to one of the steeple-houses in the Towne, and testyfyed against the priest and there worship, and also sounded truth

amongst them, for w^{ch} the s^d John Audland received from the people in the steeple-house pritty much Abuse; and the s^d Thomas Arey he went to the Baptist meeteing, and sounded truth amonge them, who stod in great opposition to his testimony.' March 16th, 1655, Thomas Salthouse and Miles Halhead visited Plymouth, and established the first meeting, their reward for which was thirteen months' imprisonment at Plymouth and Exeter. In the same year George Fox paid the first of his four visits to Devonshire, and his journal records how, 'Having refreshed ourselves at our inn, we went to Robert Cary's house, where we had a very precious meeting. At this meeting was one Elizabeth Trelawny, daughter to a baronet. She, being very thick of hearing, came close up to me, and clapped her ear very nigh me while I spoke; and she was convinced. After the meeting came in some jangling Baptists; but the Lord's power came over them, and Elizabeth Trelawny gave testimony thereto. A fine meeting was settled there in the Lord's power, which hath continued ever since.'

There is a tradition in the Plymouth Society that the first meeting-house of the Quakers was a thatched building which stood at the head of Sussex Street. Near this was undoubtedly the original Quaker burial-ground, used as such before the erection of the original meeting-house on the site in Bilbury Street in 1674, and not given up until 1721. The present (now modernized) meeting-house replaced the old one in 1804.

Persecutions.

The persecutions of the Quakers at Plymouth began with a drunken naval chaplain, who attended a meeting held by Halhead and Salthouse in the garden of John Harris, and waxed excessively wroth at being told to combine works with faith. He complained to John Paige, the Mayor, and Salthouse and Halhead were committed to the assizes as disturbers of the public peace, and for 'diverse other high misdemeanours against a late proclamation prohibiting the disturbance of ministers and other Christians in their assemblies and meetings.' Themselves the disturbed; they were prosecuted as the disturbers! Then Margaret Killam offended the Mayor by speaking to him on religious matters; and to gaol she went. Next year Priscilla Cotton, Margaret Cole, and Katherine Martindale spoke to the 'priest and people' in the Church, after the sermon; and to gaol went they: while Barbara Pattison was locked up for interrupting a funeral

sermon. In 1658, John Evans, for speaking to the people in a steeple-house, was not only imprisoned, but whipped through the streets. And so matters went on, until by 1660 every prison in the county was crowded with the Friends. 'Within two months of that year the High Gaol and Bridewell of Exeter received no less than seventy, including all the men inhabitants of Plymouth of that persuasion.'

Plymouth was governed in all strictness during the Presbyterian régime; and there remain a few illustrative records. Thus, in 1659, John Wood was presented for walking on the Hoe during 'sermon time,' and George Cragg for suffering company in his house to drink burnt wine during 'sermon time'; while in June the constables of Old Town Ward presented John Olde 'for keeping men drinking yesterday, being Lord's-day.' This last, of course, is in accordance with modern ideas; but the present amount of 'walking on the Hoe during sermon time' would be very shocking to the old Puritan 'twelve and twenty-four.'

Immediately on the Restoration persecution began all round, and the wrongs of the Quakers were avenged on the Presbyterians. One Captain William Pestell paid the West a visit in 1661, in character of spy. He wrote Secretary Nicholas, 26th September, that the Fifth Monarchy Men were associated with the Presbyterians in encouraging the people to withstand the Common Prayer; that 'several of the old sea-captains at Plymouth were determined the Common Prayer should not come into Mr. Hughes's church,' and that there was the same feeling at other places on the coast, where Anabaptists and Quakers abounded.

The Presbyterians could not be touched until the Act of Uniformity; the Quakers were in prison before Charles returned; only the Baptists were available. So Abraham Cheare was sent to Exeter gaol for encouraging religious assemblies, and remained there three months, until released by 'special grace.'

The Plymouth 'Bartholomew' and its Results.

Plymouth was singled out for special visitation. Its gallant stand for the Parliament made it a marked town. Its Corporation was thoroughly Puritan. Every way it was obnoxious to the ruling powers. So it had a call from the Commissioners appointed to regulate corporations, who ejected the Mayor, made a clean sweep of his brethren, and turned out Hughes from the Vicarage of St. Andrew, a week before

the fatal 24th of August. The Mayor, William Allen, a Presbyterian, gave place to William Jennens, who proved an adept in persecution; and the old corporators to new Aldermen and Councillors of the same school. Four ministers were silenced in Plymouth. George Hughes, the Vicar; Obadiah Hughes, his son, ejected from a studentship at Oxford; Thomas Martyn, lecturer at St. Andrew; Samuel Martyn, his son, an occasional preacher. Porter, minister of Charles, conformed. George Hughes and Thomas Martyn were sent to Drake's Island, under charge of musketeers. That rugged rock then held the dignity of state-prison; and among its occupants were General Lambert (who died there), Colonel Lilburne, and Harrington, the author of *Oceana*. Hughes was attacked with dropsy and scurvy, and after nine months was released on bond for £2,000 (given by his friends without his knowledge) not to come again within twenty miles of Plymouth. So he retired to Kingsbridge, where, in July, 1667, he died. Martyn was released under a similar bond for £1,000. He had been silenced some months before Bartholomew Day, on pretence of speaking certain words in private conventicles, which he altogether denied. Cheare was again seized, and lodged in the gaol at Exeter for three years.

But when the appointed ministers were removed their adherents were not left utterly to themselves. There lived in Plymouth Nicholas Sherwill, member of the wealthy merchant family of that name, an M.A. of Magdalen, a Presbyterian and an occasional preacher, who had received episcopal ordination. He, with the younger Hughes, had been imprisoned, and set free on promising not to return to Plymouth without leave of the Governor, the Earl of Bath, or his deputy. However, he commenced the first register-book of the Unitarian congregation in Treville Street, now preserved at Somerset House, with the entry of the marriage by him at Stonehouse, on the 17th September, 1662, not a month after Bartholomew Day, of Walter Trowt and Katherine Crampron; while on the 28th November he baptized Mary, the daughter of George and Mary Laphorne. He ministered to the people who had adhered to Hughes and Martyn; and in the congregation thus formed the two societies in Treville and Batter Streets originated. It has been held that there were two congregations from the commencement; but as Hughes and Martyn both ministered in the same church, and as Sherwill was the only minister free to engage in ministerial work in Plymouth immediately

on the Ejection, it seems clear that the Nonconforming lay-folk of Plymouth must at first have formed one body, though meeting in different places as best they could. And Sherwill ere long had assistance. Obadiah Hughes was ordained by Jasper Hicks, ejected from Landrake, and five other ministers, and preached in the neighbourhood as he had opportunity. When no longer safe, in 1674, he removed to London, where he became minister of a large congregation. John Quicke, ejected from Brixton, also preached in Plymouth, and spent eight weeks in the Marshalsea. Jacob too, the ejected minister of Ugborough, rode to Plymouth once a fortnight, and eventually became permanent pastor.

Still for several years Sherwill was clearly the sole regular minister of the Plymouth Presbyterians. George Hughes never saw Plymouth after his retirement to Kingsbridge. He was then sixty years of age, and worn out by infirmities. Martyn took advantage of the Indulgence of 1672 to return to Plymouth. There are entries of baptisms by him in the Treville Street registers from June 12th, 1672, to February, 1675, and he did not die until 1677. It was upon his return that the division of the followers of the Ejected into two societies took place; for to this date the existence of two separate bodies can clearly be traced. Sherwill continued in the ministry until his sudden death, May 15th, 1696. His last entry of baptism was on the 7th May preceding.

Persecution was revived at intervals, until the Toleration Act was passed in 1689; and the records of the town contain many entries of Baptists, Presbyterians, and Quakers being sent to gaol, and of meetings being broken up by constables and soldiers. Under the Declaration of Indulgence, in 1672, there were licensed in Plymouth not only Sherwill and Martyn, but the younger Hughes, Quicke, and George Mortimer, who had been ejected from Harberton, and apparently returned thither to minister. John Glanville, who had been proceeded against for not coming to church, had his house licensed for worship, as did Thomas Yeabsley. A house near Charles Church was also licensed, and the widow Menir's at Stonehouse. The illegal Indulgence was speedily revoked, and persecution again began, being especially active from 1677 onward. Sometimes the meetings were broken up by force, sometimes the doors were locked and sentinelled, and then the Quakers used to gather boldly in the open air outside.

The sites of some of the early meeting-places can be fairly identified. Martyn the elder baptised at 'Greene House, in

Greene Street.' Sherwill's congregation met at the 'Old Marshalls'—the Marshalsea, the Dominican house in South-side Street—and probably continued until the erection, in 1705, of the chapel in Batter Street, the oldest meeting-house now remaining in the town. In 1689 the following were licensed in open sessions: John Woods and Thomas Sheppard certified that a house in Bilbury Street, in the possession of William Rowe, merchant (founder of Rowe's Charity), was chosen as the meeting-place of the congregation under Mr. Nathan Jacob. This was the predecessor of the present Unitarian Chapel. Isaac Pickes, grocer, entered a house in the Pig-Market as the Baptist meeting-house. D. Papier and Jos. Boutill a house near Frankfort, the property of John Stone, for French Protestants, under John Calvett and Michael Lions.

Under Nathaniel Harding, who succeeded Jacob at Treville Street, and John Enty, who followed Sherwill, the two societies founded by the ejected ministers flourished.

Arianism first made head in Plymouth under the ministry of the Rev. H. Moore, successor to Mr. Harding; and as it showed itself at the same time in the Batter Street congregation, where it was favoured by Mr. Hanmer, assistant to Mr. Baron, there was a double exodus; the orthodox of both congregations settling in Batter Street, the heterodox in Treville Street, which has since been distinctly Unitarian.

The Huguenots.

An exceedingly interesting feature of the religious life of the town has passed into oblivion. Plymouth was the seat of a colony of Huguenot refugees, driven from their own country by the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The first party escaped across the Channel in an open boat from Rochelle, arriving on the fifth September, 1681. They numbered between forty and fifty, and were joined by so many others that they established two congregations, one at Plymouth and the other at Stonehouse. It is the one redeeming feature in the years of persecution which followed, that these poor creatures do not seem to have been molested. We know little more concerning them than is to be found in the registers of the two congregations, now at Somerset House; those of the Stonehouse congregation ranging from 1692 to 1791, and those of the Plymouth congregation from 1733 to 1807, the earlier records having been lost. The register of 1733 commences with an entry of the election,

on the 11th April in that year, as wardens, of Pierre Hory Laine, Jayre Valeau, Jean Parc, and Moyere Thomas, in succession to Jean Parc, Etienne Brigeau, Francois Thomas, and Etienne Cagna—twenty-four heads of families assenting. In the July following there is an entry of the distribution of the royal bounty of fifteen guineas to fifty-one poor members of the community, ranging from eighty-two years of age to an infant in arms. Allowing five to a family, and assuming that the recipients of the bounty did not take any set part in the management of affairs, the number of the little colony may be reckoned at between 150 and 200. For fully half a century these sufferers for conscience lived in Plymouth among, but not of, our forefathers. When they were householders they were entered in the rate-books under the style of Monsieur or Madame. Thus in the poor rate assessment for 1720 we find with the prefix of Monsieur the names of Perry, Peter Perry, Francis Thomas, F. Jourdan, James Borgeau, Peter Bone, James Ruffiat, Charles le Mar, Isaac Oust, Mignan, Ruffiat, Valteau, Boteet, Pratt, Lavigne, Sherren, Freno, Dammer, Chardevoine, Bourvit, and Ruleau. Then we have Mesdames Cateau, Burfeans, Langaller, and 'Mons. Osorio's widow.' Other names of French origin, occurring without either prefix (which were probably applied only to the well-to-do) are Francis Colas, Peter Averilla, Isaac and Peter Leland, Abraham Angoure, Gilbert de Lapp, Gerrard, Stephen Cagna, Ch. Peneau, Bignon, Barbe, and Gabon, the latter described as a French barber. There was likewise a Dr. Freno.

The registers supply us with several family names in addition to those already given, among them Du Bouchet, Du Clou, Dore, Dechereaux, Arnaud, Bordier, Cherri, Viall, Blondett, Guillard, Benoit, Bastard, Rous, Dubois, Lardieu, Travers, Duval, Vincent, Herring, Gille, Delacomb, Gruzelier, Bonnet, Maingy, Darton, Lamoureux, Mousnier, and Paillin.

While the original refugees lived, and the first generation of their descendants, the foreign character was distinctively kept up; but the registers show that with the second generation exterior influences of association and intermarriage began to work; and the third was far more English than French. The knowledge of the mother tongue wore less and less among the younger members of the community, and the attendance on public worship, which was of course conducted in French, gradually dwindled until it was confined to a few aged persons, on whose death the congregation

became extinct. James Devoit was pastor from his arrival, in 1685, until his death, in 1723. In 1733, the date of the first register, Pierre du Bouchet was minister. He was succeeded in 1739 by Jacob Bordier; followed in 1764 by Jaques Touzeau. During Touzeau's pastorate the congregation gave up the chapel they had erected in How's Lane, which was removed about 1785, after occupation by a Mr. Hemsworth, to give place to the present edifice. Touzeau was the last minister. He died in February, 1810, having been pastor nearly half a century, and having outlived nearly all his people. For many years he kept a French school in Lower Lane, and was much respected in the town. The following names of ministers are believed to belong to the Stonehouse congregation: 1699, Jaques Bevoitz; 1725, Joseph Demain; 1744-60, M. Faurier; 1762-82, David Morin; later, Jacob Maitre and Guillaume Bataille.

Many descendants of the refugees still reside in this locality. Such names as Gruzelier and Lamoureux are of course easily identified, but in most cases there has been some amount of Anglicising. Thus Cherri is Cherry; Touzeau, Tozer; Gille, Gill; Parc, Park; Bonnet, Bonny; Lardieu, Lardew; Rous, Rowse; Viall, Vile; Lavigne, Lavin; Conde, Cundy; Benoit, Benoy; Guillard, Jillard; Jourdan, Jordan.

Calvinistic Methodism.

Towards the middle of the last century Conformity and Nonconformity alike became dull and lethargic; decorous indeed, but wanting energy and spirit—the form of Christianity, lacking the vitality. All was formal and frigid. Church and chapel come under the same condemnation. Nor was Plymouth any exception, though St. Andrew boasted the polished Zachary Mudge, and the Treville and Batter Street congregations were enlivened somewhat by the stirrings of the Arian controversy. As to the Baptists, they were 'a poor disjointed people,' a 'small remnant,' the membership falling off until it was reduced to eight. At Plymouth therefore, and in the growing town of Dock, there was ample scope for the exertions of the early Methodists, and Whitfield and Wesley reaped an abundant harvest.

Calvinistic Methodism was the first established. Whitfield came to Plymouth about 1744, with the intention of embarking for America. Before that date his labours had borne local fruit. Andrew Kinsman, a native of Tavistock, converted by reading one of Whitfield's sermons, settled in

Plymouth as a grocer; and by him and his wife chiefly (she was a Mrs. Ann Tiley, and gave the ground) the Tabernacle in Briton Side was built, in the garden behind his house. Adams and Cennick and Middleton, with other of Whitfield's colleagues, and Kinsman himself, occupied the pulpit at first. In 1750 Kinsman became a regular minister, and in 1752 removed to Devonport, where he built the first dissenting chapel. The Tabernacle remained his property, and he was still accustomed to preach there, his chief assistants being named Dunn, Paddon, and McAll. Kinsman was a duly qualified member of the Church Militant. When a party of seamen, led by their lieutenant, broke into the Tabernacle while he was preaching, with intent to put out the lights, and 'castigate the congregation'—one of the humours of a pressgang—Kinsman seized the leader and took him before the magistrates. When Kinsman died he left the Tabernacle in trust for the purpose of perpetuating the gospel. The bequest was annulled by the Mortmain Act, and Kinsman's son became the owner. He was a very autocrat. The minister wished to get married. Kinsman preferred his celibacy. The minister got married. Kinsman padlocked the door of the Tabernacle, planted himself in a window opposite, armed with loaded pistols, and threatened to shoot any one who meddled with his property. So the congregation were ejected as well as their minister. For a while they met in the Baptist Chapel, which was placed at their service. At length Norley Chapel was built (then called the New Tabernacle), and opened December 8th, 1797. Mr. Cooper, who formed a Baptist church, was ejected by Kinsman from the Old Tabernacle in 1811. His congregation divided, part going to a Moravian Chapel at the Old Mitre, and part to a currier's shop in Duck's Lane (Week Street), whence they moved, in 1812, to a chapel in Willow Street, built by the Universalists, first called the Philadelphian Church, but then the Refuge Chapel.

The New Tabernacle was the first dissenting place of worship in Plymouth in which an organ was placed. The instrument was built by a carpenter of Turnchapel named Redstone, chiefly at the expense of Mr. Cater. Terrible was the resultant discord; for the organ in the New Tabernacle led to a division in the congregation, and in the end to the re-opening of the Old Tabernacle. The Friday before the organ was to be used a letter was received, signed 'David,' announcing that Dagon had fallen before the ark, and that the writer had discovered the art of 'taking his guts out.' On

examination it was found that all the pipes of one stop had been taken away, proving, as Harris, who records this incident, quaintly says, 'that the thief was no musician.'

Wesleyan Methodism.

Wesleyan Methodism was established in a settled shape in Plymouth in 1745, when a class was formed. This was twelve months before Wesley paid his first visit to the town, in September, 1746; and as a result he found several zealous local preachers hard at work. Still, more than thirty years elapsed before any attempt was made to erect a chapel. The members met in private houses, and there was a good deal of open-air preaching on the Parade, by the great tree in Briton Side, and in rooms in Catte Street, Batter Street, in the Moravian Chapel, and the Old Tabernacle. The first Wesleyan chapel in the Three Towns was commenced in 1779 in Lower Street, chiefly by the exertions of Redstone, the carpenter, and Nehemiah Jane, a quartermen in the Dockyard. This sufficed until 1792, when the old chapel in Buckwell Lane (then called Mud Lane) was begun in Mr. Prideaux's garden. Thenceforward the progress of Wesleyanism was very rapid, though the larger population and greater activity of Dock gave it such a preponderance that Devonport still names the district. Ebenezer Chapel was commenced in 1816; and consequent upon the cessation of the war and the depression thus caused, Wesley Chapel had to be closed for Wesleyan worship until September, 1847, though occupied by Messrs. Denham (Baptist), Todd, Triggs, Richards, and others in the interim. Salem Chapel, however, was built in 1828. In 1864 the erection of King Street Chapel was commenced. Ham Street Chapel was erected in 1879, in substitution for Wesley and Salem; and Mutley in 1881, Mr. Snell being architect of both.

The eldest represented of the various offshoots of Wesleyan Methodism is the Bible Christian body, which dates from 1818. Its chapel in Zion Street was erected in 1847, and in 1886 that in Greenbank Road. The United Methodist Free Church society, originally Wesleyan Association, acquired the large chapel in Ebrington Street, formerly belonging to the Plymouth Brethren, in 1862, and named it Hope Chapel. It had previously assembled for nearly twenty years in the Old Tabernacle. The Primitive Methodists are of more recent appearance in the town, and occupy a little chapel in Ebrington Street, which has been used in turn by several denominations.

The period of the French war, one of the greatest activity in all business affairs in Plymouth and Dock, was marked also by great liveliness in religious matters; thus described by a no means friendly contemporary hand: 'Amidst the general dissipation and rage for worldly aggrandizement, a religious disposition was everywhere prevalent. Churches, chapels, and meetings were crowded with auditors; the latter not only on Sundays, but many evenings in the week. Besides public places of worship, parties of the pious assembled at each other's houses, and embryo preachers here first practised the rudiments of their future calling. These spiritual pastors were principally uneducated mechanics and artificers in the Dockyard and town. Never perhaps did moralist survey a more incongruous spectacle than this place afforded. The most open and undisguised profaneness and the most rigid sanctity seemed equally predominant. On one hand were heard the revels of debauchery and drunkenness; and on the other, the praises and prayers of devotional congregations. The sanctuaries of religion were surrounded by the temples of profligacy.'

Revival of Persecution.

The close of the eighteenth century saw the revival of persecution. The Unitarian Chapel opened at Devonport in 1791 was closed, because the Commissioner of the Dockyard intimated that dockyardsmen who attended would be dismissed as disloyal subjects; and by perjury and malice the Rev. W. Winterbottom, junior minister of the Plymouth Baptist congregation, was punished for seditious words he never uttered, and for treason of which he was not guilty. It was the custom in those days for Dissenting congregations to celebrate the anniversary of the landing of the Prince of Orange by special sermons; and on the fifth of November, 1792, Winterbotham preached such a sermon in How's Lane from Exodus xiii. 8, 'Thou shalt shew thy son in that day, saying, This is done because of that which the Lord did unto me.' This he followed on the 18th by a sermon from Romans xiii. 12, 'The night is far spent, the day is at hand: let us therefore cast off the works of darkness, and let us put on the armour of light.' For these sermons he was brought to trial in the following July. The evidence for the Crown was wholly insufficient to sustain any charge; indeed, so far as regarded the second sermon, it consisted entirely of the jumbled notes of Edward Lyne, a clerk to the Collector of Excise, and of the random recollection of

John Denby, a midshipman, that he agreed with Lyne. On the other hand, there was abundant testimony that the sermons, though political, were anything but seditious. Yet Winterbotham was found guilty. He was sentenced to four years' imprisonment, two for each sermon; a fine of £200, £100 for each; and to find £900 security for his good behaviour for five years; while the expenses of the trial were £337. But his friends at Plymouth stood by him, and on his release he returned to minister among them.

After this the Baptist Society in Plymouth declined, until it entered on a fresh career of prosperity with the pastorate of the Rev. Samuel Nicholson in 1823. In 1845 How Street Chapel, which has an endowment of £25 yearly from Dean's Charity while used for Baptist purposes, was abandoned for the chapel in George Street, which was erected at a cost exceeding £5,000; and in 1869 the new chapel on Mutley Plain was opened, having been erected at an expenditure of £8,000.

Sherwell Chapel, the handsomest and costliest Non-conformist edifice in Plymouth, was erected by the Norley Street congregation, and is thus an outcome of the work of Whitfield. The site, purchased from the Corporation, at one time formed part of the Sherwell estate, and this circumstance, in conjunction with the fact that Nicholas Sherwell was one of the men of 1662, named the structure. The chapel was opened in September, 1864, having cost with the land upwards of £8,000. The organ, a gift from a member of the congregation, is the finest in any Dissenting place of worship in the West of England. Mount Street Chapel is a mission in connection with Sherwell. Norley Chapel was closed for a time after the removal to Sherwell, but was subsequently re-opened in 1866 by a section of the congregation.

Union Chapel, the other Independent place of worship in Plymouth, is an offshoot from Batter Street, and was erected by the Rev. T. C. Hine in 1847-8, on a site where Whitfield is recorded to have preached.

Ministers of the Elder Nonconformist Societies.

The ministers of the 'Three Denominations'—Baptist, English Presbyterian, and Independent—of the older societies in Plymouth are as follows:

BAPTIST.—Abraham Cheare, 1649-1668; persecution then kept the church without a pastor for nineteen years; Robert Browne,

1687-1688; — Warner, 1688; Robert Holdenby, 1688-1690; Samuel Buttall, 1690-1697 or 1698; Nathaniel Hodges, 1698-1701; — Bryant commenced 1707, not ordained until 1710; Wm. Bennick, 1718-1720; Caleb Jope, 1720-1722; Elkanah Widgery, 1723-1725; John Ridley, 1726-1730; Didcot Hoare, mentioned as pastor in 1737 and 1739; John Binnick, left in 1747; Philip Gibbs, 1748 (ordained 1749)-1800; Isaiah Birt, co-pastor with Mr. Gibbs, 1782-1789; William Winterbotham, at first co-pastor, and afterwards successor to Mr. Gibbs, 1790 (four years in prison, 1793-1797)-1804; — Ragsdale, 1808-1810; John Dyer, 1811-1814; G. Gibbs, 1816-1819; S. Nicholson, 1823-1856; G. Short, co-pastor, and afterwards successor to Mr. Nicholson, 1856-1858; T. C. Page, 1860-1869; John Aldis, 1869-1876; Robert Lewis, co-pastor, 1870-1876; John Ashworth, 1878-1882; S. Vincent, 1883; Benwell Bird, pastor of Mutley Chapel, 1876.

UNITARIAN.—George Hughes and Thomas Martyn, ejected in 1662; Nicholas Sherwill, 1662-1672; Thomas Martyn, 1672-1677; Nathaniel Jacob, 1677-1690; Nathaniel Harding, 1690-1744; Henry Brett, assistant to Mr. Harding, 1707-1723; Joseph Cock, ditto, 1721-1731; Henry Moore, assistant to Mr. Harding till 1744, and afterwards his successor, 1731-1762; John Reynell, 1762-1784; John Hanmer, co-pastor with Mr. Reynell, 1762-1771; Thomas Watson, 1785-1788; Thomas Porter, 1789-1794; John Kentish, 1794-1795; John Jones, LL.D., 1795-1798; John Tingcombe, 1798-1806; John Jones, 1807-1812; Israel Worsley, 1813-1831; William James Odgers, 1832-1853; John Hill, 1853-1854; Henry Knott, 1854-1865; J. K. Smith assisted Mr. Knott for about two months previous to his death, and continued on into 1866, but was never appointed minister; T. W. Freckelton, 1866-1874; William Sharman, 1875-1883; George Evans, 1884-1888; W. Binns, 1888.

BATTER STREET.—George Hughes and Thomas Martyn, ejected in 1662; Nicholas Sherwill, 1662-1696; — Byfield, assistant to Mr. Sherwill; John Enty, 1696-1719; Peter Baron, at first co-pastor with Enty, came to Plymouth in 1700, was ordained 1704, chosen minister 1720, died 1759; John Moore, assistant to Mr. Baron, and his successor, 1727-1760 (the trustees then chose John Hanmer, the congregation Christopher Mends—the latter was put in possession by a mandamus, and Hanmer became co-pastor at Treville Street); Christopher Mends, 1762-1799; Herbert Mends, co-pastor with his father, afterwards his successor, 1782-1819; J. Mitchell, 1819-1821; Richard Hartley, 1823-1836; W. Morris, 1837-1839; T. C. Hine, 1839-1846; Joseph Steer, 1846-1851; John Barfitt, 1851-1854; W. R. Noble, 1855-1860; E. Hipwood, 1860-1867; W. Whittley, 1867-1885; S. Higman, 1886-1888; Alfred Cooke, 1889.

MINISTERS OF NORLEY AND SHERWELL CHAPELS.—Norley Chapel was opened 1797.—Charles Soper, 1798–1805; Thomas Pinchback, 1807–1811; Francis Moore, 1812–1816; James Doney, 1816–1823; W. P. Davies, 1825–1831; G. Smith, 1833–1842; Eliezer Jones, 1844–1856; C. Wilson, 1858–1882; C. Slater, 1883.

Plymouth has a College belonging to the Independent body, and affiliated to the London University. The Western College was established as an academy for the instruction of ministerial students, in 1752, by the Congregational Fund Board. In its early days it was under the direction of various Independent ministers, located in different parts of Devonshire. At length it was removed from Axminster to Exeter, and after some years' sojourn in that city, again removed in 1844 to Plymouth. Here it was carried on upon premises in Wyndham Place for several years. It was then decided to provide it with a permanent habitation, and in April, 1860, the foundation stone of the present handsome pile of Collegiate buildings at Mannamead was laid. They were opened in June, 1861.

The Brethren.

Plymouth has given a distinct name to a community of Christians who call themselves the Brethren, but are generally known by the name Plymouth Brethren. Nevertheless the movement did not absolutely originate in the town. It appears to have first assumed definite form in Dublin, on the suggestion of Mr. A. N. Groves, of Exeter, in the setting apart every Lord's-day for the breaking of bread in remembrance of Christ. This was about the year 1829, and the meeting at Plymouth, which became the centre and fount of Brethrenism, was commenced in 1831. The two most prominent members of the society in its early days were Mr. B. W. Newton, Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford, and the Rev. J. N. Darby, a minister of the Irish Church, the first of whom was resident for some years at Plymouth. The Rev. J. L. Harris, incumbent of Plymstock, and Mr. H. W. Soltau, were also prominently identified with the movement. In 1845, a difference of views between Mr. Newton and Mr. Darby led to the first open division in the body, since which others have occurred. The first special meeting-place used by the Brethren at Plymouth was what became the Temperance Hall, in Raleigh Street. Later the large 'room' in Ebrington Street, now the chapel of the United Methodist Free Church Society, was erected. As the transfer of these

buildings indicates, the Brethren are by no means so numerous in Plymouth as they formerly were. Four or five of their sections, however, meet regularly for worship, and some of the body preach in various places, as at St. Andrews Hall, to which all are welcomed; but without forming any distinct community or society. This is not the occasion to enter into an exposition of the peculiar tenets of Brethrenism, nor would the task be at all an easy one. Horace Mann stated as their fundamental *raison d'être*, that they 'may be represented as consisting of all such as, practically holding all the truths essential to salvation, recognize each other as on that account alone true members of the only Church. They do not believe in human forms or systems, or ordained ministries. They break bread weekly; and some of them consider their assemblies under the guidance solely of the Holy Ghost.'

Miscellaneous.

Trinity Chapel (York Street) was erected as a High Calvinist place of worship for Mr. Arthur Triggs in 1828. In 1857-8 there were disputes as to its ownership, which led to one party taking possession by force and barring the other out, so that they were compelled to hold service in the open air outside. Legal proceedings followed.

The Protestant Evangelical Church in Compton Street was established by the Rev. Wm. Elliott.

The Presbyterian Congregation now at Eldad was formed at Devonport in 1857, and removed to Plymouth in 1862. The original chapel was burnt in 1882. Mr. J. L. Hodge is the architect of the present structure.

The Catholic Apostolic (Irvingite) body early established a church in Plymouth. The present chapel in Princess Street was rebuilt on the site of a plain building which had been occupied for a dozen years.

A Universalist congregation, now extinct, met in Henry Street, having worshipped previously in Park and Ebrington Street Chapels; and its minister, the Rev. Mr. Seabrook, once officiated in a meeting-house in Richmond Street.⁷

The chapel in Portland Villas—Free Evangelical—was built by the Rev. J. Babb, formerly a clergyman of the Church of England, in 1844. It forms the under portion of one of the houses.

⁷ Some old chapels have been abandoned as such. There was one called Philadelphia Chapel in Willow Street; and a small Calvinist Chapel (Zoar) in Octagon Street.

The Bethel Union Chapel in Castle Street was originally built in 1833.

The Salvation Army commenced operations in the Three Towns early in their history; and subsequently acquired How Street, and Mount Zion (Devonport) chapels. Their Congress Hall in Martin Street was opened by General Booth in February, 1886, and cost £4,724 7s.

The Exeter Street Mission Hall was built for a herbalist named Roland Kiley, who took to preaching, on the site of the old merchant residence of the Treeby family—a fine early eighteenth-century building with deep eaves, and central courtyard surrounded by offices. Kiley left the town deeply in debt in 1886.

The Young Men's Christian Association was formed in 1848, and acquired its present handsome and commodious premises in Bedford Street, which Dr. Hingston was mainly instrumental in erecting, in 1887. There is also a Young Women's Christian Association.

The Jewish community of Plymouth dates from the earlier part of the last century. About the year 1740 several Hebrew families settled in the town, and formed a congregation in Broad Hoe Lane. The Synagogue, in Catherine Street, was built in 1760. The elders then were Joseph Jacob Sherenbeck and Gompert Michael Emden.

There have for several years been Spiritualist and Secular Societies holding regular meetings.

Less than a half century since a few bearded disciples of the Devonshire prophetess, Joanna Southcott, distinguishable by their disuse of the razor in days when shaving was the fashion, might be seen in Plymouth streets. The Three Towns were the seat of a Southcottonian congregation, of which four survived, expecting Joanna's appearance, so lately as 1851. About the same time a number of persons met for worship at the Central Hall, Manor Street, who held that the end of the world was close at hand. Their leaders, Dealtry and Burgess, upon one occasion—in 1847—positively fixed the date for its destruction, much to the terror of few even outside their flock.

Roman Catholic.

When Pope Pius IX. decided upon establishing the present Roman Catholic hierarchy in England, Plymouth was selected as the seat of one of the new dioceses. The first priest who is known to have stately ministered in Plymouth after the Reformation was the Rev. Edward Williams, who was settled

at the seat of Mr. Richard Chester, in Buckland-tout-Saints, and who occasionally visited Plymouth to attend to the spiritual wants of the few and scattered Catholics then to be found there. This was a century since.⁸ The first missionary station in the Three Towns was established at Devonport, in a room over a stable behind the George Inn, by the Rev. Thomas Flynn, an Irish Franciscan. He was succeeded by the Rev. Louis Guilbert, a French emigré, who, being unable to obtain a site for a chapel at Devonport, built and opened in 1806-7 that in St. Mary Street, Stonehouse. The rapid growth of the Three Towns, and the equally rapid increase of their Irish population, rendered the accommodation of this edifice utterly inadequate. Soon after the bishopric was established, it was decided to erect the present cathedral in Cecil Street. The foundation stone was laid in June, 1856, by Dr. Vaughan, the chief promoter of the work; but nearly twelve months afterwards operations were delayed by the unfortunate falling in of a considerable portion of the building. The spire is a later addition. The cathedral is dedicated to the Virgin and St. Boniface. Adjoining, on the south, is the bishop's residence, and on the west a large conventual establishment and schools, occupied by the Sisters of Notre Dame, the foundation stone of which was laid in 1864.

Part of the site of the Old Carmelite Friary was reconverted to its ancient uses by the erection of a conventual building known as Carmel House. This was occupied for a short time by a Carmelite Sisterhood who came to Plymouth from Schlerder. When they left in 1875, they were succeeded by the Sisters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul, who have a certified poor-law school for girls under their care. The Church of the Holy Cross was erected here in 1881.

There is a house of Basilian Fathers at Beaconfield, near Plymouth.

The old church premises in St. Mary Street, Stonehouse, were for some years occupied by the Little Sisters of the Poor, who in 1885 built St. Joseph's Home at Hartley, in 1890 adding a chapel.

There was formerly at Coxside a Nunnery of Poor Clares, who belonged to a house established at Aire in 1629. They settled at Plymouth in 1813, and removed in 1835.

Dr. Errington was the first Bishop of Plymouth (1851); and was succeeded by the present prelate, Dr. Vaughan, in 1855.

⁸ Mass was celebrated in the Citadel Chapel during part of the reign of James II. by his chaplain, Christopher Turner.

Church and Chapel Accommodation.

The census returns of 1851, as arranged by Mr. Horace Mann, present the following statement of the provision for religious worship in Plymouth at that date:

	Places of Worship.	Free.	Sittings.		ATTENDANTS ON WORSHIP Sunday, March 30th.		
			Apprtd.	Total.	Morn.	Aft.	Evng.
Church of England . . .	10	3891	4824	9615	6086	1642	5074
Independents . . .	5	736	2232	2968	1517	62	1440
Particular Baptists . . .	1	329	707	1036	797	114	569
Friends . . .	1	400	...	400	60	30	...
Unitarians . . .	2	168	506	674	213	...	209
Wesleyan Methodists . . .	5	810	1466	2276	1487	78	1363
Bible Christians . . .	1	88	540	628	279	203	401
Wesleyan Association . . .	1	136	172	308	77	...	44
Isolated Congregations . . .	10	2450	3050	5500	2527	853	3342
Catholic Apostolic . . .	1	250	...	250	83	50	60
Jews . . .	1	...	150	150	50	24	4
Totals . . .	38	9258	13647	23805	13176	3056	12506

The proportion of sittings to population was thus 45·6, and the additional number required to provide for 58 per cent. of the population was 6483. There were not thirty-eight distinct churches or chapels; some of the congregations meeting in rooms.

In 1871 the *Nonconformist* published a statement of the number of places of worship in Plymouth, as compared with these returns for 1851. Their accuracy was questioned, and a statement concerning the various Dissenting bodies was then published by Mr. Alfred Rooker, substantially corroborative, so far as these were concerned. The figures given for 1871 are:

	'Nonconformist.'				Mr. Rooker.	
	Places of Worship.	Sittings.	Places.	Sittings	Places.	Sittings.
Church of England . . .	12	11000	2	1385	...	...
Presbyterian . . .	1	1200	1	1200	...	1 1200
Congregationalist . . .	5	3650	...	682	...	6 4040
Baptist . . .	4	3300	3	2264	...	5 3994
Friends . . .	1	400	...	...	...	1 400
Unitarians . . .	1	700	dec. 1	26	...	1 400
Wesleyan Methodist . . .	4	3750	dec. 1	1474	...	5 4061
Primitive Methodist . . .	1	450	1	450	...	1 450
United Methodist . . .	1	1000	...	692	...	1 900
Bible Christians . . .	1	628	...	...	...	1 450
Brethren . . .	3	760	3	760	...	4 800
Roman Catholics . . .	1	700	1	700	...	3 950
Jews . . .	1	150	...	...	...	1 200
All others . . .	3	1900	dec. 8 dec.	3850	...	4 1270
	39	29588	1	5738	34	19115

Excluding mission stations and rooms casually occupied, but including all independent gatherings stately held, the present accommodation provided, chiefly in separate buildings, for religious worship in the Parliamentary borough may be approximately stated as follows. Absolute accuracy seems unattainable, and there are some grave difficulties of classification. There are now among the miscellaneous group chapels which were placed in the earlier return under the Baptist or Independent heads; and this must be borne in mind in attempting any comparison.

	Places of Worship.		Sittings.
Church of England	14	...	12332
Baptist	2	...	1880
Independent	4	...	3360
Friends	1	...	400
Unitarian	1	...	400
Wesleyan Methodist	4	...	4750
Bible Christians	2	...	1300
United Methodist	1	...	900
Primitive Methodist	1	...	400
Roman Catholic	2	...	1000
Catholic Apostolic	1	...	250
Presbyterian	1	...	1200
Brethren	4	...	800
Salvation Army	2	...	4000
Jews	1	...	200
Miscellaneous	6	...	3250
	<hr/> 47		<hr/> 36402

It is still more difficult to give an exact estimate of the mission accommodation. The mission-rooms and chapels connected with the Church of England do not, however, seat fewer than 3600; and the rooms and buildings stately used for Nonconformist and unsectarian mission work will accommodate approximately 3000.

Burial Grounds.

At the time of Mr. Rawlinson's enquiry (1852) some interesting particulars were given with reference to the old burial grounds of the town, the whole of which were then in use. St. Andrew Churchyard, the most ancient, dates from the middle of the thirteenth century, and has been raised by interments above the natural level. The burial ground in Westwell Street (Strayer Park), belonging to the same parish, first used about 1700, also had its surface considerably elevated. Yet 4,320 interments had taken place in the parish within the seven years previous to the enquiry. The

burial ground of the parish of Charles consists of three sections, the original yard, opened about 1650, the higher ground west enclosed in 1824, and the higher ground east first used in 1832. The number of interments there within the seven years was 1,828. The Nonconformist burial grounds date as follows: Friends, Bilbury Street, 1748; Presbyterian, Batter Street, about 1750; Jews, near the Citadel, 1748;⁹ Baptist, George Street, 1787; Methodist, Ebenezer, 1817; Unitarian, Norley Street, 1832; Norley Chapel Vaults, 1839. The Plymouth Brethren had a place of interment in Ebrington Street and vaults under the Raleigh Street Hall. The total area of the whole was 5a. 0r. 11p.

In 1854 the Church, Wesleyan, and Batter Street yards were closed except for interments in vaults; and since that date the burials from Plymouth have mostly taken place in the Plymouth, Devonport, and Stonehouse Cemetery, on the north-east of the town. The project of establishing a cemetery was started in 1845, and the Act obtained in the following year. Eighteen acres of land were purchased, with power to acquire four more. Ten only were laid out in the first instance. The first interment in the unconsecrated or general ground took place on the 22nd December, 1848; and the first in the consecrated 9th February, 1849. A part of the consecrated ground was set apart for the interment of those who died from cholera in 1849, and received 408.

Few of the present generation of Plymouthians are aware of the existence of a disused burial ground in front of the Crescent. In that spot the French prisoners of war who died during their incarceration in the Millbay Prisons adjoining were buried; and when in 1824 the late Dr. Yonge commenced the never-finished Crescent, the Corporation, with the concurrence of the Navy Board, granted the ground to him, to enclose with iron rails and form into a shrubbery, with walks, in consideration of his giving up a road to the Hoe. Though there has long been no external trace of the purpose to which the ground was once applied, the planting of additional shrubs has frequently afforded evidence of an incontestable character. Some of the interments took place in what is now Athenæum Street; and have come to light in works of sewerage.

⁹ The Jews have now a burial ground adjoining the Cemetery.

CHAPTER XI.

EDUCATION.¹

Learning by study must be won,
'Twas ne'er entailed from sire to son.—*Gay*.

The Grammar School.

THE Grammar School is the oldest educational institution in Plymouth. It was founded in 1561 by the Corporation, as the following extract from the *White Book* shows:²

xiiij Die July 1561.

In the guilhale w^t thassent of John Eliott Maio^r w^t the more p^{te} of the xij and xxiiij^{ty} then assembled it was determyned concluded and vtterlie agreed vpon that one Thoms Brooke should supplie thoffice and function of a teacher or Scholem^r wⁱⁿ this towne so longe as he therin shall decentlye behaue hym selfe and in consideration of an annual stipend of x^{li} quarterly to be paid by the receavo^r he the said Scholem^r shall freelye teache all the children native and inhabitaunt wⁱⁿ the Towne and that he also for his loginge and refuge shall hawe to his owne vse the chambers over the almeshowse chapell and the said chapell for his scholehowse and that he shall teache no other but gramer and writinge. Itm ther it was by thassents aforesaid fullie agreed that all suche psons whose names be herin ingrossed as hawe given anye some or somes of moneye toward and for the stipend aforesayd shall for nonpayment of such somes of moneye an they of ther mere good willes hawe given towards the vse aforesayd be Dystreyned and Distreinable for the same.

John Elyot, mayor, 13s. 4d. ; Thomas Clowter, 6s. 8d. ; Lucas Cocke, 5s. ; Richard Hoop[er], 5s. ; William Weks, 10s. ; John Ilcombe, 10s. ; John Derye, 5s. ; Edward White, 5s. ; Nicholas Bickford 6s. 8d. ; William Lake, 6s. 8d. ; Nicholas Slanninge,

¹ The materials for this chapter are almost wholly drawn from the original documents in the local archives.

² The date of 1501, previously assigned by various writers, arose from the misreading of an imperfect figure by the first enquirer. However, we find 'James the scolemaister' in 1507, with a kind of quasi public position.

13s. 4d.; William Hawkyns, 5s.; John Forde, 6s. 8d.—[The Twelve.]

William Symons, 20s.; Robert Hampton, 16d.; Edward Cocke, 10d.; Thomas Byrt, 2s. 8d.; John Sampson, 6s. 8d.; John Hawkyns, 8s.; Thomas Hampton, 5s.; William Howe, sen., 1s.; Thomas Browne, 4s.; John Maynard, 2s. 8d.; John Martyn, 5s.; Gregory Cocke, 2s. 8d.; John Waddon, 2s.; Thomas Perkyns, 2s. 8d.; Walter Pepperell, 2s. 8d.; Christopher Earle, 13s. 4d.; John Vosye, 3s. 4d.; Henry Brecnall, 2s.; William Brokinge, 16d.; Richard Enscott, 4d.; Mr. Edmund Euston, 10s.—[The Twenty-four.]

Richard Lybbe, 10s.; George White, 3s. 4d.; Robert Holman, 1s.; George Bolton, 16d.; John Rewbye, 10d.; John Greninge, 5d.; John Lyght, 1s.; John Worgow, 2s.; John Lewys, 4s.; William Griffyn, of Compton, 2s.; Wm. Chiswyll, 4s.; Wm. Jeffrye, 16d.; Thomas Williams, 1s.; Wm. Griffyn, 1s.; John Whyte, 1s.; Wm. Makye, 8d.; Wm. Blake, fletcher, 16d.; Wm. Gill, 16d.; John Peny, 10d.; Roger Tremlynson, 8d.; Alse Lyle, 10d.; Robt. Wood, 20d.; John Bealbery, 2s.; Thos. Turner, 16d.; John Sounde, (?) 2s. 8d.; Nicholas Barford, 2s.; John Bery, 2s.; John Tennycombe, 2s.; John Harvy, 16d.; Thos. Hoylle, 3s. 4d.; Thos. Barrett, 6s. 8d.; John Roche, 1s.; John Hoop, 20d.; Alse Pera, 3s. 4d.; Nicholas Browne, 5s.; Thomas Bickley, 5s.; William Brown, 10s.; John Gewyna, 3s. 4d.; John Hayleston, 16d.; Wm. Huchins, 6s. 8d.; John Estcott, 3s. 4d.; Walter Batteshill, 3s. 4d.; Bawdon Hooker, 2s.; John Burnard, 5s.; Richard Pers, 2s.; Jas. Hampton, 16d.; Henry Blase, 16d.; John Foote, 1s.; Wm. Battishill, 2s.; Margaret Bunting, 16d.

Between this date and 1572 there occur many entries of payments on account of the school house—36 perches of wall were built in 1561 at 10d. a perch—and for the schoolmaster's 'table' and fees, while 'the little schoolmaster' and 'two schoolmasters' are also mentioned. In the latter year (February 20th) the Queen granted letters patent which set forth that the revenues of the Vicarage, burdened with the pension of £8 a year payable to the Crown (in succession to the Priory), and its arrears of £112 were unable to maintain a Vicar, since no one could be found to undertake the duties for the balance. Wherefore, on the undertaking of the Mayor and Commonalty, that they and their successors for ever would find a fit person to serve the cure, and would support a free grammar school in the town, paying the chief master a stipend of £20 per annum, the Queen granted and assigned to the Mayor and Commonalty and their successors the arrears of the said pension, the pension, and the advowson of the Vicarage.

The salary of £20 was for the time liberal. It attracted hither William Kempe, an M.A. of Cambridge, a poet, and author of a work on education. It was the same amount that the Mayor was allowed for his yearly fee, and it was certainly over a third of the whole vicarial revenues. Thus in 1592-3, when the Vicarage was farmed by Kempe, he paid £40; while George Baron gave £10 for the rent of the vicarage house. Moreover, we have clear evidence of what was considered in those days the due division of the income of the living, in the fact that in 1600 Upham, the Vicar, had £34 to Kempe's £20. And Henry Wallis, who succeeded Upham, was bound under penalty to pay the £20 every year. In the time of the Commonwealth the difference between the shares of the Vicar and the schoolmaster had become greater; but then the Mayor and Commonalty made up the ministerial stipend to what was regarded as an adequate amount, out of the town revenues, and doubled the pay of the schoolmaster. The stipend, in fact, never represented the whole of the outlay on the school, as we see even from such entries as the payment of 14s. 8d., in 1592, to Kempe, towards building his study and trimming his chamber. The Almshouse Chapel and its appurtenances may have continued the school-house and master's residence,³ with sundry alterations (though we find the term 'the school-house in the churchyard,' which seems distinctive), until, in 1657-8, the old school-house in the Orphans Aid was erected at the cost of the Mayor and Commonalty; though subsequently rented from the other Charity, and in some way associated with the almshouse property, which it adjoined, and which received a small annual payment from the Orphans Aid on its behalf.

The Corporation at that time undertook what was essentially the foundation of the Grammar School on an enlarged basis. Not only did they build the new school-house, but they resolved that the salary should be £40, with the Orphans Aid house and garden; and that forty boys should be taught free, the master being allowed to make his own advantage for the rest. Upon this understanding, July 8th, 1658, articles of agreement were entered into with Nathaniel Conduit, of Ilminster, who became the first master in the new premises.

The Grammar School in the last century lost its free character altogether, and became simply a subsidized school

³ It and the dwelling attached were leased, in 1710, to William Strong, at a fine of £70, and on condition that £60 should be laid out in alterations.

of the ordinary classical type; though under the mastership of Dr. Bidlake, which ended in 1810, it attained a high and well-deserved reputation. On the appointment of Dr. Bidlake's successor, the salary, then £30, was raised to £50, on condition that two sons of poor freemen of Plymouth should be educated therein free; and at the present time ten boys are educated on payment of two guineas each per annum. The only other change to notice is the removal from the old premises, which had become very inadequate. A payment was then made in lieu of the school-house to the master; and this continues, the Corporation paying £20 as salary, and £50 for the school-house. The fee farm rent of £8 granted to the town by Elizabeth, and once paid to the Prior, is now paid by the Vicar.

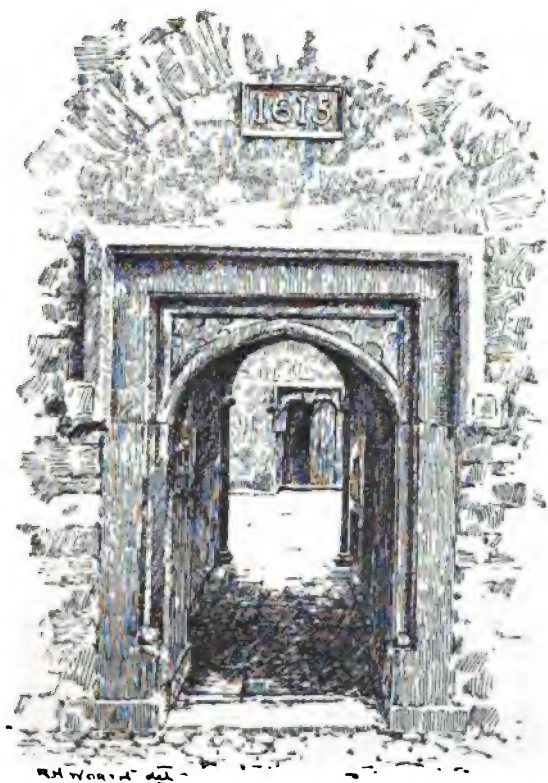
There is no complete list of the masters, but the following occur: Thos. Brooke, 1561; Gill, 1570; Wystlek, 1574-5; Wm. Mynterne, 1575-6; William Kympe, 1581; Moore, 1604-5; John Worth, 1605-30;⁴ A. Horsman, 1630-; N. Conduit, 1658-; John Bedford, 1674-1738; John Bedford, jun. (agreement 1735 in his father's lifetime), 1738-; Rev. H. Lemoyne, -1779; Rev. Dr. Bidlake, 1779-1810; Rev. W. Williams, 1811-1826; Rev. J. H. Borwell, 1826-1840; Rev. Dr. Holmes, 1840-1854; W. G. Clase, 1854-1858; Rev. W. Harpley, 1858-1866; W. Bennett, 1867-1879; John Bennett, 1879-1885; J. Kinton Bond, 1885-

The Orphans Aid.

The founder of the Hospital of Orphans Aid was one William Laurence, a merchant living at 'Foxhole.' By his will, made December 3rd, 1612, he bequeathed to Thomas and Nicholas Sherwill, merchants, £100, to be paid at the return 'of the good shippe called the Jonathan of plymouth whereof I am part owner from her now intended vioage to the Straights in the parts beyond the seas, and of the proceeds and returne of my goods and adventure now in the said shipp the said voyage,' the condition being that within seven years after the testator's death the Sherwills should erect and build a 'convenient Almshouse' in Plymouth for 'poore people . . . to dwell and inhabite therein or for the education and bringing vp of poore children or orphants of the same borough.' Further he bequeathed to the Mayor and Commonalty 'to

⁴ Worth was a clergyman appointed in succession to Moore, also a clergyman, who had obtained other preferment, on the recommendation of Bishop Cotton that he was 'an excellent good scholler, a minister and a verie good preacher, one that hath spent most part of his time in teaching schools, and hath made as many good schollers as any one man in the countrie.'

the use and for and towards the releife and mayntenaunce of the said poore people and orphants which shall from time to time dwell or be brovght vpp in the saide howse,' or in defaulte of the Sherwills erecting such a house, then to the same purpose in any such house erected by other persons within the said seven years, four pounds annually out of his



ENTRANCE OF THE ORPHANS AID.

lands and tenements at Tor for ever. Another 20s. a year was left to the Mayor and Commonalty out of Tor towards the maintenance of a 'preacher of the Word' at Tidneham, Gloucester; and £20 to the 'stocke to sett y^e poor to worke.'

The Sherwills were faithful to their trust; and well within the seven years the work was done. A memorandum upon a loose piece of paper, fortunately preserved, puts the cost of endowing and incorporating at £301 9s. 5d.; and of

building and walling and planting the orchard at £457 13s. 4d., total £759 2s. 9d. William Laurence's £100 had thus borne good fruit. A memorandum on another scrap shows that it had been supplemented up to July, 1616, by the following gifts: Abraham Colmer, £100; John Clement, £120; Nicholas Sherwill, £120; Thomas Sherwill, £120; Humphry Fownes, £50; — Proctor (a legacy), £20; John Bound, £10; W. Heale, £10; W. Hill, £20; William Birch, £10. Laurence's £100 was received from Clement.

There is extant the detailed account of the building charges, kept by Thomas Sherwill, beginning March 7th, 1615, on which day Robert Trelawny had £18 10s. towards the redeeming of Mr. Mathew's lease, 'being the on halfe of the pryse thereof,' and ending August 28th, 1618. There are entries of small gifts from poor people—shillings from lightermen and the like; and Robert Trelawny appears as a liberal benefactor in addition to those already named. Not only does he seem to have taken half the cost of Mr. Mathew's lease; but he pays £6 13s. 4d. in cash; £10 16s. 1d. for the 'remayner of the poole,' and gives a house occupied by Robert Bray, bringing in £2 8s. annually. A precedent was sought for the deed of incorporation, and a copy of that of Dr. White's Temple Hospital in Bristol obtained. Mr. Glandville's man had 11s. for writing and engrossing, and Sir Matthew Cary 3s. 4d. for his fee; the enrolment cost 6s. £100 was paid to Mr. Fownes in 1618 for a house in Stillman Street, and £25 to Mr. Colmer for his gardens in Mudd Street—Buckwell Lane.⁵

The actual site of the Hospital was the tenement leased by Matthews, granted by the Corporation for the purpose, and in consideration of the 'cost and great charge' of the Sherwells in acquiring the lease, at a yearly rent of 22s.

An account with Abraham Colmer, Robert Trelawny, Thomas Sherwill, and Nicholas Sherwill, governors, gives the expense of 'building erecting founding & incorporating the sayd Hospital wth the dyet apparell & other necessities of the orphans' to December 24th, 1620, at £833 7s. 5d., of which, up to the 29th September preceding, the founders and first benefactors had given £734 0s. 1½d., so that £99 6s. 3¾d. remained due.

The property conveyed under the foundation deed consisted of (a) three messuages and a close adjoining the Hospital on

⁵ On the parchment back of the book are the mottoes: 'Ni deus domum ædificat frustra laborant ædificatores'; and, 'He is a father of the fatherlesse & a Judge of widdowes euen god in his holy habitation.'

the west; (b) two gardens in Mudd Street; (c) a house in Stillman Street; and (d) two houses in Southside, with a close of land at Laira, and two closes in Egg Buckland, called Awter's Well—the latter (d) the property of Arthur Pollard, Esq., deceased. This naturally suggests that Pollard's property was itself a special endowment.

Entries of receipt in the following year set forth the details and values of the original endowment as follows: house in Stillman Street, £5; tenement at Southside, 16s.; two messuages lately built by Joseph Gubbes at Southside, piece of ground at the Lary, and 16 acres of land at Egbuckland called Auterswell, £1 13s. 8d.; shop at Southside Quay, 4s.; three messuages and gardens adjoining the hospital on the west, and a close in Old Mill Lane, 6s. 8d.; part of a dwelling-house and shop, 48s.; building on the wall of the town, 4s.; two gardens in Mudd Street, 25s.; dues of Sutton Pool, collected by John Barnes (£13 6s. 8d. was paid the Prince for rent), £22 3s. 7d. The total receipts, with a legacy of £10 from John Waddon, were £43 15s. 11d.; the expenditure, £33 16s. 2d. 'Richard Isteed phisition' was tutor, and had £11 14s. for the diet of four orphans for three-fourths of a year.

There is not here, nor anywhere else apparently, save in the Receiver's Accounts for 1602-3, any definite reference to a gift by Walter Mathewe to the town of certain houses for the use of poor fatherless children, a pair of indentures concerning which were written in that year at the cost of 5s.

Robert Rawlyn, a captain in Parker's last expedition, whose will is dated February 15th, 1626, was a liberal benefactor to the town, and to the orphans in particular. He left £10 to the poor; £10 to the poor stock; £125 to be lent to poor seafaring men in sums of £10 and £5, at 4 per cent.; £125 to be lent to poor tradesmen and young beginners. Two houses in Batter Street and the residue of his property were bequeathed to the 'Orffautes Ayd,' with the expressed wish that one of the children therein should belong to Compton Gifford. Of the interest of the first £125, £3 was to be spent in providing butter for the Almshouse people on fast-days; £2 was to be paid for the poor of the tithing of Compton Gifford. Of the interest of the other £125, 10s. each were to be paid to the poor of Plymouth, Stonehouse, St. Budeaux, Stoke, Egg Buckland, Weston Peverell, and Saltash; and the remaining 30s. at Christmas to the poor of Plymouth.

That the remainder given to the Orphans Aid was substantial is shown in his recognition by the 'twelve and twenty-four,' in 1647, as the chief *founder* of that Charity, of which he was certainly the chief supporter. The greater part of his gift had been applied in the purchase of the moiety of the Drake lease of the mills, which then produced £150 a year; and the Mayor and Commonalty resolved that only eight orphans should be maintained out of the mill income; and that as much money should be saved as possible, 'to raise some considerable sum for the future support of that house, and keepe in memory the acte of soe good a benefactor.' The Commissioners of 1820 had an idea that the £250 loan stock had never been received by the Corporation, inasmuch as all the payments thereout are, and have long been, made from the funds of the Charity (save the 30s. to the poor of Plymouth, which has dropped). The real explanation, however, seems to be that all Rawlyn's bequest was applied directly in furthering the objects of the Hospital. The Corporation still pay, and have long paid, £20 a year to its funds.

A portrait of Rawlyn was placed in the schoolroom of the 'Aid,' and is now in the Guildhall.

The necessities of the Corporation, brought about by the Siege, led them to borrow freely of the funds of the Charities in the town, as well as of individuals. There is full evidence, however, that a strict account was kept. The Orphans Aid as the most wealthy body was most largely drawn upon. The £1,500 paid for the moiety of the Drake lease of the mills during the Siege produced practically no return; and when the lease ran out the Corporation had become largely in debt to the Charity. £1,400 of this debt was, however, cancelled in 1653 by the settlement on the Hospital of a fourth of the mills (then fallen in hand) and of the water in the leat; and this arrangement lasted down until 1805, when the fourth was repurchased by the Corporation for £1,800. This led, in 1840, to the Charity Commissioners filing a bill against the Corporation to recover the property; but in 1845 the Master of the Rolls decided that the Charity had no legal claim. The produce of the mills to the Charity from 1666 to 1803 averaged £60 5s. 7d. The highest year was 1712=£107 2s. 1d.; while in some years, as in 1766, it yielded nothing.

The Orphans Aid is strictly a Corporation foundation. Though founded by deed poll July 17th, 1617, by Thomas and Nicholas Sherwill, the site had been granted them

April 14th, 1615, subject to the fee farm rent of £1 2s., by the Mayor and Commonalty; and the Sherwills by their foundation deeds provided that the Hospital should be under Municipal management. The ex-Mayor was to be governor, four of the Aldermen assistants, and two of the 'twenty-four' wardens; and the Mayor and his brethren, from the time that there should not be three of the first founders or benefactors surviving, were to have the sole direction and visiting of the Charity, and the placing and displacing of the orphans. For this reason the Commissioners of 1820 made no investigation of the affairs of the Hospital.



SEAL OF ORPHANS AID.

It is now under the control of the trustees of the Municipal Charities, Mr. Edmund Pridham, clerk.

Though appropriated solely to boys, the original intention was to include girls within its benefits. The seal, the draught of which cost 1s. 6d., shows five orphans, of whom *three* are females.

Hele and Lanyon's School.

The history of Hele and Lanyon's School begins with a feoffment by Elize Hele January 9th, 1632, of all his estates to his own use during life, and after his death to his wife Alice Hele, John Maynard, John Hele, and Elize Stert, and their heirs in trust, to employ the same in some godly, pious,

and charitable uses. They gave £500* and £20 a year about 1640 for the benefit of poor children in the Hospital of Poor's Portion; and subsequently John Maynard and Elize Stert, the survivors, definitely applied the profits of certain of the lands for 'the maintenance of poor children to be placed and educated in and preferred from the Hospital of Poor's Portion.' £2,000 left by John Lanyon, under his will, September 15th, 1674, for the benefit of the poor people of the Hospital of Poor's Portion, was laid out in the purchase of properties in Plymouth, the rentals being applied in the maintenance and education of children, as with Hele's Charity, and the two being managed by the same set of trustees. Hence originated what is now known as Hele and Lanyon's School, but in the last century as the Red and Blue Boys—those brought up on the Hele Charity being dressed in blue, and those on the Lanyon in red. It was a purpose of the original scheme of the Hele Charity that children of 'extraordinary parts of memory and otherwise' should if possible be sent to the universities. On other Hele foundations this has been done, but never in Plymouth.

The funds of this trust have been grievously wasted in litigation, and sustained loss by the insolvency of Mr. Cleather, the steward, early in the present century. Much difficulty in management has arisen from the fact that there are three sets of parties interested—the hereditary trustees, who are the heirs of Sir John Maynard; the official trustees, in whom the Lanyon property is also vested; and the Guardians: and at different times various schemes have been drawn up to settle points in dispute between them. In this way a Charity intended for the elevation of pauper children has been turned into a lower middle-class school, and the real owners deprived of their legitimate rights.

Under the deed of 1658, by which Sir John Maynard and Elize Stert settled the estates, the revenues were to be applied (among other matters) 'towards the maintenance of poor children to be placed and educated in and preferred from the Hospital in Plymouth, commonly called the Poor's Portion,' and none were to be admitted 'but orphans who have no father, or whose fathers cannot maintain them'; while guarantee was to be given on behalf of outside places

* The £500 was to be invested in lands; and after payment of £10 each yearly to the ministers of Plympton and Plymstock, one child was to be maintained for each £8 of income—the Mayor and governors of the hospital appointing three, and the trustees the fourth. One year's income might be allotted to place each child out.

that children from them, if they became unfit for the Hospital, should be maintained by the parishes to which they belonged. When the Hospital passed to the Guardians under the Workhouse Act, the trustees dealt with the Hele Charity independently of the Guardians, and nominated the lads without reference to the Workhouse until 1805. Then the Guardians successfully maintained the right of the children in the Workhouse, and the trustees chose the two-thirds of the recipients who were under the deed of 1658 to belong to Plymouth, from a list presented to them annually by the master of the Workhouse. Lanyon's Charity, which at first admitted girls, had precisely the same history.

In 1821 a formal agreement was entered into between the Guardians and the trustees to settle certain disputes. Here the same principle was affirmed, but with certain limitations, which have really led to the present condition of affairs. The boys were placed under the care of the Guardians, and the schoolmaster nominated and paid by them in consideration of his educating the other male children in the Hospital. 'But the boys maintained and educated on this Charity' were 'always to be kept as distinct as possible (both in and out of school) from the paupers in the house'—elsewhere called 'the general poor.'

While the old Hospital was occupied as the Workhouse Hele and Lanyon's School was conducted therein, originally as an integral part of the establishment, later as an adjunct, in separate apartments, which the Guardians were bound to provide. Then it had a house provided, and it became for a while the custom to pass boys sent there in at one door of the Workhouse and out of the other, to keep up the pretence that they were preferred from the Hospital of the Poor's Portion.

Joan Bennett's Trust.

Joan Bennett's Trust was founded under her will, bearing date August 10th, 1650. She left certain premises in Plymouth (Old Church Lane) to the Mayor and Commonalty, to the intent that £6 of the yearly proceeds should be paid for the preaching of twelve sermons in the parish church of Maker, by Joseph Hicks, of Landrake, or whom he might appoint during his life (afterwards, her other executors had the appointment, and finally the Mayor and Commonalty); the residue to be paid quarterly to the poor of Maker. And certain other premises, in Southside Street, the profits to be applied for the maintenance of two scholars in the study

of divinity at Oxford or Cambridge, or one of them; one student to be of the posterity of her husband's brother's sons, and the other of the posterity of one of her sisters. Furthermore she left £30 to be lent out in sums of £10 for four years or less, gratis, to young tradesmen of Plymouth, well and piously affected; another £50 to be lent out in like manner for the same period, gratis, to 'two able and religious ministers of the gospell'; and out of the profits of her properties in Plymouth, formerly the land of Pollard or his wife, £6 a year, for preaching a sermon monthly in the 'Great Church' of Plymouth, every Saturday before the first Lord's-day, or before the celebration of the Lord's Supper, and during the term she had in the same property, by Mr. George Hughes, minister of Plymouth, or such as he should appoint—the residue of the profits to go to the increase of the maintenance of the two scholars; £20 was also left to be given to poor people of Plymouth—ancient men or poor widow women. Finally, after a number of personal bequests, Joan Bennett left the whole remainder of her property for the purchase of the freeholds of her leasehold interests, or of other lands, 'to the end that the portions appointed by me for the maintenance of the said scholars and the lecture in the towne of Plymouth may be perpetuated and continue foreuer if god shall soe please.' The executors were George Hughes, Jasper Hicks, Andrew Trevill, and Christopher Ceely; and Hughes attended her on her death-bed, March 10th, 1651-2, when he added a codicil.

There is no trace of the moneys bequeathed by Joan Bennett to be lent on loan, nor of the bequest for the endowment of the sermon in Plymouth. The Maker Trust continues; but had long ceased to be, if it ever was, under the management of the Mayor and Commonalty of Plymouth, at the date of the Charity Enquiry of 1820; it is however one proof that the testatrix was a Presbyterian, and that her endowment was not intended for the education of Episcopalian clergymen, to which it has been at times applied.

According to their own showing to the Charity Commissioners of 1820, from 1678 to 1795 the Corporation had received in rents £2,174 18s. 7d., against which they had only paid exhibitions to the amount of £732. In that year the house was burnt; so they allowed £500 to the tenant toward rebuilding. Another £500, or over £4 a year, was also claimed by them as deduction for rates, taxes, repairs, and expenses of receiving the rents, while they allowed nothing on the other side for the interest of the constantly accu-

mulating balance, which paid very handsomely for all these things. However, they did acknowledge a debt to the Trust in 1799, of £442 18s. 7d.; and this is the foundation of the present stock. From that date down to the time of the enquiry, the Corporation continued to receive and use the rents; but they made no application of the funds because no persons had been able to prove descent; and possibly, if the Commissioners had never investigated the business, nothing more would ever have been heard of Joan Bennett and her gift to the poor scholars of Plymouth. A few years later there was a Chancery suit; and in 1834 it was ordered that failing claimants of descent the sons of inhabitant householders should be chosen. The bulk of the Charity property now consists of accumulation of income, and is administered under a scheme of 1888 by a body of governors, to whom Mr. Edmund Pridham is clerk. Exhibitions are granted of the yearly value of £50, tenable for three years at an approved university in the United Kingdom, and are open to sons of residents in the Parliamentary borough under 19 years of age. They are awarded on examination, and the parents must be of limited means.

General Endowed Schools.

The Grey School, Hampton Street, was founded in 1713 by several leading inhabitants, prominent among whom was Canon Gilbert, Vicar of St. Andrew. It was known as the Grey and Yellow School, from the dress adopted, and previous to the erection of the present premises in Hampton Street, in 1814, was held in Woolster Street in 'a dirty situation and a miserable building.'

Lady Rogers's Charity School, now at Ivybridge, but long occupying premises in Bedford Terrace, was founded in 1764 by Dame Hannah Rogers, who left £10,000 to be applied for that purpose, after certain conditions had been fulfilled.

In 1785, during the joint pastorate at Batter Street Chapel of the Revs. Christopher and Herbert Mends, the Batter Street Benevolent Institution was founded, for the education of girls and infants. It was the oldest local educational institution definitely connected with any religious body; and was always conducted purely on the voluntary principle, supported by subscriptions from persons of different denominations.

The Household of Faith in Vennell Street was founded by the Rev. Dr. Hawker, while Vicar of Charles. In 1787 a

Sunday School was established in Friary Court, and in 1790 a day school of industry for girls. The present school house in Vennell Street was built in 1796. The children are instructed according to the principles of the Established Church, and trained and employed in such useful employment as is best calculated for their positions in after life.

Mr. Jacob Nathan, a wealthy Hebrew of Plymouth, in 1867 left £17,000 to charities, and founded an endowed school for his own people, held on premises in Well Street.

Voluntary Schools.

The Plymouth Public Free School was founded in 1809 for boys, in 1811 for girls, and the first stone of the first of the present group of buildings was laid in 1812. Prior to that date the boys were taught in Bedford Street; the girls in the Guildhall. The growth was so great that several additions were rendered necessary; and it has become not merely the largest in the town, but one of the largest of its kind in the kingdom, educating over 2,000 children. The Infants' School was established in 1860. The annual expenditure is about £2,500. When first established admission to the school was free, but it was soon found necessary to charge a small fee.

Ragged Schools were commenced in 1848, Mr. Eldred Brown and Mr. T. Nicholson being the promoters. In 1850, the Ragged School Association was formed. Premises in Catte Street were then purchased at a cost of £600, and adapted at the outlay of another £200. A small school was next set on foot in Foundry Ope. This afterwards developed into the King Street Schools, erected at a cost of £2,100. The Ragged Schools eventually merged into the work of the School Board.

Public 'voluntary' schools have been established, and good—in several cases attractive—school buildings provided in various parishes in the town. Charles led the way. Schools for this parish were established in 1838, but it was not until 1846 that the school buildings in Tavistock Place were erected. In 1856–7 additional accommodation was afforded by the erection of a boys' school at Vinegar Hill, otherwise Charlestown, when the former building was appropriated to girls and infants only. St. Andrew Chapel Schools were started in 1842. Schools for Holy Trinity were first opened in 1844, and the present buildings erected in 1854, 1859, and 1865, as occasion required. The schools of St. Peter were

established in 1850, and the premises (since largely extended) opened in 1859. Christ Church schools were likewise established in 1850. Sutton-on-Plym boys' school was erected in 1861, and in 1870 capacious girls' and infants' schools were added. The schools of the parish of St. James, long held in very poor premises in Bath Street, occupy commodious and handsome premises in Prospect Row. Singularly enough the mother parish was the last to move in the matter of education. It was not until 1861 that day schools for St. Andrew were established. Only two years from that date had passed, however, before the buildings in Princess Street Ope were erected. There are also schools in connection with the Abbey, North Road.

The Roman Catholics hold large schools in capacious buildings attached to the Cathedral, until the erection of which the old chapel in St. Mary Street, Stonehouse, and previously to the Cathedral being built a house adjoining that chapel, were used. They have been established upwards of fifty years. There is also a school at Tothill. Higher education is given in the Convent of Notre Dame, and by the Basilian Fathers at Beaconfield, near Plymouth.

In 1865 the Baptists provided spacious school buildings adjoining their chapel in George Street, in which an unsectarian boys' school was then carried on. In 1870 the Wesleyans erected commodious schools behind their chapel in King Street, which were likewise used for daily instruction; but neither of these undertakings is now in existence, the School Board having practically covered the same ground.

The School Board.

Under the provisions of the Education Act of 1870, the Town Council applied for powers to elect a School Board, and the first election took place on the 31st of January, 1871. There were nineteen candidates for thirteen seats; six being nominated as Churchmen, six as advocates of unsectarian education, two by the working men, two by the Wesleyans, one by the Roman Catholics, whilst two—the Rev. J. Barter and Dr. Merrifield—stood independently, the latter specially representing science. The election was held before Mr. W. Luscombe, as returning officer, the Mayor, Mr. Serpell, being one of the candidates, and resulted as follows. The unsectarian candidates are distinguished by an asterisk :

Successful candidates :—Mr. J. Pike (Working man, Independent) 4349; Mr. S. P. Cook (Working man, Wesleyan) 4171; Mr. T. Pitts (Churchman) 3456; Mr. J. Smith (Wes-

leyan) 3119; Mr. C. F. Burnard (Wesleyan) 2968; Rev. C. T. Wilkinson (Churchman) 2861; Rev. J. Barter (Independent) 2257; Rev. Canon Mansfield (Roman Catholic) 2129; Mr. C. Norrington (Churchman) 1967; *Mr. A. Rooker (Independent) 1927; *Rev. F. E. Anthony (Independent) 1805; Mr. C. Bewes (Churchman) 1768; *Mr. R. C. Serpell (Baptist) 1739. Unsuccessful candidates: Mr. J. Kelly (Churchman) 1669; *Mr. J. N. Bennett (Liberal Churchman) 1562; Dr. Merrifield (Unitarian) 1531; *Mr. S. Elliott (Friend) 1282; Mr. W. Radford (Churchman) 1135; *Mr. R. Rundle (Liberal Churchman) 643.

In consequence of the Board adopting the principle of the twenty-fifth clause of the Education Act, which allowed the payment out of the rates of fees for indigent children in denominational schools, Mr. Serpell, who had been elected chairman, resigned his seat. The contest to fill the vacancy took place in November, 1872, and turned upon the clause. Mr. S. Elliott, one of a number of Nonconformists who had refused to pay the School Board rate on the ground of conscientious objection, was the candidate of the opponents; Mr. G. Jago, master of the Free School, the candidate of its supporters, chiefly Churchmen and Roman Catholics. The contest was exciting, but Mr. Elliott won by 1457 votes to 1280; and this was taken as deciding the controversy.

A preliminary educational census by the Board showed 3,114 children in the town between three and five, and 10,966 between five and thirteen. Upwards of 2,000 were not receiving any education.

On the completion of its sixth triennial term of office, in January, 1889, the Board had acquired or erected ten sets of schools—in Castle Street, Cattedown Road, King Street, Mount Street, Oxford Street, Palace Court, Sutton Road, Treville Street, Union Street, and Wolsdon Street; a truants' industrial school; and had established a higher grade school, a cookery school, and science and art classes. The total cost of building had been £64,062 2s. 11d.; and there was due on loans £54,701 16s. 2d. These buildings provided a total accommodation, at eight superficial feet per child, of 6975—as allowed by the Education Department of 6010. There were 6020 on the register, and the average attendance was 82·79 per cent. Mr. H. Soltau was the first clerk of the Board. On his resignation Capt. Pope succeeded. When he resigned Mr. E. Stribley was appointed, and on Mr. Stribley's death in 1889, Mr. Cook.

Higher and Special Education.

The provision for higher education in Plymouth is ample and excellent; and, in addition to the private schools, there are two proprietary establishments—the Plymouth High School for Girls, opened in 1874; and the Plymouth High School for Boys (Plymouth College), founded in 1877. The town is also an important centre for the modern systems of University Examination and Extension.

Art Schools and Science Classes have been carried on in Plymouth for many years with very marked success; and in 1887 it was resolved to celebrate the Queen's Jubilee by the erection of a suitable building for the purpose of Technical, Art, and Science Schools. Designs by Mr. Shortridge, architect, were approved on competition; the Town Council gave a part of the Cattle Market fronting on the Tavistock Road, for a site; and in 1889 memorial stones were laid by the Mayor (Mr. H. J. Waring) and Mr. T. Bulteel.

CHAPTER XII.

CHARITY AND PHILANTHROPY.¹

In Faith and Hope the world will disagree,
But all mankind's concern is Charity.
All must be false that thwart this one great end ;
And all of God that bless mankind or mend.—*Pope.*

Plymouth ! wherein from the remotest age
Which knew thee, Charity hath found her shrine,
May I not glory, hailing thee as mine ?
There still lives moist-eyed Pity to assuage
The pangs of misery, or soothe the rage
Of fierce disease—there ever stands the door
Of Mercy open to the houseless poor—
There's not a sorrow written in the page
Of human wretchedness, there's not a woe
But finds some gentle ministry.—*Gundy.*

The Hospital of Poor's Portion.

FROM the peculiarity of its origin the Workhouse of Plymouth claims place among the endowed charities of the town, though by no means senior in point of age.

In May, 1589, John Berry, of Plymouth, left (*a*) a house to Thomasine Collyn for life, charged with 6s. per annum to the relief of the poor; (*b*) lands and tenements which he had bought of Mr. Foster 'near Plymouth Church' to his kinsman, William Berry, of Bideford, Jane his wife, and their heirs; failing such heirs, in succession to Mark Berry, Thomas Berry, and Roger Berry, and their heirs male; and failing these, the reversion to the Mayor and Commonalty for the maintenance and relief of the poor for ever—this land was also charged while it continued in the Berrys with a second annuity of 6s. for the relief of the poor; (*c*) lands and tenements at the Southside which he had bought of John Amadas and Edmund Specott, in succession to Marke, William, Thomas, and Roger Berry and their heirs male

¹ The leading authorities for this chapter are among the muniments of the Corporation and the Board of Guardians.

(likewise charged with an annuity of 6s. for the relief of the poor), and the reversion as before to the Mayor and Commonalty for the maintenance and relief of the poor for ever.

By this will John Berry virtually became a principal founder of the Hospital of Poor's Portion.

Neither Mark nor William Berry had any male issue; Roger Berry died without issue; Thomas Berry had one son and two daughters. This son, Thomas Berry the younger, also died without issue, but left the property at the Southside to his wife and her heirs, considering himself the owner in fee-simple. Then the Mayor and Commonalty stepped in and claimed the reversionary rights; and the property was leased in 1626 by the widow, Elizabeth Berry, to Robert Trelawny and others for the use of the poor, on payment of £70. Disputes arose with the daughters of Thomas Berry the elder, but the Mayor and Commonalty sustained their claim; and this property (both *a* and *c*; for the house left to Collyn was also at the Southside) became a portion of the endowment of the Hospital of the Poor's Portion, the annuities merging. What became of *b* is not clear; but probably it also came to the Corporation. When the Hospital was built the Mayor and Commonalty claimed that it had been erected on their land.

There is a curious order in the *White Book*, setting forth that the three messuages and tenements on the site of which the Hospital had been erected were worth twenty marks a year in clear annual value. And whereas this was so, and whereas the Corporation were possessed of three closes of land containing about six acres, then in the occupation of Philip Andrews and Robert Barker, which closes were charged with the payment of £2 6s. 8d. yearly to the poor, it was agreed that this yearly payment should lapse to the Corporation in exchange for the Hospital site; and that if at any time the Court of Chancery, or such competent authority, should insist upon the payment of the rent-charge, the wardens of the Hospital should pay the Corporation £200. These three closes were in the hands of the Corporation, so charged, as early at least as 1612—two, adjoining the Mill Pool, in the occupation of Wm. Parker; one in that of Sir Warwick Hele.

Other properties then belonging to the poor, and subsequently in part transferred to the Hospital as endowment, were a tenement in High Street, and a piece of land on Crosse Downe (the Moore Splatt, of which more hereafter), in the occupation of Richard Hitchins, at a rent of 38s.; a tenement in Market Street (Whimple Street) and a garden in

High Street, rented by Wm. Pinsent, at 15s. (also transferred), and 'late White's tenement' in Old Town, rented by John Waddon, at 6s. 8d. Three rent-charges of 6s. each were then paid on the Berry property; and the total rental receipt was £6 4s. 4d.

Thus, early in the seventeenth century, there were in the hands of the Corporation of Plymouth various properties and rent-charges belonging to the poor, which they sought to make available in various ways. Moreover, the Poor Accounts, which begin in the year 1611, show that the poor funds were continually increased by small legacies, which, treated as capital instead of revenue, would have accumulated to a handsome sum.

One of the chief directions in which our Elizabethan ancestors sought to be charitable was that of 'setting the poore on worke'—finding employment for them if they could not find it for themselves; and out of an effort of this kind the Hospital of Poor's Portion developed. As early as 1597, we find the Corporation moving in this direction.

There is extant a petition by one William Woulfe, serge weaver, to the king, dated 1606, in which he complains that the Mayor and Aldermen of Plymouth had induced him nine years previously to come to that town from Exeter, to instruct twenty poor children in the art of spinning worsted. He avers that he was promised £50 for the first year, and £100 for the next, 'which some of a hundred pounds they then also promised to lend unto him for seven yeares then after the effecting the premises, and likewise promised him they would from tyme to tyme duringe the said terme at their costes and charges after the first yeare mayntayne the said 20 poore children with meat drinke and apparell; and likewise that he should have out of every shipp that belonged to the same which came from the Newfoundland 100 of fishe, and a house rent free.' The rejoinder of the Mayor and Aldermen was that Woulfe was a wasteful and untruthful person, and his charges 'most false.' Mr. Foynes had agreed to lend him £30 and no more (Foynes or Fownes was Mayor when the agreement was made), and the town to provide the children with apparel, and to give him a shilling a week for the diet of every child 'whom he should sett at work and instruct in his science.' Woulfe had wasted his £30 and was no longer able to put the children to work for want of credit.

In 1611 we find children placed with William Weekes to be trained in a similar way. And then a curious memoran-

dum in one of the old Corporate Apprenticeship Books, apparently in the handwriting of Matthew Boyes, the town clerk, records what appears to have been the first attempt to establish a workhouse, in the old castle—the work being picking oakum, knitting stockings, and weaving.

Such was the way in which the Mayor and Commonalty led up to the establishment of the Hospital of Poor's Portion. The foundation deed, executed by Sir John Gayer, Abraham Colmer, and Edmund Fowell, in performance of the trust reposed in them by the Corporation, is dated May 4th, 1630. The Hospital stood in Catherine Lane (now Street),



HOSPITAL OF POOR'S PORTION.

immediately south of the Orphans Aid, and bore over the entrance gateway the pious motto, 'By God's helpe throvgh Christ.' The regulations concerning religious teaching and exercises were very particular and strict. The management was vested in the Mayor and Magistrates (Aldermen) and Common Council.

As in the case of the Orphans Aid the necessities of the Corporation during the early part of the seventeenth century led them to borrow from the funds of the Poor's Portion, and the debt was dealt with in much the same fashion. Thus in 1658 an annuity of £30 out of the shambles for ever was settled on the Hospital, in consideration of £600. But the dealings with the Poor funds were never so extensive as those

with the Orphan; and the only money owing to this Hospital by the Corporation in 1685 was £129 17s. 3d., besides £100, the bequest of John Lanyon; and certain arrears of the rent charge of £30. The rent charge is still paid, though the old shambles have disappeared, but it goes to Hele's Charity, and not to the Poor's Portion, the £600 purchase-money being part of the funds arising from the Hele gift.

The Hospital ceased to be a private charity in 1708, when an Act of Parliament was passed creating the existing Corporation of Guardians, and transferring to them the Poor's Portion, with all the charitable trusts and gifts 'given, devised, or disposed in general terms for the use of the poor of the town, or of either of the parishes of St. Andrew and Charles.' The Act also provided that the names of all benefactors to the Workhouse should be inscribed in 'capital golden letters' for ever in the chief room; and that a moiety of the accumulated funds from fines, and of all future fines of the Hele estate, should be paid over to the Guardians.

This was the result of an arrangement between the Corporation, as managers of the Hospital; the Earl and Countess of Stamford and Sir John Hobart, representatives of Sir John Maynard, the last surviving trustee of Elize Hele; and the trustees of Hele's school, Sir Francis Drake, Recorder of Plymouth, Richard Opie, John Neele, Thos. Bound, and Joseph Webb, of Plymouth, merchants, and Edmund Pollexfen, late of the same, esquire. The Guardians as incorporated, were to consist of 'the Mayor and Recorder of the said town for the time being; six of the masters or magistrates of the said town; six more of the four and twenty or common council of the said town; and also twenty other persons to be chosen out of the ablest and discreetest inhabitants of the parish of St. Andrew within the said town, and eighteen others of the ablest and discreetest inhabitants of the parish of Charles within the said town.'

When the Poor's Portion was founded it was endowed with the Hospital Building; five messuages at the Southside—the Berry bequest; a messuage in Market Street (Whimble Street); a garden in High Street; other premises in Whimble Street; the 'Moore Splatt' north of Crosse Downe; and two messuages between the Hospital of Poor's Portion and the Hospital of Orphans Aid.

Of these a portion only remain. The Hospital and adjoining premises were sold, and their sites thrown into that of the Guildhall. The 'Moore Splatt' was utilized for the erection of the New Workhouse. All that is left of the

five tenements at the Southside now forms the site of Messrs. King and Pinkham's warehouse in New Street. The remainder was sold to the Commissioners of Improvement in 1853 for £400. The Commissioners likewise bought the first house named in Market Street in 1835. It was at the corner of Whimble and Buckwell Streets, and the price paid for the fee was £350. The garden in High Street has long ceased to be part of the Corporate estate. It was at the corner of Catte Street, and so early as 1641 Philip Francis built a house thereon. Francis by his will, August 6th, 1658, left an annuity of 40s. a year out of his house in



SEAL OF THE POOR'S PORTION.

'Foxhole,' and this may represent the garden rental. Moreover, Francis left all his lands of inheritance not otherwise disposed of, after failure of his right heirs, to the Mayor and Commonalty, for the use of the poor of the parishes of St. Andrew and Charles equally. The will was proved in 1668; but the poor have never been anything the better for the reversion. The remaining item of the original endowment is now represented by the Guildhall Wine Vaults in Whimble Street.

Other endowments in the hands of the Guardians include:

A house in North Street, occupying the site of three tenements, mentioned among the lands of the Hospital in 1641, and leased by Nicholas Sherwill to John Young in 1633. There is no trace of the manner in which this came to the Guardians.

A house in Looe Street, purchased, with two small houses communicating at the rear, by the Guardians, of one John Roberts, of Plymouth, tallow chandler, in 1722. The two houses in Batter Street were, by the operation of the life leasehold system, allowed to get so disgracefully into decay, that they were eventually pulled down by the Town Council as ruinous, and the sites thrown into the street, shortly after 1854.

The annuity of 40s. under the will of Philip Francis, charged on a house in Vauxhall Street, and paid in equal instalments by Mr. Bellamy and Mr. Treeby.

An annuity of 10s., paid by Messrs. Sparrow and Co. out of Fairpath Field, Cattedown. This represents a gift by Richard Raddon, presumably the Richard Raddon who, about 1589, built two houses on Friary Green, and obtained a lease from John Sparke. Nothing, however, is really known of the origin of this charge, which passed from the Mayor and Commonalty to the Guardians under the Act of Incorporation. In 1828 it was reckoned at 20s., two years in arrear, and charged upon three fields. Mrs. Julian, the owner of one part of the fields, was willing to pay her share; Mr. Langmead, the owner of the other part, refused to pay his, unless the Guardians could show their title. However, so late as 1850 the 20s. was paid—15s. by 'Peter Symons, of Stonehouse, out of Stone Park and little Foxes, Cattedown,' and 5s. 'Sir R. Lopes, remaining part of 20s. late Julian.' Half of this gift has therefore been lost since then.

Margery Row, by will October 1st, 1666, left the estate of Bridgemoor, St. Johns, to the Mayor and Commonalty, for the distribution by the overseers of the poor of 2s. in bread on Friday in every week, the residue to go to the increase of the stock for the use and maintenance of the poor of the borough for ever. It is probable that a portion of this property has been lost.

William Rowe (merchant), by will April 16th, 1690, left Shute Park, three acres three roods and twenty-seven perches, under trust for the distribution of the rents and profits in clothing yearly within ten days after the 25th of December. The rest of his property was devised to such charitable uses as his trustees and their heirs should approve. The Guardians, beyond the field, only obtained £100, the money and the land being handed over by John Crabb, trustee, in December, 1713; but it was not until 1816 that the directions of the testator were followed, the rents and profits up to that time being carried to the general fund of the Workhouse—to the relief, of course, of the ratepayers.

The original site of the Free School was alienated for 500 years at a rental of £10 a year, and in 1824 the rest of the available building land was let on lease for ninety-nine years for the erection of the cottage dwellings in Rowe and Glanville Streets; so that the annual produce of what was once four acres of land in a prominent locality in Plymouth became only £51 9s. 5d. The leases have proved to be informal, and hence disputes have arisen between the Guardians and the tenants, as yet unsettled. Some of the land appears to have been lost. The residue of the personal property of the testator beyond the £100 was invested in Consols. One of the objects specified by him for its application was the education and preferment of poor children.

Joseph Palmer, by will, September 12th, 1723, gave an annuity of 40s., to be distributed annually to the poor of both parishes for ever at 12d. per head.

Joseph Maddock, in 1727, bequeathed £1,500 to the poor of Plymouth, to be laid out in lands of inheritance, and the proceeds applied in the yearly distribution of clothing on November 1st, one-half to poor in receipt of relief, and one-half to poor not in receipt of relief. January 7th, 1729, £1,475 was laid out in the purchase of £1,400 South Sea Stock until suitable lands could be procured. As it remains so invested, the inference is that for the past 150 years no suitable property has come into the market. The produce of this £1,500 fell to £36 18s.

Sarah Webber, by will, October 24th, 1778, left 30, Bilbury Street, subject to a life annuity to Paul and Mary Chabot of 40s. a year, to the Guardians, for the benefit of the poor of the parish of St. Andrew.

The whole of these Charities are treated as part of the common fund in relief of the poor-rates, with the exception of William Rowe's and Maddock's, which are laid out in clothing; and 2s. a week out of the Bridgemoor rents, spent in bread.

When the Act of 1708 was passed, a number of private benefactions were given towards the new scheme, as recorded by tablets now in the ante-chamber of the board-room at the Workhouse, whilst in the board-room itself are the arms of between forty and fifty of the benefactors. Tablets and arms were removed from the old Workhouse. Thus we find the representatives at the time the Act was passed, Mr. Trelawny and Sir George Byng, giving £50 each; Mr. Joseph Palmer, £500; and a French refugee, probably as a thank-offering for the succour he had received, £10.

The poor increased, their maintenance became expensive, and the Guardians, before many years were over, found they could not make both ends meet. By 1758 they were £1,644 in debt, for which they had to pay interest, and were further liable for life annuities to the amount of £33, in respect of another £400 borrowed and spent. The annual excess of expenditure over income for the six years previous was £320. So the Guardians applied to Parliament for relief, setting forth their monetary straits, with certain difficulties which had occurred. One of these had regard to assessing 'lodgers or boarders, or any other persons than housekeepers in their own right.' In stating another grievance they afford a curious insight into some of the characteristics of Plymouth a century since. The summary way of dealing with vagrants then in vogue, the 'ablest and discreetest' of Plymouth evidently thought was not half summary enough. This special grievance was that by an Act passed a few years previously 'masters of vessels bound for Ireland, the Isles of Man, Guernsey, Jersey, and Scilly are obliged to take on board them respectively no more than one vagrant for every twenty tons burthen of their respective ships or vessels.' The ships bound to those places from Plymouth were mostly of small tonnage, by reason whereof 'vagrants whose last legal settlements are in Ireland, or one of the islands, are for want of timely opportunities of passage over to the said kingdom or islands, sometimes necessarily obliged to lie and continue for a long time in the said town and parishes of Plymouth, to the great burthen and charge of the said Corporation.' The question of legal settlement was not considered too nicely, when vagrants could be got rid of in this easy fashion.

The Act of 1758 provided for the relief of the Guardians by giving them power to raise £2,000 to pay their debts, by assessment within three years; to make a poor rate of £1,000 a year; to levy a distress upon negligent churchwardens or overseers; to compel masters of vessels to take on board one vagrant for every fifteen tons, instead of twenty; to receive the surplus of the land tax assessments then in the hands of several persons in the town;¹ and to be reimbursed out of the county stock, the expenses of sending to their homes the wives and children of soldiers and sailors left in distress at the port, by the departure

¹ This amounted to £800, and a tablet in the Workhouse records that this application of the money was due entirely to the efforts of Mr. Justice Tolcher.

abroad of their husbands and fathers, upon the Mayor and Commonalty paying £5 4s. 8d. as their proportion of every future county rate.

The continued increase of the town again threw the Guardians into difficulties. By 1786, when their next Act was passed, they were in debt £2,150, and had an excess of expenditure over income of £290. Power was therefore granted them to levy a rate of £1,500; and to obtain such additional sums as might be required, by certifying their necessities to the justices; thereafter certifying the rate proposed to raise the amount to the Mayor, Recorder, and Magistrates, who would authorise its collection.

In 1813 the fourth of the Acts by which the Incorporation is governed was passed. Debt had been again incurred, and the expenditure was largely in excess of the £1,500 which the Guardians could raise of their own motion. Power was therefore given them to raise £6,000 yearly, and to obtain additional sums, for which purpose the formal sanction of the Municipality was required. The date of the annual elections was changed from the second Tuesday in May to the second Wednesday; the appointment of collectors was authorised; more stringent regulations were made with regard to rating, and for the management of the poor; and the House of Correction within the Workhouse declared available for public purposes, including the custody of lunatics.²

Several additions were from time to time made to the Workhouse, the latest of consequence in 1833. All proving insufficient, it was decided in 1849 that the present Workhouse should be erected. The old premises were subsequently, after much delay, sold to the Corporation in 1857, as part of the site of the new Guildhall, for £3,250. The new Workhouse cost £12,000. The old Hospital was associated with many important events in the history of the town. Not a few violent contests for the election of members of Parliament—eight-day polls—were carried on there.

The Workhouse underwent stringent reformation a century ago. From its original character it gradually sank into 'a nest of vagabonds,' until Mr. Kevern, one of the Guardians, employed some of the people in spinning, which in three years produced £80. Industrious habits were gradually created, and at length, after a complete reformation of the concern, the paupers (among whom were numerous children who could not be placed out as apprentices owing to the general dislike to receive them in

² A Borough Lunatic Asylum is now in course of construction at Blacket, near Ivybridge, from the plans of Messrs. Hine and Odgers.

that capacity) earned by making their own clothes, bed woollens, blankets, and rugs, and providing the same for other charities, successively in three years £235, £160, and £116. At the expiration of the third year the idle and dissolute, in consequence of being kept at work, quitted the house, and the annual profit on labour declined until reduced to nothing.³

A curious system of voting, termed 'scratching,' was in use for many years in the election of the Guardians. A list of the candidates was written on a sheet of paper, and the voter made, or caused to be made, 'scratches' opposite the names of those whom he favoured. The oddest feature of the business was, that if a name were passed over the voter was not allowed to return to it. The first time probably for a century that the system had not been used was at Charles parish in 1871, when Mr. John Bayly, the chairman, decided that it was illegal, and took the votes by show of hands. In 1872 there was a return to the old system of election, and Mr. Bayly brought an action against one of the elected Guardians, Mr. Cousins, to test its validity. Scratching was then decided to be legal; but the Guardians in 1873 resolved that voters might 'try back.'

Finally, in 1879, scratching was done away with and the elections conducted under the provisions of the Union Act, the right to elect a contingent being taken from the Council, and given to the ratepayers and owners. Twenty-six Guardians were then allotted to St. Andrew parish, and twenty-four to Charles. The total number of papers counted at the first 'Union' election was 1,910 in St. Andrew, and 1,496 in Charles. Thirty-eight Liberals were returned to twelve Conservatives, the elections for many years having been mainly political. Since then St. Andrew parish has returned a preponderance of Conservatives, Charles of Liberals.

The Clerk of the Poor's Portion was originally resident, and the last who held office in that capacity was Mr. R. Burnard, the early friend and patron of Kitto. On his death a professional clerk was elected, Mr. J. W. Matthews, who was succeeded in 1879 by the present clerk, Mr. W. Adams.

The 'Almshouse of Plymouth.'

The 'Almshouse of Plymouth,' known in late years as the Corporation Almshouse and the 'Old Church Twelves' (simply because it stood by the Church in Catherine Lane,

³ BURT's *Review of the Commerce of the Port of Plymouth*, p. 151.

at the eastern end of the Municipal Buildings), is the most ancient charity existing in the town. It finds mention in the Corporation rental of 1491, in which the Wardens of the Almshouse (Custod dom^u Elosinar) are set to pay 2s. 4d. Some of its belongings formed part of the manorial property which passed to the Mayor and Commonalty from the Priory of Plympton; but whether the house itself existed before the Incorporation is uncertain. There are grounds for



SEMI-NORMAN ARCH.

believing that it did. Its destruction in 1868 revealed the semi-Norman arch now in the Plymouth Institution Museum, which no doubt formed part of the original church of St. Andrew. This would carry back the erection of the Almshouse to the date of the substitution of old St. Andrews by the present fabric, unless the arch formed part of another building in the interim. No doubt the Almshouse was the 'Hospitale House' mentioned by Leland 'on the north side of the chirche'; and as in the latter part of the fourteenth century Plymouth was a flourishing and wealthy town, it is

fairly probable that both the Almshouse and the Maudlyn were founded then. The Almshouse was well-to-do in the reign of Henry VII.; for against the 2s. 4d. paid by its wardens, the wardens of 'St. Andrew of Plymouth' paid 6d. only; those of St. Mary the same; the Fraternity of Corpus Christi, 1d.; and the Prysten House, which came nearest, 2s. 1d. There are other reasons for holding that even thus early it had been liberally endowed. The old papers of the Borough Court record at this date the existence of a toft in the south of Buckwell Street belonging to the Almshouse. An entry in the *White Book* sets forth that deeds of lands given by William Randall to the Almshouse were put into the Corporation chest September 26th, 1561. Moreover, 1st December following it was 'given to understand' that Johanna Lake had left the remainder of her lands to the Almshouse; also that 'Mother Hacker' had given a piece of land upon 'Crosse Downe' (it immediately adjoined the present Workhouse site, east and south) to the Almshouse after the death of Thomas Clowter; while Clowter gave the reversion after his death of a house at Briton Side.

And when four years later (1569) William Weeks, for reasons which do not appear, bound himself to make certain gifts to the town (including payments of £4 to some good use; of 20s. each to the poor men's coffer in the church and to the Almshouse; four good wainscots and 3s. 4d. towards making of 'pys' in the church; a pledge to maintain and repair during his life the 'cause' at Coxside which he had built; and further to leave 5s. to the poor people at the Maudlyn), he promised to leave 6s. 8d. a year, out of whichever house of his the Corporation might choose, either towards the repair of the Church or to the Almshouse, 'which ye like best.'

Curious references occur in an account of Nicholas Slanning, town clerk, against the Corporation in 1566, which deals mainly with expenses incurred about the Vicarage, but also touches the Almshouse. Ten shillings are paid to Mr. Peryam (William Peryam, who sat for the town in Elizabeth's first Parliament) for drawing a bill 'to be layd in the plyament howsse for the almeshowsse'; and Mr. Fletwoode has another 10s. for his services in connection therewith, including speaking 'in its favour in the howsse.' Moreover the 'sergeant of plyament' had 5s. (and subsequently a shilling more) to put the Speaker in mind of the Almshouse Bill. It does not seem that such an Act was actually passed.

The original Almshouse was an important building. It had a chapel, licensed by Bishop Lacy in 1450, '*capella hospitalis prope cimiterium ecclesiæ parochialis*.' Moreover, the site was much more extensive than the remnant which continued to the present generation,—including herb-garden, orchard, fields, and barn. An encroachment is specified in a lease granted in 1602 to Robert Trelawny, of two houses newly builded on part of 'the gardaine of the almshouse of Plymouth north of the same, adjoining the lane [Basket Street] leading from the West Churchyearde stile towards Stonehouse . . . and in the southside of the same waie in the west parte of the said churchyearde and of parcell of the Schoolehouse there.' For this a conventionary rent was apparently paid to the Charity.

An early benefactor of Plymouth was John How, priest. This is the name of the last Prior of Plympton, but there is no direct evidence to show whether the two are one; and a John How appears as paying 3s. 6d. in the old Town Rental already quoted. It seems probable, however, that the John How who founded the charities and the Prior are the same. The bill is still extant under his hand and seal, September 30th, 1563, in which How gives to John Derye, Mayor of Plymouth, and John Forde, Alderman:

These Pcells of goods here specified, to weite, one clothe of blew velvett imbredred w^t flowers of venys gold & silek. Also one white sute of vestymnts for priest diacon and subdiacon w^t one Cope of the same sute of silke. Also one red sute of vestymnts for priest diacon and subdiacon w^t x Copis of the same red sute. Also one other red sute of vestymnts for priest Diacon & subdiacon w^t one cope of the same sute, to this intent & ende that these forsaide pcells of goods may be solde by the said M^r John Derye & M^r John Forde. And that the mony recaved for the same goods be distributed vnto the power accordyng their wisdom and discretion.

A letter from How dated 'at M^r Willm hychyns howse at hawle the xxx of January'—the year not named, but addressed to Derry as Mayor, and therefore in 1564—thanks the Mayor and his brethren for their liberal gifts,⁴ and states that he had 'appoynted to disb^{us} twenty pounds in mony to be paid by you & yo^r towne to my frynd Nicholas Barfot to the intent that he shalbe one of them that shall ex^{cise} the crafte of clothe wevyng wⁱⁿ yo^r towne. And that he be bownd in forty pounds to pay an yerely rent to yo^r towne

⁴ There are entries of his being entertained, and presented with sugar and marmalade, &c.

of xxvj^s viij^d yerely to be paide, vntill suche tyme as the saide Nicholas his heirs executors or assignes make vnto yo^r toune a sufficient state of lands or rent of the clere yerely valew of xxv^s to the use of the pow^r. And that he be bownd to make that state wⁱⁿ xij yere next ensuyng.' A postscript says that it is to be specified in the covenant that the first quarter's payment of this rent is to be at the feast of the Annunciation, 1565. How wishes to be heartily commended to the Mayoress, and commends the Mayor 'to the grace of god which eu^more p^sue you.'

There is another letter of somewhat similar purport from How (27th April, 1565), in which he desires that out of his moneys the Mayor and Commonalty should advance (the letter is addressed to Derry and Ford) to his servants William Morgane and Richard Morgane, and to Stephen Hechings, £20 each, upon due security. They were to have these sums interest free for the first year; but each year thereafter were to pay £1 6s. 8d. until they should each assure 'unto you for the relief of the poor people' lands or tenements to the clear yearly value of 20s. for ever.

How died not long after this letter was written; for on the 21st September following, Robert Bekett, his executor, who lived at Cartuther, writes to the Mayor cautioning him against giving up 'cteyne Coopes' which 'crteyne men doe gredely seke to haue them out of yo^r possession,' and stating that he intended to see his friend's will carried out.

The final issue was the grant, October 3rd, 1566, by John Derye and John Forde to the Mayor and Commonalty, of £100, the proceeds of How's gift, on payment of £6 13s. 4d. annually to the widows of the Almshouse.

How had, however, previously given a large sum; for the *White Book* records, under date December 16th, 1565, that Richard Hooper (Mayor 1548-9, which may help to fix the date of this donation) and John Hooper were to make proper conveyance of How's gift of £8 a year, or to be handed over to Mr. Beckett's care. How was also the chief donor in 1560 towards the large bell for the town.

There are a few imperfect accounts of How's Charity during the reign of Elizabeth extant. In 1567 the total sum apparently amounted to £180. It has now for many years been represented by the payment by the Corporation of £14 13s. 4d., under two agreements, for the occupants of the Almshouse.

The oldest existing accounts of the Almshouse Wardens (1729) set forth the town rents 'allotted' by the Mayor and

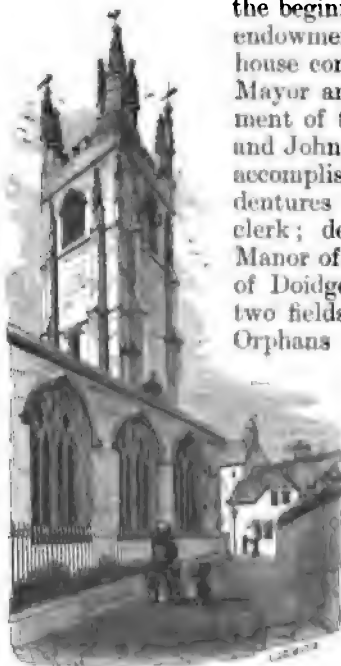
Commonalty towards the maintenance of the people in the Almshouse. But these rents were the rents of properties belonging to the Almshouse, and not to the Mayor and Commonalty at all; and while the Charity had to be content with these merely nominal yearly payments, the Mayor and Commonalty, long before that date, had learned to appropriate the fines levied for the granting of fresh leases, which in the aggregate were not less than £1,000 a turn!

From Town Surveys and other sources we find that during the seventeenth century the Almshouse estate comprised the following properties: Close at Coxside, $1\frac{1}{4}$ acre; Roper's Piece ('landscap land,' by the West Hoe); Mayes Cross; tenement at Underwood, in respect of which 3s. 4d. was paid to Mayor of Plympton; Tamelarie Closes (2) and Bickland, adjoining Cross Down, and an enclosed part of Cross Down; Almshouse Park and other closes at Borrington, 11 acres, 5s. high rent paid to Mr. Harris; and houses, &c., in Lynham Street (2), Stillman Street, Whimble Street, Patherick Street, Southside, Vennell Street, by the Almshouse (2), Tin Street (2), Treville Street, Green Street (2), High Street (2), Looe Street (2), Batter Street (4), near the Church Stile (4), Finewell Street, Briton Side, Hoe Lane, Buckwell Street, Woolster Street (2), Peacock's Lane, Kinterbury Street, and 'near the Old Castles,' formerly Mr. Sparke's.

Oliver Harry, of Plymouth, by will March, 1595, left small bequests to the poor people of the Almshouse and the Maudlyn. Edmund Fowell, in 1659, granted a rent-charge of 10s. for the Almshouse out of land adjoining the road leading from Hampton Shute to Plympton; John Lanyon, in 1674, left £50 to better its revenues, which cannot now be traced.

Under the Act by which the Guardians were incorporated (1708), it was provided that *all* the public almshouses in the borough should be transferred to that body: 'All and every the Alms-houses, or Houses commonly used for the Habitation of Poor People, lying within the said Borough or Town, as are belonging to the Mayor and Commonalty of the said Town, or to either of the said Two Parishes.' Nevertheless the Mayor and Commonalty have retained the 'Old Church Twelves'—though in a new form—as the sole illegal remnant of their charitable trusts. The reason for this retention, in direct defiance of the Act of Parliament, does not seem to have occurred to the Charity Commissioners. It is perfectly clear, however, when it is seen how valuable was the Almshouse estate, and how profitable its management to the Mayor

and Commonalty. To hand over the Almshouse would have involved the surrender of the property; for the pleasant fiction that the rents had been 'allotted' to the Charity would not have stood investigation. There being no transfer, there was no enquiry, and matters continued on the same footing. The properties were leased, commonly for ninety-nine years on lives, on substantial fines, for nominal rents, which latter were all that the Charity received. Thus at



CHURCH ALLEY AND ALMSHOUSE, 1860.

the beginning of the present century the endowments of the Corporation Almshouse comprised: '£6 13s. 4d. from the Mayor and Commonalty in accomplishment of their indenture with John Ford and John Dery (How's Gift); £8 for the accomplishment of another pair of indentures between them and John How, clerk; devisees of Mr. Clark for the Manor of Sutton Pill, 2s. 8d.; chief rent of Doidge's Garden, 6d.; annuity out of two fields late Gilwell's, 10s.; from the Orphans Aid for the Latin (Grammar)

School, £1 2s.; Rawlyn's Gift for butter on fish days, £3; conventional rents of small amounts for properties near the Church Stile, How Street, Woolster Street, Basket Street (four houses), Finewell Street, Reed's Garden, Buckwell Street, Batter Street, Tin Street, Synagogue, Colmer's Lane, Lower Street, Pike Street, High Street, Loader's Lane, Bilbury Street, Little

Hoe Lane, Tamalary Closes, May's Cross, Burraton, and Underwood.' These properties were treated as purely Corporate properties when the Municipal estates were sold, and the proceeds of the sales were put into the Corporation pocket. The rents, however, were regarded as a continuing liability. At present a definite sum of some £80 is annually paid out of the Municipal funds towards the support of the widows in the modern Corporation almshouses in Green Street. Moreover, the Municipality keep the entire block in repair.

Fownes's Almshouse.

Almshouses bearing the names of Fownes, Miller, and Pryn, were destroyed early in the present century. The foundation deed of Fownes's Almshouse exists in counterpart among the muniments both of the Corporation and the Guardians. Nevertheless no document relating to this Charity could be found to be produced before the Commissioners at their original enquiry. The Almshouses had been demolished, their sites sold, and the money appropriated to other purposes without legal authority, not many years before. The deed, dated 1628, recites that Thomas Fownes had lately created and 'new buylt the said Hospitall and Almshouse conteyning thirteene roomes.' The almspeople were to be elected by the Mayor and Commonalty, with the 'assent and agreement of Thomas Fownes and his heirs for ever; notice of every election being given 10 days prior at his dwelling-house in Vintry Street.' This Almshouse did pass to the Guardians under the Act of Incorporation. It lay between Bedford and Basket Streets, with a frontage of 54 feet to the former, and a superficies of 2,859, and accommodated twenty-four decayed and aged people. Having been suffered to become dilapidated, it was called a nuisance, and in 1808 was pulled down, and the ground sold for £500 to the Mayor and Commonalty, as portion of a site for the proposed hotel and theatre. When another position was chosen for this building, part of the site of the Almshouse was thrown into the street. The money is stated to have been laid out on the Workhouse; but the Charity Commissioners questioned the right of the Guardians to dispose of these buildings. The fabric was said to have been allowed to fall into decay because there was no endowment; nevertheless in September, 1656, we have Timothy Alsop acknowledging to the Mayor and Commonalty that he owed the Charity £100, with interest.

Miller's Almshouse.

The history of Miller's Almshouse is still worse. Alice Miller, about 1655 (in which year £10 was paid in lieu of stones promised her by the town towards building expenses), erected an Almshouse 'in the churchyard' (St. Andrew), containing ten rooms, for twenty people; and in May, 1660, endowed it with a rent charge of £10 a year, out of her estate at Broadley. Under her will, August 30th, 1664, she left Broadley, so charged, to her cousin, Richard Burdwood;

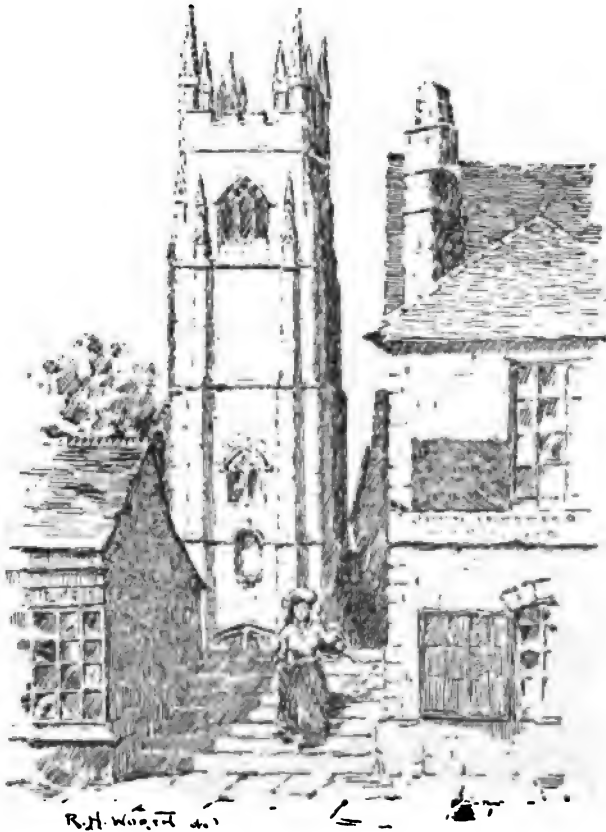
and in March, 1681, James Burdwood, his son and heir, the rent being in arrear, and the premises 'for the most part waste and unoccupied, and encumbered beyond the value of the inheritance,' conveyed the estate to the Mayor and Commonalty, when the proceeds were applied for the benefit of the almspeople. At the time the estate passed to the Guardians, under the Act of Incorporation, it was under lease to Richard Opie at £6 a year only; and notwithstanding this enormous depreciation in value since 1660, when the £10 rent charge left a surplus, the Charity Commissioners reported that there was no reason to believe any of the property had been lost. The minute books of the Guardians in later times contain numerous complaints of encroachment by the various lessees, who, subsequently to Opie, included other of the Burdwoods, Sir Masseh Lopes, and Sir Ralph Franco. No map, however, exists by which these points can be settled; and all that can be definitely said is, that a farm which was worth over £10 a year in 1660 could not have fallen to £6 in 1720 without loss or malversation of some kind.

Pryn's Almshouse.

Anne Pryn's Almshouse, adjoining Miller's, was erected in 1651-2; for in that year two elm trees were cut down in the churchyard, 'for the better building of Mrs. Prynne's Almshouse there.' The next year she is recorded as having left an annuity of 10s. a year, charged on a house in Notte Street, for the 'preching of a sermon yearllie for ever on the Third day of December in Remembrance of the Townes then deliverance from the enemie anno 1643'; and this amount was received by George Hughes. No information concerning this Charity was vouchsafed to the Commissioners, save the one fact that both Pryn's and Miller's houses were pulled down for the improvement of Bedford Street in 1791, the materials being sold by auction, and the trustees of the Stonehouse Turnpike giving £100 for the land. They were in part replaced by some small shops built against the churchyard wall, named Saffron Row, and the end of one of which is shown in the picture of the entrance to Catherine Lane from Bedford Street in 1837. The Commissioners questioned the authority to sell, but considered that the money received in this case, as in Fownes's, had been spent beneficially in building a school and an infirmary in the Workhouse. A committee minute of the Guardians avers, however, that the Pig-Market Almshouse (Fownes's) was re-

erected at the west end of the Workhouse Yard. £10 of the rent of Broadley is now applied to the occupants of the Almshouses in Green Street.

The destruction of these Almshouses was attended by unpleasant consequences to the occupants, who naturally were disinclined to leave the shelter to which they had as



ENTRANCE OF CATHERINE LANE FROM BEDFORD STREET, 1837.

good a right as the Mayor of Plymouth to his house. When Fownes's came to be destroyed, Mr. Henry Woolcombe wrote, on behalf of the Guardians, to the Corporation: 'Sunday noon, Jan. 3, 1808. . . . As I find I shall never get the inhabitants of Foyne's Almshouses to quit until they perceive that the building is actually taking down, may I beg the favour of your proceeding to do so forthwith? I will

inform the people to-morrow that on that day se'nnight the workmen will begin to take it down.'

With these facts before us, we may put a different value upon the work of the gentlemen who recorded their good deeds on the tablet in the old wall of the churchyard, and set forth at full length how they had 'beautified' the town by pulling down filthy and loathsome Almshouses. There is no readier way of getting rid of a charity than to neglect it until it falls into decay, and then to demolish it because it has not received attention.

New Church Almshouses.

The original New Church Almshouses in Green Street were founded by John Lanyon, who by his will, September 15th, 1674, gave £300 to the use of the poor people of Charles, for building an almshouse. The site was conveyed, October, 1678, by John Trelawny the elder to John Martyn and others acting on behalf of the Corporation, the cost being £50 3s. The Almshouses were built thereon, and conveyed by Martyn and his coadjutors to the Mayor and Commonalty, September 26th, 1680; and they remained so vested until the Incorporation of the Guardians. Lanyon's bequest being insufficient, £100 left by John Gubbs to the poor of Plymouth, and other monies, were applied to the same purpose.

Modern Almshouses.

After the demolition of the Almshouses of Miller, Pryn, and Fownes, there remained only the ancient Almshouse—the 'Old Twelves,' in Catherine Street, a small almshouse 'behind the Twelves,' belonging to the Guardians, and the 'New Church.' When, in 1868, the Guildhall site had to be cleared, and the Church Alley Almshouses removed, an arrangement was made by which the New Church Almshouses were rebuilt; and the Almshouses of the Corporation and the Guardians now form one block, with additional accomodation.

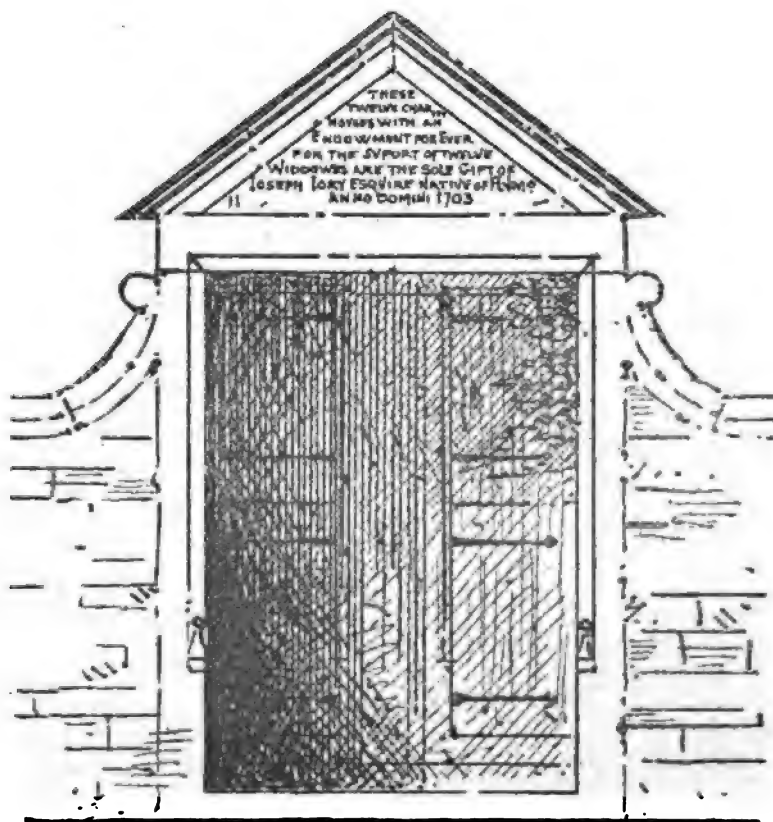
Jory's Almshouses at Coxside, a quaint if not picturesque range of cottages, were founded by Col. Joseph Jory, a native of Plymouth, in 1703, and liberally endowed.

Fox's Almshouses behind Sussex Terrace were established in 1834 by Francis Fox, for twelve aged women.

The Victoria Almshouses, Victoria Street, were founded by deed, February 2nd, 1844, by Mrs. Mary Granville Hodson, for natives of the parishes of St. Andrew and Charles.

General Endowed Charities.

We now come to the general endowed charities. In 1584 John White, citizen and haberdasher of London (a member of a Plymouth family of note, the donor of the 'Union' cup), made the Mayor and Commonalty his trustees in respect of the sum of £250, to be employed in making loans



GATEWAY OF JORY'S ALMSHOUSES.

for five years at 5 per cent. interest (half the current rate) to merchants between twenty-one and forty-one years of age. Of the interest, £3 each was to be paid annually to the Mayor and Burgesses of Liskeard, Truro, and Lostwithiel; to be applied in weekly gifts of bread to twelve poor people in each of these towns. The parson of each place was to have 16d. for his pains in distributing the bread every

Sunday in his church, and 6s. 8d. was to be paid to a preacher for preaching a sermon in the same parish church on or about the first Sunday in November. The balance accrued to Plymouth.

How long the loans may have been kept up it is difficult to say; but the Corporation had learnt to borrow the money themselves by October 12th, 1664, when it was ordered that £50, the residue of the legacy in hand, should be applied in defending the rights of the Commonalty to Sutton Pool. They admitted the liability in 1685, when £40 was out on loan, and they had £210 in hand for want of borrowers. The present payment by the Corporation under this head is £11 15s. annually.

An entry in an Apprenticeship Book—undated, but early in the seventeenth century—supplies a list of monies given to the poor of Plymouth from 1595:

Sir Francis Drake left £10 to the poor; £20 to the poor people of the Almshouse, to be paid in equal instalments over three years; and another £10 to be distributed at the discretion of the Mayor—£40 in all. Martyn White left £20. Walter Peperell gave £10, to be yearly paid. John Rewbie left £10. George Baron 20s. annuity, to be charged on his lands for ever. John Scoble, merchant, in 1591 gave £10, to be converted for the provision of [fire?] wood for the poor, yearly to be employed. Anthony Goddard left an amount not specified. John Phillips, merchant, gave £5. Sir John Trelawny left £15.

Thomas Middleton, merchant, of London, afterwards Sir Thomas, gave £20 to be converted for the provision of [fire?] wood for the poor, yearly to be employed. The Receiver's Accounts state that he paid £20 for certain godly uses in 1590-91; and according to a bond entered into by the Mayor and Commonalty, the £20 advanced by Middleton was given in trust for the redemption of articles pawned by people too poor to redeem the same, and for the extension of the terms for which money had been lent thereon.

This list does not include a legacy of £50, and an annuity of £10, left under the will of Sir John Hawkins at his death in 1595. £4 15s. was paid to Matthew Boyes, in 1598-99, for 'making and seekinge' this bequest; but its payment cannot be traced. The £50 might easily escape notice, as it would not, unless attended by exceptional circumstances, be carried into the general accounts; but it is not easy to see how all mention of the annuity should fail, if received. On the other hand the memorial verses placed on the cenotaph

of Hawkins, in St. Dunstan's-in-the-East, by his widow, speak of the poor of Plymouth as benefited by his 'great and gracious legacy.' As she puts it, they

Have had, now have, and shall have,
Many a crown.

Revel's Gift, otherwise the Underwood Charity, consisted of a rent-charge of 13s. 4d. on Tierney's field, of which 9s. 4d. went to Plymouth, and 4s. to Plympton. In 1762 this field was called Dunstone Hill, and was in two ownerships. The total area was two acres forty-three perches. In 1819 it was said to be held by a Mr. Kingdon, under the Mayor and Commonalty; and the Charity was stated in a return of 1786 to be the gift of John Revel. Whether this be so or not there is an odd entry in the earliest extant Poor Accounts, of 1612, repeated in subsequent years, that Wm. Reve, of Plympton Mary, had the use of 40s. given by John Revel, whose will was that William Reve should have the same. Reve did not, however, pay anything for interest, and John Revel's name does not otherwise appear; nor can any payment in respect of his legacy have been included in the rents. Again, we find that in the early part of the seventeenth century, the Corporation had a messuage, tenement, and garden, with two pieces of land and appurtenances at Underwood. And Dorothy Revel, October 4th, 1661, left the Mayor and Commonalty £20 to be lent out at interest, and the proceeds to be given to poor widows who had been formerly housekeepers, and who were not inmates of the Almshouses, on the first of January in each year for ever.

William Hils, Plymouth, merchant, July 30th, 15 James I. (1618), left to the Mayor and Commonalty an annuity of 52s. out of two messuages adjoining Southside Quay, 'commonly called the Sampson,' and a courtlage. For this they were to give on every Sabbath-day, immediately after morning prayer, 'one dozen of middle sort of penny loafe wheaten bread comonly called cheat bread' to the poor in most need, to be distributed by the churchwardens and overseers, under the direction of the Mayor and Justice. Payment commenced the same year, and continues.

April 10th, 1624, there was received £20, the bequest of Robert Cowche of Moteley, 'w^hin the pish of Plymouth,' to the Mayor and Commonalty for the use of poor artificers, to be lent to them gratis year by year for ever. This has disappeared.

In the accounts of money collected in aid of the sufferers by the plague of 1625 there is reference to a receipt of £20 as part of a legacy left by Thomas Brockadon.

Mark Cottell, of Cricklade St. Mary, in Wilts, by will of March 8th, 1626, probate of which was granted in the following year, left to the town of Plymouth (where his father had sometime dwelt and was buried) £50 as a stock, the interest of which was to be distributed annually—one half to the poor and sick on St. Mark's day, with a noble to some learned preacher for preaching a sermon on the same day; and the other half every year in the week before Christmas. This Charity has disappeared, but it may be included in the Poor's Portion.

In February, 1628, Robert Trelawny and John Clement had livery and seisin for the Mayor and Commonalty of four houses in New Street, feoffed by Sir Thomas Wyse of Sydenham, and Sir Samuel Rolle of Insworth. This arose out of a bequest by Benjamin Baron, merchant, of London, of £100 to the Mayor and Commonalty of Plymouth, that they should pay yearly 40s. to the parson and churchwardens of Bickington, to be given to the poor of that parish within fourteen days in bread, shoes, and stockings; also 20s. to be distributed in white and wheaten bread to the poor of Plymouth; the residue of the £100 to make a stock to set and keep the aforesaid poor people of Plymouth 'on worke.' The £2 have continued to be paid by the Corporation to the authorities of Bickington, but as far as Plymouth is concerned the Charity has disappeared; and a curious fact is, that in 1655 and some subsequent years £20 is said to be paid under the head of 'Mr. Baron's annuity' to a certain Mistress Hunt. The receipts were insufficient for this purpose, and the Mayor and Commonalty had to make up the deficiency.

John Scoble, in December, 1629, bequeathed 1s. 6d. weekly to the poor of the town, during the lifetime of his wife, Elizabeth Scoble. He had then left Plymouth, and gone to reside at Wickhampton, in Dorset. She, in October, 1631, bequeathed this sum for ever, to be distributed in bread weekly; and her daughter, Johane Cole, wrote to the Mayor, November 2nd, 1641, that the charitable work begun by her father, and continued by her mother, should not through her neglect 'falle to the ground, but shall rather by me receave enlargement.' The accounts of the poor fund show that Elizabeth Scoble commenced payment in 1630; and it was afterwards continued by Cole. It cannot now be traced.

In 1631-32 John Bound paid £40 for a grant in fee farm, and gave the town an annuity of 6s. 8d. for ever. Under his will, April 30th, 1642, he gave an annuity of 20s. out of Thistle Park, which was increased by his son Thomas to 40s., and continues.

At this date, too, £1 yearly was paid to the poor out of the 'Sheaf.'

Hugh Willan, sailor, August 24th, 1644, left all the monies owing to him to the poor of Plymouth.

Robert Trelawny, under his will of August 24th, 1643, made important bequests for charitable purposes, which came to nothing, in consequence of his dying in prison a Royalist, with his estates under sequestration. Besides £200 towards the building of Charles Church, he bequeathed £600 to the town of Plymouth, on security being given to his heirs for the annual payment of £30. A sermon was to be preached on his birthday, March 25th, in St. Andrew, by the Vicar of St. Andrew or Charles, exhorting people to works of piety and charity; and on the same day the £30 was to be distributed by the Mayor and Trelawny's heir male, or his deputy, as follows: 40s. to each of the Vicars; £20 to a maid servant of spotless character, that had lived in Plymouth with one master or mistress five years or more, 'none but maides are hereof capable'; £5 to a young sailor who had served faithfully five years or more of his apprenticeship in Plymouth; 10s. to the town clerk for keeping the account; to the eldest sergeant, 5s.; and the sexton, 5s. The gifts were to be given on nomination, by the heir, Mayor, and Magistrates, by drawing lots, Trelawny's heir being the drawer; and every third year the heir male was to distribute the £25 to 'any of my bloud and poore kindred that he pleaseth.' Other charitable bequests affecting Plymouth were £10 to the poor of Plymouth; 40s. to the poor of Pennycross; £20 to the Poor's Portion; £10 to the Orphans Aid; £10 to the Alms-house.

Sir John Gayer, of an old Plymouth family of note, whose will was proved in 1657, left £500 to glaze all the glass windows in the New Church with good plain glass and strong lead, his arms to be set in the last; the residue to be laid out in land by his cousin John Maddock. Part of the rents were to be paid for preaching twelve sermons a year in the New Church, before the administration of the sacrament—13s. 4d. to the preacher, 2s. to the curate or reader, 1s. to the clerk, and 1s. to the sexton for tolling the bell to give notice. The minister was to be chosen by the Mayor and

Magistrates (Aldermen), and six of the testator's kin. The residue of the rents (10s. excepted, for a collation of wine and cakes at the distribution) to buy broad cloaths and kersies, 'died into a sadd hair colour,' for outward garments for poor people, to be yearly distributed in October.

The land acquired was the estate called Tor or Oaten Arishes, in the tithing of Western Peverell, the rents of which are duly devoted by the Municipal Charity Trustees to the general purposes set forth in the will, though of course the 'minister' is no longer chosen in the manner directed by the Puritan knight. The Vicar gets £8 annually, and the clerk and sexton £1 4s.

Burrough's gift consists of £18 out of the tithes of Egg Buckland and St. Budeaux, and was not founded by John Burrough, as the Charity Commissioners of 1820 thought, but by a certain Mistress Burroughs, to provide clothing for the poor (the Corporation used to spend it on official uniforms). There is an entry in the Receiver's Accounts of 1653-54 of £2 10s., spent on a banquet for 'Mrs. Trosse, daughter of Mrs. Burroughs of the city of Exon, and her Companye.' This Mrs. Burroughs was Rebecca Burroughs, widow of Walter Burroughs (or Borough), twice Mayor of Exeter. He was, during his lifetime and by will, one of the greatest benefactors the city ever had; and she followed his excellent example. There is no direct evidence that she was the founder of the Plymouth Charity; but the inference that she was so can hardly be resisted. This continues.

Moses Goodyear, merchant, left under will, in 1663, two sums of £50—one to the Hospital of Poor's Portion, and the other to the Old Almshouse, his direction being that these sums should be laid out in the purchase of freehold lands for these two Charities. Nothing is now to be traced of this bequest.

John Hill, in 1672, gave £50 to the Mayor and Commonalty in consideration of the payment by them of 52s. yearly for ever, to be spent in the distribution of twelve penny wheaten loaves every Sunday morning at St. Andrew. This payment is still made.

Charities founded by John King, Mayor in 1659-60—£100 to be kept as a stock and the interest given in bread; and by Stephen Ollivier, merchant, of Exeter in 1668, of 2s. to be given weekly in wheaten bread; have long disappeared.

Kelway's charity was founded in 1732 by will. It was essentially a family endowment. Three thirty-fourths of the income were apportioned to the donor's relatives; the

remainder in bringing up, apprenticing, &c., the children of such relatives, and in default thereof children of Plymouth and Saltash.

The most liberal benefactor of modern Plymouth was Mr. Jacob Nathan, a native of the town, who in addition to various sums of money to Hebrew charities added largely to the endowments of the principal local charitable institutions, bequeathing in all nearly £17,000.

Under the operation of the Municipal Reform Act the management of the Municipal Charities of the Corporation was transferred to a body of trustees specially created (to whom Mr. Edmund Pridham is clerk). With them it remains; and the Corporation are now held responsible for a capital sum of £525, and an annual payment of £25 7s., made up as follows: White's Gift, £11 15s.; Hewer's, £4; Baron's, £2; Collins's, £2 10s.; Hill's, £2 12s.; Ackerman's, £2 10s.

The Corporation have one charity under their control, that of John Oxenham, who in 1876 left his property to the Mayor and Corporation that the income might be given away to poor people. Part of his bequest failed under operation of the statute of Mortmain, but £745 8s. 11d. was received, now represented by £753 8s. 7d. 2½ per cents. The interest, £22, is given away half-yearly—in January in coals, and in July in bread.

There are in addition to the foregoing a number of endowed parochial charities, mostly of small amount. They include—

St. Andrew.—Sir John Acland (1619), rent-charge of £2 12s.; and the interest of money invested in Consols given by John Morshead (1750), Eleanor Huxham (1796), Hurst and King, Northcote (1836), Williams (1836)—distributed in bread or bread and flour. The dividend on £706 8s. stock, left by Samuel Addis, forms part of the salary of the organist, and rent-charges of 5s. on a field north of the Friary and 6s. 8d. upon a house in Vintry Street, are applied to Church purposes.

Charles.—The bread charities here comprise the interest of money invested in Consols given by Morshead (1756), Stevens, Acland (1843), Mrs. Hodson, Morris (1828), Lucy Moore (1846). The interest of money given by Elizabeth Chapman (1791—£80, applied in enlarging the burial ground) and Mrs. Sutton (1795), are distributed in linen. Money gifts are made from the Bruce Charity, originally £150, partly applied to the Household of Faith; and Huxham Charity, originally £600 Consols, out of which £2 8s. is paid annually to St. Andrew. In 1870, Mr. J. Williams, of

Chudleigh, formerly of Plymouth, left £500 for the poor of each parish.

The tithing of Weston Peverell has three charities producing £4 a year; Rawlins's gift of 10s.; John Harris's (1725) £2 10s., charged on the Barton of Pennycross; and £1 from the charity of £3 annually founded by Mrs. Johanna Knighton, in the parish of St. Budeaux. The tithing of Compton Gifford has three charities producing £12 annually: Rawlins's of £2; Rebecca Shaw's (1807) £5, interest of £100; and Sarah Hancock's (1811) of a similar amount.

Such are the specially endowed charities of the town of Plymouth. There remain to be noted the great associated philanthropic institutions; nearly all of which have sprung up within the present century, and have something in the way of accumulated funds or permanent investment.⁶

Public Dispensary.

The Public Dispensary originated in 1798 with Mr. Charles Yonge, an eminent medical man of the town. Its first quarters were in the old Mayoralty House, Woolster Street, whence it moved to premises in How Street, then How's Lane. In 1804 the site upon which the present capacious building stands was purchased, but it was not until 1807 that the committee were able to proceed with the works. In that year Mr. Yonge left the Institution a legacy of £1,000. The building was opened in 1809. An excellent portrait of the founder, by Northcote, hangs in the governors' room.

South Devon and East Cornwall Hospital.

The South Devon and East Cornwall Hospital is an offshoot from the Dispensary. The court of governors of that charity, 'encouraged by the liberal donations already made, and their rapidly increasing subscription list, pur-

⁶ The Charity Commissioners, in 1865-7, put the total income of the endowed charities within the borough and the tithings of Compton Gifford and Weston Peveril at £3,649 9s. 11d. At the first inquiry it was £3,028 16s. 3d. These charities were apportioned thus: Education, £2,106 12s. 8d.; apprenticing and advancement, £561 15s. 5d.; clergy, lecturers, and sermons, £9 4s.; church purposes, £21 15s. 6d.; almshouses, &c., £545 10s. 5d.; articles in kind, £237 18s. 9d.; money, £76 17s. 4d.; general uses of the poor, £77 13s. 10d. The chief difference since then has been caused by the bequests of Mr. Oxenham and Mr. Williams, and by the change of the investments in the funds from 3 to 2½ per cents.

chased a piece of ground adjoining Sussex Place, Princess Square, as the most eligible site for a building to answer the joint purpose of the existing dispensary, and a general hospital for in-patients.' The amalgamation was never carried out, and the Hospital became a distinct undertaking. The original building in Sussex Place was designed by Mr. Wightwick. The Rev. J. Hatchard laid the foundation stone of the central block August 6th, 1835; and it was opened in January, 1840. Wings were subsequently added in 1852 and 1863, and a children's ward in July, 1868. As time went on the demands on the accommodation became greater, and the defects of the building more apparent; and at length it was resolved to take the bold step of erecting an entirely new set of buildings on the best available site, in the Greenbank Road. Hence Plymouth now possesses one of the finest provincial hospitals in the kingdom. The foundation stone was laid July 22nd, 1881, by the Earl of Mount Edgcumbe, and the building opened in 1884. The total cost was £38,696 16s. 11d.; the whole of which, with the exception of £4,500 from the sale of the old buildings, and £1,000 taken from the investments, was raised by subscription. Mr. W. H. Alger was the Honorary Treasurer, and Mr. J. Walter Wilson the Honorary Secretary, during this arduous period. The endowments in possession and reversion approach £25,000; and Hospital Sunday and Saturday collections realize annually a sum of about £1,400.

Eye Infirmary.

Dr. J. Butter and Dr. E. Moore were in 1821 the founders of the Eye Infirmary. At first a small house in Westwell Street was rented for its operations; but eventually the front portion of the present building in Millbay Road was adapted to the purpose. The wing in Buckland Street was added in 1867. In 1854 a portrait of Dr. Butter by Lucas, of London, was placed in the Infirmary; a salver was presented to the Doctor at the same time.

Orphan Asylum.

The Devon and Cornwall Female Orphan Asylum, in Lockyer Street, was established in 1834. In May, 1841, the foundation stone of the present building was laid by Sir Ralph Lopes, M.P., Mr. Wightwick being the architect. There is room for seventy children.

Blind Institution.

The South Devon and Cornwall Institution for the Blind dates from 1859, Mr. James Gale, himself blind, being one of the chief promoters. It long occupied premises in Cobourg Street, until, in 1875, the present building, at North Hill, was erected from the designs of Mr. Snell.

Rescue Work.

'Rescue' work began by the establishment of the Female Penitentiary, now in Ham Street, in 1832. The Refuge, since connected with the Abbey, was started in 1850, and held for ten years at Barley House, near the spot where King Street Wesleyan Chapel now stands. The Plymouth Female Home, now joined with the Penitentiary, dated from 1861.

Miscellaneous Charities.

The Plymouth Sailors' Home has been founded some forty years. There was once much controversy concerning its right to a legacy left by Admiral Harcourt to the Sailors' Home at Plymouth. Devonport as a naval station having been until 1843 officially styled Plymouth, and the Admiral having shown much interest in the Sailors' Home there, it was argued that he meant that institution instead of one which was specially intended for merchant seamen. However, Plymouth retained the money.

During recent years the philanthropic activity in Plymouth has been very great. Scores of organizations are at work, in various directions, in connection with the churches and chapels. Other societies of a more general character include: The Devon and Cornwall Industrial Training Ship; the Devon and Cornwall Certified Industrial School for Girls; the Friendless Girls' Help Association; Kitto Institute; Mendicity Society; Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals; Devon and Cornwall Homœopathic Hospital; Ear and Throat Hospital; and Dental Hospital. Temperance work has been carried on in many ways ever since the formation of the first Temperance Society in 1832.

CHAPTER XIII.

TRADE, COMMERCE, AND MANUFACTURE.

The band of commerce was designed
To associate all the branches of mankind ;
And of a boundless plenty be the robe.
Trade is the golden girdle of the globe.
• • • • Art thrives most
Where commerce has enriched the busy coast ;
He catches all improvements in his flight,
Spreads foreign wonders in his country's sight ;
Imports what others have invented well,
And stirs his own to match them or excel.—*Cowper.*

Early Commerce.

THE historic foundation for the trade of Plymouth¹ is the finding of the jury empannelled by Robert Bondyn, Sheriff of Devon, in 1318, that before the foundation of the ville of Sutton fishermen were accustomed to resort to a certain place there, to dry their nets and sails, and to expose fish for sale, on the payment of 12d. a year, and 1d. on each basket sold. This fairly agrees with the oft-cited statement of Leland, that in the reign of Henry II. (1154–1189), Plymouth was ‘a mene thing as an Inhabitation for Fischars, and after encreasid by a litle and a litle.’

The growth of Plymouth during the early years of the fourteenth century, must have been marvellously rapid. In 1311 an Act of Parliament declared Plympton, Modbury (representing the trade of the Erme), Newton Ferrers, and Yalemouth, to be members of the port of Sutton. But for many years afterwards, certainly through the reign of Edward III., the customer of the river of Tamar, whereof Plymouth was originally a member, had his residence at Saltash. Fowey was then head port of Cornwall, a position which Plymouth subsequently took; and in the closing years of the fourteenth, and opening years of the fifteenth centuries, we find Plymouth

¹ The great bulk of the materials for this chapter comes from the Municipal Records.

and Fowey most intimately associated, the same controllers and customers commonly acting for both—the latter chiefly selected from the local merchants. There are among our fifteenth-century collectors—Wm. Bentley, Richard Denzell, John Cory, John Cokworthy, John Serle, Thomas Pilkington, Thomas Treffry, John Scott, Vincent Pittesleden, William Spenser, Dionis Bampton, W. Hertiside, Thomas Tregaye, Walter Copleston, Peter Carsewelle; and among the controllers William Santon, Richard Weye, and John Pylle. In 1495 John Monkeley was havener. Of the great importance of the commerce of both ports in these early days there is the strongest evidence in the contingents each furnished to the famous siege of Calais, in 1346.

Customs Grant.

In the opening years of the fourteenth century Plymouth had an active trade with France. It was to Sutton that, in the years 1317–18, the glass for glazing the Lady Chapel at Exeter Cathedral was brought from Rouen. Corn and wine were among the chief items of import. In 1360 royal permission was given to the merchants of Plymouth to traffic with Portugal; and Plymouth, the chief port for trade with Bordeaux, soon became the favourite harbour for vessels from the northern ports of Spain. Richard II. granted a scale of customs to the 'Mayor and Bailiffs, honest men and Commonalty,' for the purpose of fortifying the town, which enumerates among articles of commerce—wine, honey, mead, cloth, linen, canvas, skins, hake, pilchards, salt, coals, herrings, iron, cheese, soap, wax, corn, boards, pitch, and tar, slates, tiles, hemp, and cord; besides dues on fishing-boats of 12d. a year; 6d. on ships 'bearing batell or cokett,' 4d. if not; and on brewhouses of 1d. annually. And in the same reign we find something like a bonded warehouse established, Parliament declaring that merchants and mariners coming 'to a place called Conners, in the island of St. Nicholas, shall not pay any duties on their merchandise unless it is exposed for sale.'

Another proof of the extent of the commerce of Plymouth in the fourteenth century—since its population depended on its trade—is its contribution in 1377 of £80 12s. 4d. to the poll tax, showing an inhabitancy of 7,000, against £26 for Exeter and £8 8s. 8d. for Dartmouth. Bristol paid £105 15s., York £120 16s., and London £388 11s. 4d., and these were the only places with a greater population. Devon paid £760 11s., with a taxable inhabitancy of

45,635. Its relative wealth is also seen in the payment of £34 12s. 8d. to the 'tenth and fifteenth' of 1374, out of £953 15s. levied for all Devon.

'Ruynes and Decaye.'

What led to the falling off in the prosperity of the town at the close of the fourteenth and opening of the fifteenth centuries we cannot say (unless it were the damage done by the French in their descents); but when, in 1464, the Corporation petitioned for the reduction of the rent paid the Priors of Plympton, they piteously declare: 'the Boroughe and towne is fallen into great ruynes and decaye, and so like to contynewe in decaye, if that the same Boroughe and towne be not shortlie relieued or otherwise p'uided for.' And then they cite the

great and intollerable charges and coste, as well by the adventure of the sea and otherwise, by the Inhabitants of the same Boroughe and towne sustayned within these few yeres, to the valew of Tenn thousand ponde and above, as the great and intollerable charge that the said May^r and Coyaltie and their Successors have had in tymes past, and hereafter shall have, and be putt vnto, for the yerelie mayntenaunce and safeguard of the said Boroughe and Towne, and the port of the same, w^{ch} is one of the most principall and fayrest ports at this tyme within this Realme, and the kaye and onlie defence of all the Covntrie thervnto adioyning, and necessarie to be kept and mayntayned as well in tyme of peace as of warre.

Shipping Returns.

In 1437, as appears by an old customs book of Plymouth in the Public Record Office, the oldest preserved, sixty-five cargoes were imported into Plymouth. Guienne, Landerneau, Brest, Guerrande, Oporto, Lisbon, Norway, Denmark, Holland, Genoa, Dusan, and Spruce, each sent ships hither; and London, Dartmouth, Guernsey, Exmouth, Fowey, and Exeter among home ports. The local vessels mentioned are—the *George*, *Mary*, *Catherine*, *Antony*, *Margaret*, and *Christopher* of Plymouth; the *Julian*, and *Richard* of Stonehouse; the *Christopher* of Millbrook; the *Margaret* of Yalmouth; the *Catherine*, *Thomas*, and *Mary* of Landulph; the *Richard*, *Christopher*, and *James* of Saltash; and these sixteen ships brought twenty-eight cargoes. The leading local merchants were—Robert Folthym, John Nigholls, John de la Lande, Thomas Hoker, William Pollard, Walter Clovelly, Stephen Chapman, Peryn Thomas, John Shippeley, Thomas Bythman, John Pagnell, Walter Facey, Thomas Gille, John Martyn,

Thomas Pyppe, John Seeley, John Halbye, John Facey, T. Glede, Thomas Smyth, Fardell, Thyche, Caskes, and Hall. In 1450 the customs of Plymouth and Fowey contributed £40 a year to the 'despences' of the Royal household; those of Exeter and Dartmouth, £50; while Bristol figured for £266 13s. 4d.; and Hull for £400.

The materials for tracing the progress of the commerce of the port are scanty until comparatively recent times. The spirit of adventure, first developed under Henry VIII., and raised to its highest pitch under Elizabeth; the North American trade in the earlier years of the seventeenth century; the general colonial traffic of the eighteenth—these, each in turn, were the cause of great activity and the source of much wealth. But every now and again war intervened to check the arts of peace, and to turn the attention of the local merchants and shipowners to privateering—nothing loth. The Municipal Records afford a few inconsecutive glimpses of the course of commercial events, though for the most part of little value in this regard.

Thus the Tonnage Dues received by the Mayor, at 1d. a ton, for the foreign and alien ships that came within the Pool, from 1514 to 1582 ranged from nothing up to £4 5s. 5d. a year, and never seem to have really formed an important item of the town revenues. A calculation made by one William Borrowes of the probable proceeds of a tax of 3d. a ton on all shipping passing from the town for every voyage (which he proposed should be levied for the purposes of the Castle), as not exceeding £40 or £50 a year, makes the total taxable tonnage at the commencement of the seventeenth century between 3,000 and 4,000 tons only. The import of coals, however, he puts at 10,000 chalders.

We find that in the year Michaelmas to Michaelmas, 1571–2, there were sixty-nine ships belonging to Plymouth—One of 100 tons; two of 80; three of 60; four of 50; eleven of 40; two of 35; seven of 30; five of 25; twelve of 20; three of 16; four of 15; three of 12; eleven of 10; and one of 6 tons. Bristol and Southampton had fifty-three each.

In 1623, 195 vessels paid moorage varying from 4d. to 2s., Scotch ships coming next to the English, then French and Flemish, with several Jersey craft and a couple of Danes.

Town Customs.

The Town Customs in 1623 yielded £20 12s. 5d. Malt, barley, wheat, peas, rye, and salt paid $\frac{1}{2}$ d. a qr.; hops,

canvas, 2d. a hundred; cloth, 4d. a piece; wine, 6d. a tun; beef, 6d. a tun; sugar, 4d. a chest; dry-fish, 3d. a thousand; salt, 1d. a ton; coals, 1d. a wey or chaldron; herrings, 6d. a last, $\frac{1}{2}$ d. a barrel; 'kerses,' $\frac{1}{2}$ d. a piece; hides, 1s. a hundred; tar, 6d. a last; vinegar, 2d. a tun; iron, 4d. a ton; oakum, 1d. per cwt.; healing-stones (slates), $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per thousand; tallow, 2d. per hundred; 'trayne' (oil), 4d. a tun, 1d. a hogshead; 'caske,' 1d. a ton. Quantities levied on: 70 tons 3,933 qrs. salt; 234 chal. 131 weys coal; 27 last 160 barrels herrings; 352 qrs. malt; 167 qrs. barley; 60 qrs. wheat and peas; 25 qrs. peas; 176 qrs. rye; 27 hundred hops; 60 hundred tallow; 388 thousand healing-stones; 154 thousand dry-fish; $1\frac{1}{2}$ tuns wine; 7 tons beef; 15 hundred canvas; 5 chests sugar; 17 pieces cloth; 6 tons 'caske'; 15 hundred hides; 9 last tar; 12 tuns vinegar; 12 tons iron; 3 tuns 10 hogsheads 'trayne'; 50 'kerses'; 28 hundred oakum. The cloth and nearly all the salt came from France; the 'wey' coal from Wales; the 'chaldron' Newcastle.

These Customs had been farmed by Thomas Edmonds, father of the statesman of that name, in 1568-9 for £5 a year. The increase thence was very slow. And when in 1634 Devonshire was ordered under the Ship-money writs to furnish a vessel of 400 tons, Plymouth was only assessed at £185 0s. 8d., while Plympton St. Mary had to pay £184 16s., and Barnstaple £252 4s. 8d. But in the following year, when £9,000 was demanded of Devon for a ship of 900 tons, Plymouth had to pay £190 against Exeter's £350, while Barnstaple went back to £150, and Plympton to £35.

The Town Custom had a singular course. In 1659-60 it was £77 8s. 4d. In 1665-6 it touched £239 2s. 4d., the highest figure reached. Then it oscillated a while between £60 or £70 and £150; and in 1680 commenced a steady decline, which brought it by 1690 to little more than £6. In 1696-7 it rose to £70, but when the eighteenth century opened it was all but *nil*. The quaysage of the town quay rose from £12 16s. 9d. in 1669-70 to £25 15s. in 1699-1700. No doubt special causes were at work beyond the ordinary course of trade.

Foreign Trade in the Eighteenth Century.

At the beginning of the last century, the merchants of Plymouth drove a 'considerable trade to Virginia, the Sugar Islands, and the Streights,' and had a fair share of the Newfoundland. About 1750 sixteen vessels annually sailed out of Plymouth and Oreston for the West Indies, and

twelve others to and from different parts of America.² This led to the establishment of a sugar refinery on the old Exeter Road.

An old inhabitant of the town, verging on eighty in 1814, could remember when

the Parade was full of hogsheads of sugar, rum, rice, tobacco, and every colonial produce, the property of the merchants, particularly the great Mr. Morshead, the leading man of the Corporation; this was in the year previous to the French war in 1755. During the peace that followed in 1763 a number of spirited gentlemen embarked in the Newfoundland fishery, and succeeded; the town received the advantage, and would have gained the superiority over Dartmouth in that trade, but the war breaking out put a stop to all commercial enterprise. . . . Wealth flowing in from the lucrative channel of prizes and prize goods without hazard, the foreign pursuits are soon forgotten, and being a King's Port, on the first impress the seamen fly to London, Bristol, and Liverpool, where they are not easily pressed. Consequently all trade is stagnated.³

Privateering and Prizes.

The effect of the wars with America and with France was indeed to destroy the legitimate commerce of the port. The activity displayed at the Dockyard reacted on Plymouth and Dock; and the other influences of a great arsenal in time of war were exerted to an extent unequalled elsewhere. Privateering was much in vogue. The port, moreover, was the greatest emporium in the country for prize ships and goods.⁴ 'Hence a forced prosperity, a rapidly augmented population, and an active spirit of speculation,' which in a short time completely changed the condition of the inhabitants and the aspect of their affairs; and when the war ceased produced a collapse. Gloomy indeed did the prospects appear when Napoleon was finally subjugated. With the war ended the traffic which had sprung out of it; and the pursuits of peace, so long neglected, required time for development. All classes suffered. Men of capital, from the

² As an illustration of the manner in which a bye-traffic sprung up out of this Colonial trade, Burt mentions that thirty vessels used to sail to London for bricks, and then return to Plymouth for quenched lime packed in the hogsheads in which sugar had been brought home. Before the American war a large quantity of slate, squared and packed in boxes, was transmitted to that country.

³ BURT'S *Review*.

⁴ In the period from February, 1793, to Michaelmas, 1801, 948 prize ships were examined at Plymouth, besides others examined before arrival. This is a fair sample of the war time. It is needless to enlarge upon the opportunities for money-making such a continuous influx of prizes afforded. Captors were far more anxious to turn captures into money than to get the exact value of their goods.

closing of the channels through which it had flowed. Proprietors of houses, who had made exorbitant rents, single rooms sometimes letting for £10 a year, from the sudden decrease of population caused by the restriction of operations at the public establishments. The working classes from want of employment, which caused the Workhouse to overflow with tenants. There were not wanting efforts at remedy. For immediate relief of workmen a committee was formed, under whose directions the original marine road below the Hoe was constructed by the unemployed in 1817.

Vigorous attempts had been made to resuscitate commerce. It was emphatically asked, 'Can it be contended that a state of peace is to consign to decay a large and flourishing town and inhabitants, placed in the immediate vicinity of harbours which appear to be designed by Nature to invite man to the pursuits of commercial industry?'

The Chamber of Commerce.

The most practical answer to this question was eventually supplied by the Port of Plymouth Chamber of Commerce, formed in 1813, under the presidency of the first Earl of Morley, whose successors in the title have continued at its head. The Chamber had the advantage of a very energetic secretary, Mr. W. Burt, most fruitful in projects for the welfare of the port. Several of these, under more propitious circumstances, have been carried out, notably his suggestions with regard to Millbay.

Mr. Edmund Lockyer, one of the most active citizens of his day, and one of the chief promoters of local improvements, laid a scheme before the Chamber in 1814 for the formation of associations to build or purchase vessels to engage in the coal and culm, Baltic, Greenland, and Colonial trades; for the working of a sugar refinery; for the conversion of Sutton Pool into a wet dock; and for the establishment of East India packets.⁵

⁵ Mr. H. Woolcombe at this time estimated the capital of the port as follows: Real property, £190,000; funded ditto, £3,000,000; annual income from professions, trades, &c., £276,000; private property in mere moveables, not less than £1,000,000; Government ditto, more than £1,000,000.

The total rateable value of Plymouth now—£300,000—after allowing for non-rated and under-rated property, will certainly represent a capital value of £8,000,000. Personalty in furniture, stock in trade, plant, &c., will total up to some £5,750,000, at least. The money invested in stocks, shares, &c., and in business outside Plymouth, is less accurately estimated; but Mr. Woolcombe's £3,000,000 has in all likelihood grown to £7,500,000—probably more. This would make the present capital of and in Plymouth £21,250,000—a figure rather under the mark than otherwise. The income of the inhabitants approaches £2,000,000. This is the *turn* against Mr. Woolcombe's *port*.

Much interest was taken in the projects thus launched; and among other attempts to aid the work in hand, the Exchange in Woolster Street was built, and proved an unfortunate speculation. In truth the time was not ripe for the success so eagerly anticipated. Not that the efforts made were thrown away; but business is often a plant of slow growth, and fruitage was deferred. However, the immediate result of the energy displayed was to revive the West India and Newfoundland trades.

Slowly the commerce of the port sprang into renewed existence; and the tide, once turned, flowed steadily in the direction of extended business connections, and increased wealth. With a few intervals of temporary depression the history of the trade of Plymouth during the last seventy years has been one of progress; that progress having proceeded in a greatly increased ratio since the extension to the town of the railway system, and being fostered by and fostering the improvements made in Sutton Pool, Millbay, and Cattewater.

Sutton Pool.

Sutton Pool, the old commercial harbour of Plymouth, remained an appanage of royalty from the earliest times to the present year. So far back as the fourteenth century we find controversy between the Crown and the Priory as to their respective rights therein. The Crown then maintained its claim to the Pool; but the Prior established his to the quays on the south, which eventually passed to the Corporation. The Pool, with the other 'waters of Plymouth' really belonged to the Earldom, subsequently the Duchy of Cornwall; and so continued to the present day, as part of the Manor of Trematon. It was originally the practice for its owners to appoint haveners. The 'port of Plymmue' occurs as early as 1254. Edward II. granted the custody of the castle and town of Trematon with 'the water of Sutton,' to Thomas of Genely in 1315; and Edward III., in 1331, granted 'the water of Sutton' to Thomas Coppeare, valet of his chamber, at a rent of £4. In 1334 Thomas de Spokenton took the water and port of Sutton, with all the customs and dues, except chattels forfeited at the suit of the lord, wreck of sea, prisage of wine, etc., of the honour and castle of Trematon, to be held in convention at the rent of £17 10s.; which may represent between £300 and £400 of our present money.

The working of Sutton Pool was commonly in the hands of the town authorities. In 1481 £1 4s. was contributed

towards the reparation of the church of St. Andrew, and the making of its south aisle, out of the pence of the farm of Sutton Pool. Courts of the water of Sutton Pool were, however, held on behalf of the Duke of Cornwall. Roger Edward, 'sub-ballivo,' was directed in 1479 to take twelve legal men of Plymouth, six of Stonehouse, six of Yealm and Newton Ferrers, and six of 'Horson,' and in legal court before Nicholas Henscott *locum tenens*, who was then Mayor, to make sundry inquiries into matters connected with the Pool. Such rights in the Pool as the Prior of Plympton had possessed the Corporation enjoyed; the Duchy rights they appear to have rented or farmed. In the closing years of the fifteenth century they kept two carriers or lighters, which were let out on hire to merchants of the town and strangers at 6d. a tide. They had a water-bailiff appointed yearly, and made regulations for the general conduct of the traffic. Here is an abstract of an order made in 1568 by William Hawkins, Mayor, John Fitz, Recorder, the 'twelve and twenty-four,' concerning 'the good kepyng of the poole and water-side under the full sea marke':

No manner of ballast, nor the 'swepyng or clensyng' of any ship, was to be cast into the Pool; no anchor to be put out 'without a boye vpon hym, or a pole to stand by the anker, that people may knowe where the anker lieth'; no stones, timber, or other things to be cast into the Pool to any common prejudice; no graving-pits to be left unfilled after use; no 'landing kayes accustomed to be mayntayned' to be suffered to fall into decay; nobody to 'bryng any kynde of stingkyng thyng to the water's side, as ffyshe, flesh, deadd beasts, as dogges, cattles, swyne'; all ships discharging within the Cawse were there to take their ballast, and that without allowing any to fall into the water; no one taking 'any stone or other thyng whereon to stape into any bote or shepyng' should leave it in the water; no timber should be buried in the 'ose,' save in the lawful place; no 'gutting or heddyng of ffyshe be caste vpon the kayes, or left vpon the kayes.' All breaches of these regulations to be visited by fine.

The 'Cawsey.'

A pier, the 'Cawsey' at the mouth of the Pool, on or near the site of the Barbican Pier, is noted in the earliest accounts. Leland states 'The mouth of the gulph wherein the shippes of Plymouth lyith is waulled on eche side, and chained over in tyme of necessita.' And so in 1493-4 we find 8d. charged for 'Bryngyng of the cheynes from the Cawse yn to the

Castell.' But chains did not form the only defence. In 1456 2d. were paid for mending the 'mast at the Caws'; and in 1496-7 eleven pounds of ironwork are charged for the 'maste at Caws.' In 1511-12 a new house was put up at the Cawsey, and a chaine of iron bought therefor, weighing 'viiij. c. j. quart. viij. lb., at (jd. qr.) the lb., iiij^l. xvij^s. jd.' Mention is likewise made of a new Cawse, and 'grete stones' beng brought there. John the mason and Edward Salerman (= sailor man) had 9d. for working three tides at the Cawsey. In 1508-9 it had been 'pynned and poynted' by 'Newcomb the mason and his fellows.' In 1511-12 the expenditure on the Cawse and the 'lytell new howse' thereon was considerable; and there is one entry that shows the great antiquity of the modern custom of 'standing treat': 'Itm. for ale to dyus men that holpe to slinge the grete stonys at the Cawsey, viij^d. This was something considerable; for 6d. a day was then about the average wage of artificers; the masons' labourers engaged on the 'lytell howse' had, however, the higher amount, 'because it was harvest tyme.' In this year a Spaniard was paid for carrying stones to the Cawsey, and 6d. a day given to two 'men of Stok' for similar work. John Paynter had 3s. 6d. for a ring of iron; and one of John Gryslyng's servants was drowned in 'slyngynge of stonys for the Cawsey.' In 1521-22 machinery was provided for the chain. A carpenter had 3s. 6d., at 7d. a day, to make the 'wyndynge' (windlass) 'for the cheyne at the Cawse.' The timber cost 2d. For a 'rope to wynde up the chayne, weying lxvi. lb., 8s. 6d. was paid; and a staple to 'waye up the chayne,' weighing nine lb., cost at 1½d. the pound, thirteen pence. All this, however, was insufficient. The chayne broke, and 'Shuge' had 16d. for mending it, after 4d. had been spent in the same way to little purpose. Then more iron was put on the mast of the Cawse, and nails and spikes bought for the end of the 'sayleyard,' while 'balche' was provided for the rope of the chain. Next we find 'It. for a greate yard to lye w^t the Chayne at the Cawse xx^s. It. for lvj. li. of yrework for the end of the yard vj^s. iiij^d.' Thus the entrance of the Pool was defended by a boom as well as a chain.

Under the name of 'Cawsey hake' or 'Castle hake' it was the custom to levy dues of hake on 'straunge bots that mored themselfe wtⁿ the Cawssey,' the proceeds being applied to the maintenance of these structures.

The sixteenth century saw improvement in Sutton Pool. A 'Crane Key' is mentioned in 1519-20, with 'William

Pull's Kaye,' and 'Allyn is Key.' In 1572-3, the 'Key on South side' was built 'from the Barbican, under full sea mark; in length 130 feet, and breadth 44.' Later, William Weekes binds himself to maintain and repair during his life the 'causse at Coxside, that I dyd there make.' Smart's Quay was built about 1602; the 'dung key' at the foot of Looe Street in 1639-40. In 1626-7 the 'old cause' was made higher 'that boats may not come over it.' The Cawse was leased to William Parker in 1601.

Plymouth and Saltash.

Early in the seventeenth century we come across the first evidence of interference with the trade of Plymouth, of the absurd privileges claimed by the Corporation of Saltash. A great ship had sunk in Cattewater, to the sore damage of the harbour of Plymouth, which required in 1637 £2,255 to put it in proper order. The Saltash people would do nothing to remove the ship. Quite enough for them to collect their dues.⁶ So the merchants of Plymouth appealed to the authorities. These declared it to be only reasonable that the Mayor and Commonalty of Plymouth should receive 1d. a ton on all ships coming within the port, which then included all the harbours on the south coast of Cornwall (thus creating a new grievance after the fashion of the Saltash one); 1d. per ton on all ships belonging to the port for every voyage; and 6d. per ton on all pilchards laden in the Sound for export. This was to be in force for three years if needed; and Saltash was to remove the ship, and pay half of its dues to the reparation of Plymouth harbour. Hereon Saltash came to terms, gave up to Plymouth the ballast rights within Cattewater and Sutton Pool, paid £20 a year for three years, and agreed that the care of Cattewater in future should be joint. It was at the same time ordered that every Plymouth lighter and sand-barge should each year take away a load of rubble, &c., from Cattewater and deposit it on the southern part of 'the fretted neck of land called How Stert' = the Batten Isthmus.

Litigation.

In 1617 Sutton Pool was leased by the Duke of Cornwall, Prince Charles, afterwards Charles I., to John Sparke (he of the Friary) and John Fowell, of Plymouth, in farm, for

⁶ The rights of Saltash to levy dues in respect of the Cobbler Buoy were made terminable in fifteen years, in 1885.

twenty-one years, at a yearly rent of £13 6s. 8d., the lessees taking the profits of the anchorage and 'keylodge' of all ships coming within the Pool, and the measurage and lastage on all which discharged there, with fines of fishing boats and pottage of fish; the Duke reserving all prisage and bushelage, wrecks of sea, customs of cloth and leather, petty customs, goods of pirates, and maritime jurisdiction. Yet in 1608 it had been declared that it did not appear the soil of the Pool was the King's, or that the Prince had any land in Plymouth.

On enquiry made during the Commonwealth (Oct. 7th, 1650) concerning the water and pool of Sutton, it was declared that the rights of the same, anchorage, keelage, measurage, bushelage, lastage, toll of fishing boats and pottage, had been granted for 20½ years from March 25th, 1638, for £13 6s. 8d annually, to Sir John Walter, Sir James Fullerton, and Sir Thomas Trevor; that they in the same year had assigned their patent to Thomas Caldwell; from whom it passed in succession to Sir David Cunningham, Peter Hendra, of Plympton St. Mary, William Hele, William Warren, and the Hospital of Orphans Aid. Houses had been built on the bank of the Pool within high watermark; but the foreshore was claimed by the Corporation as part of their manor of Sutton. The Pool was then really in the hands of the municipal authorities. At the Restoration it was leased by the Crown for thirty-one years to Lord Arundel at £45 a year rent; and proceedings forthwith commenced between him and the Corporation. The latter were cast, and not only lost the Pool, which was worth £100 a year, but heavy costs.⁷

⁷ There are still extant the proceedings of an enquiry held at Plymouth August 28th, 1661, by George Beare, Ezekiel Arundell, and William Sprye, as Commissioners, and a jury of twenty-four. The verdict was that the metes and limits of the water commonly called Sutton Pool were: Beginning at a certain place called the Barbican; and thence by the South Key, and thence to the New Key, and thence to the place called fforhole [Vauxhall], and thence to the key of a certain Martyn Morrice, and thence under a certain tree called the Great Tree, and thence along the wall of the place called the Friary, and thence to the place called the Cockside, and thence over the house of Mr. Rattenbury, and so round to the mouth of the place called the Barbican. The jury found also that the following encroachments had been made: The Dung Key, or Tynn Key; key at the back of Mr. Page's house; pallace adjoining Mr. Colmer's cellars; pallace and cellars behind Mr. Millar's house; pallace and cellars near the Great Tree; houses, cellars, and pallaces built by Oliver Ceely, and William Jeffery; Half Moon Key near Cockside; houses, cellars, keys, and pallaces near Cockside; house, cellars, keys, and pallaces built by one Rattenbury; Teate's Key; a key adjoining; a wall built at the end of his close by William Jennings, diverting the flow of the sea; Martyn's Key; Oliver Ceely's Key; cellars and keys near fforhole;

Nor did litigation end here. In the first year of the reign of Elizabeth an Act of Parliament made 'Hawkins's Quay,' which was either built by, or adjoined the property of, one of the Hawkinses (Sir John probably, as it afterwards came to Sir Richard), the sole legal quay for landing goods. This quay in 1664 was unprovided with a crane; and so the Customs authorities in London, pointing out that it was the only lawful quay, and that goods landed elsewhere were liable to seizure and confiscation, the benefit of which they heard 'doth redound to the town,' required a new crane to be supplied; which was done, at the cost of £19 ls. 2d. William Jennens, who had the general conduct of the Arundel suit on behalf of the town, and John Warren, another merchant, claimed Hawkins's Quay as theirs—partly as Jennens's Quay, and partly as Warren's Quay—and demanded fees for landing goods. This led to more law. The local Quarter Sessions averred that the quays were not the property of Jennens and Warren, but belonged to the Corporation; and thence the case went to the superior courts. It was a very pretty quarrel. Lanyon and other merchants declared that the quays claimed by Jennens and Warren were really Hawkins's Quay, at which, time out of mind, goods had been freely laden and unladen, without charge to the freemen of the town, and to the inhabitants of the neighbouring towns and villages; that Jennens and Warren having got hold of Sir Richard Hawkins's deeds, in the course of the law-suit with Arundel, were keeping them back, whereas they would show the true rights of the property; and that Jennens, being 'a powerful man,' had forced some people to pay dues, and had 'persuaded' others. The Mayor and Commonalty, on their part, contended that the quays were theirs, included under the term 'New Quay,' and built on part of the waste of their manor of Sutton Prior. It had been a very 'old and ruined quay,' which they had repaired and 'beautified,' making it much more commodious. Moreover, by their quaymasters they had regularly collected the petty customs there (these customs

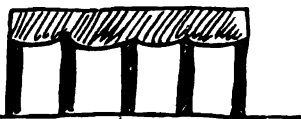
Smart's Key and houses thereon; Toll's cellars; Friary Key and house near; Sammons Key; 'Jones his yard'; part of Lawrence's yard; White's pallace; a slip or key next Nicholls's house; ditto by Hamlyn's house. All which the jury declared had been built within full sea mark, and upon the mud and shore of Sutton Pool, and had greatly restricted it, so that whereas anciently ships and boats were able to come and go to a certain house called the Queen's Arms, Benteleys, and other places, now they were prevented. To lay the foundations of these encroachments (which were forfeited) stakes had been in some cases driven into the silt and planks laid upon them. A pallace meant simply a place enclosed by pales, or pallaced.

included, by the way, a faggot or billet of wood for the Old Almshouse from every boat so laden); and the fact that different parts of the quays were called by the names of different people did not make them their property. The quays were only so called, for 'distinction and difference sake,' after people whose places of business adjoined.

Jennens and Warren, thus assailed from two different quarters, charged their opponents with being in league; and insisted on the rights of private property against the custom of Lanyon and the manorial and corporate privileges of the town. They challenged the Corporation to show that the New Quay was built before 1576 or 1577, and denied that Hawkins's Quay or Custom House Quay (which was another name for that held by Warren) were any part of the New Quay at all—referring, moreover, to the town writings being burnt about seventy years previously. What was the end of this business is not quite clear; but whatever Jennens and Warren may have retained, there still remained town quays, which in 1693 underwent considerable repair; while in 1730-1, when they wanted reparation again, 161 dozen of timber wedges were driven, at the town cost, between the stones. A few years later there were negotiations between the town and Lord Arundel for the lease of Sutton Pool; and in 1684 he offered to assign the remainder of his term of seventeen years, and to obtain a new lease for twenty-one years more, for £5,000, which he was told was a great deal too much.

Improvement.

In 1673 John Lanyon erected an Exchange on the New Quay at his own expense, thus depicted in MS. in the British Museum, and during the term of office of his successor a walk or exchange was built on the Southside. About this period therefore the commercial interests of the port appear to have made a fresh start. In 1694-5 the New Quay was paved, and in 1737-8 chains were fixed thereon, the gift of Captain Dufour. A very high tide on Freedom Day eve, 1744, shattered the quays, threw down the Fish House,⁸ and damaged the town generally to the extent of £3,000. In 1749 the town water was carried to the Barbican for watering shipping. In 1753-4 another law



⁸ There was a little island in the entrance of the Pool, now included in the Barbican Pier, on which the old fish house stood—a 'large square ancient building,' with windows and stairs on the Pool side.

suit arose concerning the Pool, limits being in question between the Corporation and Mr. T. Veal. The town for a short time was deprived of its mace, which was taken away by the sheriff's officers as a penalty for neglect in not answering the citation. The Corporation were again cast. In 1762 the Barbican was washed down, and two members of the Collier family drowned. A furious storm early in January, 1787, inflicted very serious damage upon the quays. A few years later, between 1791 and 1799, by the aid of a Parliamentary grant the entrance piers were built. In this matter Captain McBride interested himself, which gave him great political influence.

The Sutton Harbour Company.

Sir T. Tyrwhitt prepared plans for the improvement of Sutton Pool in 1806, but they came to nothing; and the most important stage in the history of the old harbour of Plymouth was reached in 1811, when the Sutton Harbour Company was incorporated by Act of Parliament, after opposition by the Corporation, and the Duchy rights leased thereto. Subsequently the New, Southside, and Guy's Quays, and the other portions of the Pool frontage, which the Corporation own in right of representing the Priory, were leased to the Company also. Prior to 1811 they brought in an income of £300; the Duchy dues amounting to between £400 and £500. Several schemes have from time to time been started for the improvement of the harbour. A bill for the conversion of the Pool into a floating dock was dropped, because the consent of the Admiralty could not be obtained. Since then this authority has been given, and tramways made on the quays, communicating with the railways; while in 1889 an Act was passed authorizing the construction of a fish-market, the raising of money to buy the fee of the Pool from the Prince of Wales (since effected at a cost of £38,000), and regulating the tolls.

Prior to the lease of the Corporation Quays to the Sutton Harbour Improvement Company, the following dues were paid: 'Moorage at the New Quay, or Southside Quay, 8d.; Quay duties on coals per quarter, 1d.; Bushelage on coals per quarter, 1d.; Quay dues for merchandise per ton, 2d.; use of a plank, 1s.; colliers, ditto, 2s.; load of hoops, 3d.; slate per thousand, 1d.; bricks per thousand, 4d.; earthenware per crate or cask, 1d.; hay, wood, &c., per barge, 2s. 6d.; liquor per pipe, 1d.; grain per sack, ½d.; water from the

conduit, 1s. Fish jowters [hawkers] paid in kind.' Mayor's dues are still collected on certain kinds of fish from boats which do not belong to the port.

Shipping dues used to be collected for the Governor of the Citadel, but have long been discontinued. Every British ship in Sutton Pool, Cattewater, or Hamoaze, paid 1s. 6d.; every Spanish ship in Sutton Pool and Cattewater, 6s. 8d.; in Hamoaze, 10s.; other foreign ships were let off for 2s. 6d. or 3s. respectively.

Millbay.

As the town grew in importance, so the desirability of turning the capacious inlet of Millbay to account became apparent. Centuries since, though Sutton Pool continued the harbour *par excellence*, Millbay was the resort of vessels. Anchors have been found where the Octagon now is. The first attempt of importance to provide special accommodation was the formation of the Union Dock, of which Mr. W. H. Evens and the Messrs. Derry were the promoters, in what is now the southern angle between Martin and Phoenix Streets. Not long subsequently, in 1839, Mr. Thomas Gill laid a project for the erection of the Millbay Pier before a public meeting at the Guildhall; and in the following year the Act was passed under which the pier was built, and a dock formed adjacent. Pier and dock were soon however to give place to a larger undertaking; the former to become subsidiary, and the latter to be obliterated altogether by being filled up. The site is now built on.

The next step in the development of the capabilities of Millbay, and by consequence of the commerce of Plymouth, was the formation of the Great Western Docks Company, the Act for which was obtained in 1846. Mr. Brunel, engineer of the South Devon and Cornwall Railways, was the engineer of the Docks. Serious difficulties were experienced; but at length, in February, 1857, the floating basin was opened, though not formally, by taking in a vessel of 1100 tons for repairs. The pier and the whole of the water side of Millbay belonged to the Company. The fundus, as at Sutton Pool, was the property of the Duchy of Cornwall. The basin contains thirteen acres, with a depth of water of twenty-two feet. The length of the quay wall is 3,490 feet; the area of the wharves around over fifteen acres. The entrance gates are eighty feet wide, and there is a depth on the cill at low water springs of ten feet three inches. Opening out of the basin is a graving dock 460 feet long. Extensive warehouses have from time to time been added. A line of railway

communicating with the Great Western system runs round the docks, and there are deep-water wharves on the east of the outer harbour. The Docks were acquired by the Great Western Railway in 1874.

Until the formation of the Docks, Millbay, being practically valueless, was not considered in the local municipal and parochial arrangements. Subsequently it was claimed as within the borough boundary, which includes a point called Eastern King. The Eastern King of the present day is the western boundary of Millbay; but when the case came on for trial in 1859 one of the chief points of the Dock Company's case was that the old Eastern King was on the Western Hoe. It was argued further that the Act of Incorporation had a proviso that it 'should not extend aught to the water of Tamar'; and that in compliance therewith the Corporation of Saltash, to whom the ancient jurisdiction of the 'liberty of the river Tamar' belongs, had always exercised rights over the waters of Millbay. Sir Alexander Cockburn therefore gave judgment for the Company. Thus matters remained until 1868, when Millbay, as an extra-parochial place, came under the provisions of an Act providing that all such localities should either become parishes themselves, or be annexed to parishes adjoining. An attempt to constitute Millbay a distinct parish failing, and a desire on the part of Stonehouse for annexation being repelled, Millbay was united to the parish of St. Andrew.

Cattewater.

As Sutton Pool was the haven, so Cattewater was the roadstead, for the shipping of the port in the Middle Ages. Leland describes it as 'a goodly Rode for great shippes betwixt the haven mouth and the creek of Schilleston,' or Chelson, now Chelson Meadow. The Sound, until the Breakwater was built, was not by any means a secure anchorage. For the greater safety the vessels which could not enter Sutton Pool resorted to Hamoaze when bad weather was expected—long before Dock was founded—but for convenience they lay in Cattewater whilst they could.

Hence the pains taken by the Corporation to preserve this part of the haven from the damage caused by the tin-streamers. A commission relating to the tanners is mentioned as early as 1486. In 1538-9 divers 'platts of the Town and port were made,' tin-works viewed on behalf of the town, and a presentment entered concerning the haven, while by the order of the Lord High Admiral a 'view' was taken of

Cattewater. Two years later 3s. 8d. were paid for 'viewing the streame Brok that descends down hurtfull to the haven.' In 1542-3 there was riding to the petty sessions at Ermington against the tinnars; and in 1543-4 there was a *nisi prius* suit against them. In 1544-5 John Sprye had £1 13s. 4d. for 'payntyng a platt' of the haven. Two years later he made another 'platt,' which was taken to Sir Peter Carew; and the tin-work was viewed again.

Eventually Acts of Parliament were passed, under Henry VIII. and Elizabeth, to restrain the tinnars; and one of the objects contemplated under the Water Act was the scouring of the harbour.

Steps for the protection of Cattewater were early taken, in the already cited order that every Plymouth lighter and sand barge should yearly carry a load of rubble, &c., from Cattewater, and deposit it on the southern part of the Batten Isthmus. Sometime later the neck was protected against the sea by a strong sea wall, which has all but disappeared. The isthmus was partly breached in 1633-4; and repairs to the wall are mentioned in 1645. In 1638 Charles I. granted the Mayor and Commonalty letters patent for the harbour; and in the reign of Queen Anne a statute was passed, the principal object of which was the removal of the 'middle bank,' close to the entrance.

Shipbuilding was formerly a very important branch of local industry; and the shipbuilding yards were either in Sutton Pool or Cattewater. There was a dockyard at Turn-chapel, from which early in the century a couple of seventy-fours were launched. The largest merchant ship built in the port was launched from the late Mr. Banks's yard at Queen Anne's Battery, August, 1870. She was of 1,127 tons burthen.

Among the earliest improvements of the present century effected in Cattewater was the laying down of chain moorings by Lord Boringdon, afterwards the first Earl of Morley—the Corporation opposing. He built the Laira Bridge to replace the old 'flying bridge'; and embanked Chelson Bay, which gained for him the gold medal of the Society of Arts. This was undertaken in the spring of 1806, and completed in the autumn of 1817. The expenses amounted to £9,000, and the land reclaimed, 175 acres in extent, was then valued at upwards of £20,000.⁹

⁹ Upon Chelson Meadow, since 1828, the Plymouth, Devonport, and Stonehouse races have been held; and a better piece of ground for the purpose it would be difficult to find in Devonshire. Here it will be convenient to

The most important step ever taken in connection with Cattewater was the formation in 1874 of the Cattewater Harbour Commissioners, a public, not a trading body, by whom its affairs have since been regulated. Under the Commission the harbour has been protected by the construction of a breakwater, first suggested in the last century, on the Batten Reef. It is nearly 1000 feet in length, and is built of concrete, from the designs of Mr. J. C. Inglis.

Since then deep-water wharves have been formed—at Turnchapel by Messrs. Bulteel, and at Cattedown by Messrs. Burnard and Alger; and railways have been carried along each shore.

A life boat was given to the port in 1803 by Mr. Philip Langmead, and stationed in Sutton Pool. The wants of the port in this direction are now supplied by the National Lifeboat Institution.

Roads.

Good roads are as indispensable to the development of commerce as good harbours. In old time Plymouth was very badly off for land communication. Bishop Stafford in 1411 granted indulgence for repair of the road from Plymouth to Smapolemille.¹ Cecil declared that he had never seen 'fouler ways' than those of Devon. Raleigh in 1593 said that ordnance could not be carried to Plymouth, 'the passages will not give leave.' Goods were then carried from town to town by long lines of packhorses; and a remnant of an old packhorse road worn deep in the rock may still be seen near Egg Buckland village. Post horses are mentioned in the Corporate accounts in the closing year of the sixteenth century, together with such names as 'Peter the post' and 'Russell the post.' A weekly post between London and Plymouth in three days was proposed in 1630; but apparently not introduced until 1635. R. Biggs was post-master in 1642. A post house was established in 1658, by Northcote, then Mayor.

The first substantial improvement effected was by the formation of the Old Exeter or Eastern Turnpike Road, the Act for which passed 31st George II. Next came the Tavistock Turnpike, under Act bearing date 44th George III.

notice that the first regatta for the port came off in 1825, and that the Royal Western Yacht Club dates back to within a few years of that period. The Club House was originally at Millbay, then a capital yachting rendezvous; it is now upon the Hoe.

¹ *Via profunda et lutea, perigrinantibus et laborantibus per eandem nimis nociva et periculosa.*

Less than six score years ago the communication between Dock and Plymouth was of a miserable description, consisting of the road by Mill Bridge, originally made by Sir Richard Edgcumbe in 1528, and a ferry near the site of the present Stonehouse Bridge, crossing to Newport Street, the boats of which were pulled by ropes. In 1767 the Act was passed which empowered the Earl of Mount Edgcumbe and Sir John St. Aubyn to build Stonehouse Bridge (finished in 1773); and in 1784 that for constituting a turnpike. Carriages first began to ply for hire between the towns in 1775,² and were licensed by the turnpike trustees. In 1800 there were forty-one of these 'Dock diligences,' but the imposition of the stage coach duty stopped them all in 1828. In the April of that year, however, the foundation of the old bus system, replaced by tramway in 1871, was laid by starting six hackney coaches to run at stated times. The turnpike notwithstanding, at the beginning of the century it was a matter of complaint that the road through Stonehouse Lane and Fore Street, Stonehouse, was inconveniently narrow. The road by Millbay, originally 'a lane leading to the paper mills,' was also very contracted near Plymouth. Union Road 'through the marshes' was not opened until 1815. These marshes, where snipe have been shot in the memory of Plymouthians yet living, were very desolate and dreary at night; and it was the custom for those who had to go from one town to the other after sunset to wait until a little party had collected, sufficiently strong to repel attack, before commencing to traverse them. The turnpike gate was at the junction of Plymouth and Stonehouse, and was removed September 29th, 1843.

The Modbury and Saltash Turnpikes were authorised 4th George IV. The operations of the Embankment Company, which was empowered to embank the Laira by an Act of the 42nd and 43rd George III., led to the formation of the New Eastern Road, which completely superseded the old road by Lipson within a very few years of its formation.³ The substitution of the Laira for the 'flying' bridge (itself a substantial improvement on the ferry) by the Earl of Morley, tended greatly to facilitate the communication of Plymouth with the South Hams. The foundation stone of this structure

² The hackney carriages, with the boats and wherries of the Three Towns, are regulated by Commissioners, superseding the old trustees, appointed under an Act passed in 1843.

³ 'Sirs, for the road on Laira's banks
Accept the weary horses' thanks,'
was one of the mottoes in the procession at its opening.



STONEHOUSE BRIDGE AND PEZAY HOUSE, 1774.

was laid in 1824, and it was opened July 14th, 1827, when the Duchess of Clarence (afterwards Queen Adelaide) and suite passed over it. Mr. Rendel, the engineer, projected a suspension bridge over the Tamar at Saltash.

Railways.

The Dartmoor Railway, the first of its kind to call for notice here, was a work of considerable importance when it was undertaken. It was introduced to the public in 1818 by Sir Thomas Tyrwhitt, the father of modern reclamation works upon Dartmoor, and the originator of Princetown. The accommodation at Plymouth early in the century for prisoners being inadequate and inconvenient, Sir Thomas suggested that they should be transferred to Dartmoor, and in 1806 laid the first stone of the Prisons. Princetown thus created, it became a question how it was to obtain the necessary supplies, and in 1818 Sir Thomas brought before the Plymouth Chamber of Commerce his project for the establishment of a horse railway between the Prisons and Crabtree. The scheme commended itself, and was started. In 1819 the first authorising Act was passed; in the following year Parliament approved of a two-mile extension from Crabtree to Sutton Pool; in 1821 a third Act gave powers of variation. The total capital authorised was £39,983, Government being empowered to lend £18,000 for the extension to Plymouth. Twenty-three miles, from the town to King Tor, Walkhampton, were opened in 1823 with a public procession. The total length of the line is twenty-four miles, with a tunnel at Leigham of 630 yards. Mr. Hopkins was the engineer. The undertaking never paid. In the first place it was heavily mortgaged to the contractor, in consequence of the expense of construction far exceeding the estimate. In the next, from the downfall of Napoleon until the formation of the Convict Establishment, there was no one at Princetown to supply. Lastly, the line was laid out in the easiest manner, far behind the present age. The traffic gradually decreased until 1880, when the Dartmoor portion was reconstructed for locomotive purposes, and the line opened to a junction at Yelverton in August, 1883.

Under the old coaching system the main road from Cornwall to London was by Launceston and Exeter. The construction of the South Devon and Cornwall Railways changed the course of the stream of traffic; and it now flows through Plymouth. Attempts were made to restore the old route by the formation of a Central Cornwall and

associated lines; but these failed, until the extension of the narrow-gauge system into North Cornwall was taken in hand by the South Western pioneers. The South Devon Railway was authorised in 1844; and laid out by its engineer, Mr. I. K. Brunel, as an atmospheric line. Upon that principle it was opened as far as Newton; but experience then proving that the atmospheric system, however pretty in theory, failed in practice, the Company had to fall back upon the locomotive, which they had hoped to supersede.⁴ The effect was that about £400,000 were lost. The railway was opened to Laira in 1848, thus giving direct railway access to London, and in 1849 to the present terminus at Millbay. It was at first proposed that there should be a station for the Three Towns in the Five Fields, then open ground, near the present North Road Station; but other counsels prevailed. Had there been any idea that the traffic would have developed to its present extent, different arrangements would certainly have been made; as the Millbay accommodation has had to be increased at a heavy expense by the removal of the Royal Union Baths,⁵ of the eastern side of Bath Street, and of other property in that neighbourhood; and still further absorptions have become necessary.

The Tavistock branch of the South Devon line, made by an independent Company, was opened in 1859; and the extension, also the work of a separate Incorporation, from Tavistock to Launceston in 1865. The Cornwall line, after much delay, very serious financial difficulties having to be overcome, was opened in 1859; thus placing Plymouth in direct railway communication with Truro and Penzance, and subsequently with Falmouth. All these lines now form parts of the Great Western system.

⁴ Under the atmospheric system the carriages were propelled by means of the pressure of the air upon pistons to which they were attached. These pistons worked in huge tubes laid between the rails. The air being exhausted in front by stationary steam-engines, the pressure behind forced the pistons on, and with them the carriages. The practical difficulties which put an end to this system were avoided in pneumatic despatch tubes, by enclosing the despatch carriage wholly in the tube; and the principle could now be successfully adapted.

⁵ The Baths stood on the south of Union Street, where the incline to the railway goods shed now commences. Their foundation-stone was laid by Admiral Sir Byam Martin, M. P. for the borough, by command of the Duke of Clarence as patron, in 1828. The water was brought in pipes from near the Rusty Anchor. A few years after the erection of the building a spa was discovered and a pump-room added. The waters were obtained from a depth of 360 feet, and contained in the imperial pint 185 cubic inches of carbonic acid gas; chloride of sodium, 96·64 grains; muriate of magnesia, 18·68; muriate of lime, 15·10; sulphate of soda, 9·55; sulphate of lime, 8·94; carbonate of lime, 2·06; carbonate of iron, 0·69.

After several expensive contests in Parliament between the 'broad' and 'narrow' gauge railway interests—the Great Western and London and South Western Companies—the latter seeking access to Plymouth, and the former striving to prevent it, powers were granted to the Devon and Cornwall Railway Company, the pioneer of the London and South Western, to complete a line from the North Devon extension at Yeoford to Lydford, and thence to run over the broad-gauge to Plymouth, with an extension from a joint station at North Road to a terminus at Devonport. These works were carried out, and the line opened to Devonport amidst great rejoicing in May, 1876. The undertaking is now that of the South Western Company; and an independent connection from Lydford was opened May 30th, 1890. This new line runs down the valley of the Tavy until it crosses the ridge by Morwell, to follow the left bank of the Tamar to Saltash Passage, and so to Devonport and Plymouth. Both systems therefore have independent access to the Three Towns, though in the course of time the broad-gauge has been practically abandoned by its only advocate—the Great Western Company—in favour of the universal 'narrow.'

Coaches.

Stage coaches are locally quite out of date, but a few notes concerning them may be acceptable. It was not until 1762 that any regular passenger communication was set up between Plymouth and distant localities. In that year a 'diligence' was put on to Exeter by John Bignell, of the 'Prince George Inn,' performing the distance in twelve hours. Thirty years later there were two coaches from Plymouth (or rather Dock, that town being the terminus of the up-country traffic) to Exeter daily, fares 14s. 6d. and 7s. 6d. There were two London waggons twice a week each, a Launceston waggon weekly, and a Barnstaple waggon fortnightly. Chartered vessels sailed to London and Bristol; and hoys to Portsmouth were 'generally to be heard of' at the Seven Stars, North Corner. Another thirty years saw six stage coaches running daily up country;⁶ one daily and one alternate days into Cornwall. The 'fly waggons' from London used to take four and a half days to reach Exeter. Immediately prior to the construction of the South Devon Railway there were six coaches running daily eastward—the *Nonpareil*, *Telegraph*,

⁶ A second coach in opposition to the mail coach was boycotted in 1802 by some of the leading merchants.

Defiance, Great Western, Quicksilver, and Bath Mail. The distance between Plymouth and Exeter was often done in 3 hours 28 minutes. The *Quicksilver* ran the 219 miles between Plymouth and London in 21½ hours.

The first family coaches in the neighbourhood were those of Sir J. Rogers, and 'Madame Darell'; and there was no coachmaker in Plymouth until the reign of George III.

Steamers.

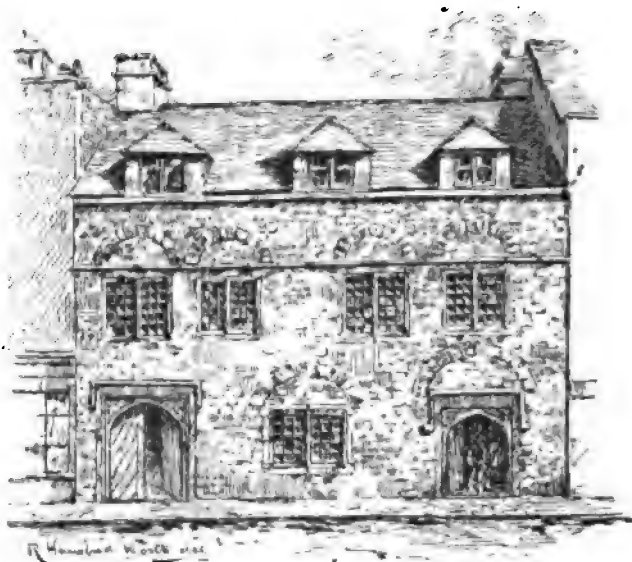
Steam made its influence felt before the advent of the railways. The Plymouth, Devonport, Portsmouth, and Falmouth Steam Packet Company was formed in 1822, through the exertions of Mr. John Hawker, and in the next year regular steam communication was established with Portsmouth. The *Brunswick* and *Sir Francis Drake*—names ever memorable in connection with the early history of steam navigation in the Port of Plymouth—were running to Torquay, Cowes, and Portsmouth; and to Falmouth, Guernsey and Jersey; respectively in 1836: whilst the London and Liverpool Companies plied to London, Liverpool, Falmouth, Cork, Dublin, and Belfast. The South Devon United Shipping Company (established 1828) had seven schooners on the line between London and Plymouth; the Plymouth and London Union Shipping Company eight, engaged in coasting; whilst there were two Bristol traders.

The most important development of local shipping affairs in the past half century, has been the selection of Plymouth as a point of arrival or departure for mail steamers to almost every part of the world, beginning with the calling of the Cape Mail Union line in 1850. Moreover, Plymouth has long been the chief Emigration Depôt for Government emigrants.

Custom Houses.

The official Customs business has been carried on in the vicinity of Sutton Pool for centuries. The present Custom House on the Parade was built from Mr. Laing's designs in 1820, at a cost of £8,000; its predecessor being a seventeenth century building opposite, built at a time when what is now the Parade was a creek. The Corporation paid for work on one still earlier in 1586. The mediæval merchants did not always get on well with the authorities, and in 1450 obtained an Act of Parliament to relieve them from the extortionate demands of the water bailiff. Henry Harfam, 'custemer of Plymouth,' was executed at Tyburn in 1537.

In 1834 Plymouth was made a stannary town, but the privileges were abolished so soon afterwards that the appointment was never worth much. The first tin coinage was at the Exchange, March 25th, 1835.



OLD CUSTOM HOUSE, PARADE.

Regulation of Trade by the Ancient Corporation.

The ancient Corporation had much to do with the regulation of internal trade. Every freeman, as we have already seen, swore—'You shall avow noe forraigner's goods as your own goods, nor buy and bargain with any forraigner or stranger in your own name to y^e use, behoof, and profit of another forraigner and stranger, whereby any Custom or duety may be lost or withdrawn from ye Mayor and Commons of this Burrough. You shall take noe apprentice for less than seven yeares, and within that tyme you shall see them taught and instructed of some honest mystery, craft, or occupation. And if you shall hereafter know any forraigners, merchants, or handycrafts men that shall use to buy, or sell, or practice any craft continually within this Burrough, not being free of the same, you shall then give warning thereof unto the Mayor of this Burrough for the time being, or his officers.'

No one in fact could carry on business unless he were a

freeman, and then only under regulation.⁷ There is yet extant the charter granted to the tailors of the town, 'the Liberty of the Tailors' Craft,' in 1479-80:—

Be hit knowen to all man^r of people that we Will^m Rogger mayer of the Burgh of plymouthe, Thomas Tresawell Recorder of the same Thomas byne Will^m Nicoll Will^m Thikpeny peryn Erle wth other moo com burges of the same burghe with all the comens of the Same burghe haue geuen and g^tunten vnto the brethern and Crafte of Tayllors of the same Burghe full auctoritee and power to electe chese and make masters of theyre occupacon and Crafte, and they so made and chosen by theym of the same occupacon and shall haue full auctoritee and power to rule and Correcte all things belonging to the said occupacon and crafte so ffyxe made and stablyshed. They shall make or cause to be made at the cost and charge of the said Crafte a pagent yearly vnto Corpus Xri Ilde for the welthe and proffitt of the said Ilde on Corpus Xri day. And the same they shall kepe and maynteyn for eu^r at their Coste and charge for the which pagent the said bretherdyn may be prayed for euer in the same Ilde. And on that yf there be any man of the same occupacon in the same towne not keping household that then he or they so being in the said towne not keping household shallbe noon of the said occupacon but that he or they shall make fyne with us the said mayer and Comons And also with the said occupacon and Crafte after the order and discrecion of men of the said Crafte by the ou^rsight of the said mayer. And yf the said wardens and Crafte amytte any man to be oon of the said occupacon and Crafte And he happyn to destroye or marre any man^r of garment for lakke of vnderstandyng, and non cunnyng yn that behalfe, that then he or they so hurted or greved shall warne the master or masters of the same occupacon thereof, and then the said masters of the same occupacon shall paye and contente for the garment or garments so distroyed as hit can be thought reasonable for the same hurte, hauing a recompense of the same pson or psons.

Provyded alway by this p^ents that the said masters and Crafte and eu^ry pson of the same shal be ordered ruled and gou^rned by the mayer of the said burghe for the tyme being in eu^ry thing according to the l^btye and fourme of the said Towne and burghe as any oder of the inhitaunts there being this g^tunte not withstanding.

The Corporation also considered the due regulation of commerce. Their idea of the common weal was supreme; individual rights counted for little or nothing.

⁷ For example, so late as 1659, Abraham Blocke paid 10s. for liberty to trade; while Hendricke Blocke and Hendricke Peterson paid £3 each for leave to 'open their shop windows' for the year. There are other entries of similar licences of the 'unfree.' These men were Flemings.

In 1564 it was ordered that no resident should buy any meal brought to the town, on pain of forfeiture and other punishment. This was to compel the inhabitants to have their corn ground at the Millbay mills, which formed one of the chief sources of the town income, and then yielded £24 a year rent. One wonders whence the windmill on the Hoe got its business. In 1570 it was directed that no one was to grind any corn away from the mills, on pain of forfeiting three times the just toll per bushel; while the millers who did wrong were likewise to restore threefold. Three years afterwards we light upon a record of the most distinguished miller Plymouth ever had, before the time of Sir Francis Drake—no less a person than Sir John Hawkins, who, with his brother William, rented the town mills; bought a house at 'Pope's Head' to weigh the corn in before it was carried to the mills; and kept a man with a horse ready, on due warning, to fetch the corn from the houses of the inhabitants.

In 1580, too, we find mention of a prototype of the Royal Hotel—the Town Tavern—in respect of which Walter Battishill, Humphrey Fownes, and Christopher Ceely agreed to pay yearly £3 6s. 8d. at the winewits audit.

As to general merchandise, in 1575 it was enacted that all goods brought by sea should be put, before purchase, into the common hall, 'the large Seller adjoyninge the Crane Kaye,' under penalty of £5. Three years later, John Sparke provided a sufficient cellar for receiving strangers' goods, being recompensed by a moiety of the moneys the town ought to receive thereon.

And in 1575 there was another very sweeping enactment, that no one should buy wine, commodities, or merchandise coming 'to the town by water, without having made the Mayor privy thereto, in order that, if they so desired, the Mayor and his brethren might buy for the town. If they did make a purchase, then every freeman had to take the share apportioned him. This could hardly have been operative, or else it must have fallen into desuetude; for in 1597 it was further enacted that no merchant or other inhabitant should 'bargain for deal boards, corn, grain, salt, or other victuall, wyne only excepted,' up to £5 value in all cases except deal boards, and then to the value of £10, until the Mayor had been apprised, and had decided whether he would deal for the profit of the town generally.

In 1603 fines, &c., were inflicted on the parties offending, because Pascowe Pepperell had forestalled the market by

buying coal at 7s. 10d. the quarter and selling it at 8s. 8d., which does not seem a very extravagant profit. In 1605, too, there were sundry fines and imprisonments inflicted for buying rye within the Cawsey contrary to rule.

Mediæval Fisheries.

The regulations made during the sixteenth century with regard to fish were numerous and important. In the mayoralty of Nicholas Bickford, 1565-6, it was ordered that no alien should lade or buy fresh pilchards above the number of 1,000 in a day; no man not being free to buy or sell above 5,000, unless the fish were 'in danger of perishing.' In Drake's mayoralty (1581-2), other orders were made. No one was to promise or sell any pilchards before they had them ('time-bargains!'). Any persons suspected of selling or promising to deliver pilchards before they were 'saved' (cured), or of having received money beforehand from any non-inhabitant to 'make' (cure) the same, was to be questioned on oath before the Mayor, and if guilty, not allowed to 'make' any more pilchards that year. No woman, whether wife, widow, or servant, was to set or make a price for or upon any pilchards brought to the town, under penalty of 10s. fine (to be paid by the husband or master, if no widow) and personal punishment—as usual at the Mayor's discretion. In 1584 a more stringent order was passed to the same effect, including hake, but allowing women to make provision for their households. Those who brought hake to the town were to sell to every freeman equally some indifferent portion. Freemen who aided any stranger to break these regulations were subject to severe penalties—losing their liberty, and having to pay heavy fines, from 5s. upwards. In 1590-1 a tax of 8d. per last was laid upon pilchards cured, except for household use, towards the defence of the town.

Earlier in the seventeenth century the town petitioned the Privy Council, to prohibit the exportation of pilchards, save in ships of Devon and Cornwall, because 'divers ships and mariners lye idle without employment within our harbour,' while foreign ships were continually employed. Special mention was made of certain Flemish vessels of great burden being so engaged.⁸

⁸ Outsiders were not encouraged in these days in any way. For many a year it was the custom in Plymouth to send Irish folk back to the place from whence they came; and at one time it was compulsory on masters of vessels trading between Plymouth and Ireland to take a certain proportion of Irish immigrants as part of their return cargo.

One of the most amusing entries anent fish concerns the fishwomen. In the mayoralty of Humphry Fownes (1596-7), these traders were considered by the 'twelve and twenty-four' to have unduly multiplied. So their numbers were restricted. The names of the favourite ladies of the Corporation allowed to continue their business were: Cyslie Barons, Johanna Straunge, Katheren Earle, Cyslie Sherwill, Thomasine Prince, Rahatch Dune, Elizabeth Lanne, Else Bree, Agnes Clifford, Else Gilbert, Elizabeth Harte, Nell Seelye, Else Lawrell, Elizabeth Evens. Three-quarters of a century later (1656-7) it was enacted that women who went about 'trucking' to ships without leave, should be set in the ducking-stool at the Barbican and haled up and down three times.

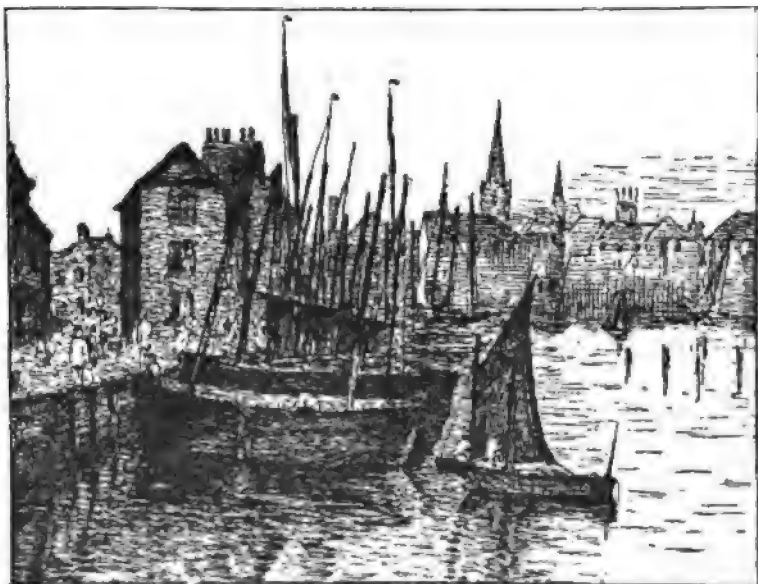
The fisheries of the port were not only its oldest but one of its most important industries. Parliament decreed in 1384 that all fish caught in the waters of Sutton, Plymouth, and Tamar should be exposed for sale in Plymouth and Aish (Saltash) only. During the reigns of Elizabeth and James I. pilchards formed a chief branch of the town exports, the old curing-house being at the entrance of Sutton Pool. The erection of fish-houses at Cawsand and other places in the neighbourhood was regarded by the Plymouthians with extreme jealousy. They frequently complained to the Privy Council of those who carried fish taken there to other towns than Plymouth, Stonehouse, Millbrook, or Saltash; and in consequence an order was issued in 1606 for the sale of two-thirds of the fish taken at Cawsand in Plymouth. Some years previously, Sir John Gilbert had been directed to look into complaints made that forestallers stored pilchards in cellars built in the cliff at Cawsand.

The Newfoundland fishery was carried on with considerable vigour, until abolished by the turn given by war to the avocations of the port, and was also the subject of frequent appeals to the Privy Council. In 1620 protest was made against the French and Spanish trading companies, and 'a plantation in the Newfoundland.'⁹ Indeed 'about the end of the seventeenth and the commencement of the eighteenth century, when from various conspiring causes Plymouth seemingly enjoyed a greater share of trade than at any other, the Pollexfens, Rogerses, Trelawnys of Ham, Hewers

⁹ The late Mr. Jonathan Couch, F.L.S., published extracts from the ledger of Richard Trevill, 'an eminent merchant, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, from whom and the members of his house a street in Plymouth derived its name.' Trevill was a very spirited man. He erected fish cellars at Kingsand and Cawsand, and exported 'fumados,' now called 'fairmaids,' to Bordeaux, Rochelle, Spain, and Naples, between 1597 and 1600.

of Manadon, Fowneses, and Calmadys, accumulated large fortunes from the fisheries and other sources.¹

In 1624 there is an entry of 'the charge disburst for the putting down of the Lызard light, wch would have been burdensome to all the cuntrie.'



A CORNER OF SUTTON POOL.

Present Commercial Position.

As a general commercial port Plymouth may be ranked about seventh in importance in England and Wales. The import trade is largely in excess of the export, though the latter has shown a very considerable increase in the past five and twenty years. The Customs returns are comparatively small, because of the abolition of imposts on the articles chiefly imported; but in 1857 £266,677 were paid

¹ The fortunes of several county families were laid at Plymouth. The Fowneses bought Plympton Priory lands at the Dissolution, that property subsequently passing to the Luttrells of Dunster. The Yonges of Puslinch, spring from Dr. Yonge, a physician of Plymouth. He obtained the estate by marrying Mary, daughter and heir of William Upton, who died in 1709. The founder of the Symoneses of Chaddlewood—now represented by Mr. Soltau-Symons—William Symons, an alderman of Plymouth, bought that property of the heirs of Elford Sparka, the Sparkes being likewise Plymouthians. The Julians are another old Plymouth family; in 1744 John Julian bought Kingston.

in Customs duties. The coasting trade is large, and gives Plymouth practically the sixth position in England and Wales, and the tenth in the United Kingdom. As an English fishing port Plymouth stands about tenth. Sutton Pool is still, as it has been for at least ten centuries, the harbour of the fishermen of the port; and is often crowded with fishing craft in various parts.

Markets.

The first grant of a market at Plymouth was made about the year 1253, to be held on Thursdays, with a fair of three days at the festival of John the Baptist. Four years afterwards Baldwin of the Isle had his grant of a Wednesday market, and a fair of three days at the festival of the Ascension. Under the monastic rule the Markets belonged to the Priory, but when the town was chartered passed to the Corporation. Prior to that, however, the community had acquired market rights.

In 1311 Matthew, Prior of Plympton, let to the burgesses of Sutton eighteen market stalls in a certain place in the said ville adjoining a stone cross, at the rent of one penny per stall per year. Richard the Tanner acted for the burgesses. Thence until now market jurisdiction has been exercised in Plymouth by the Municipal authorities.

The cross here mentioned was presumably the Market Cross, the granite pillars of which were bought by James Bagg for 40s. in 1610. It had probably been demolished in connection with building the Guildhall. Work was done on the Market House (which had a bell) in 1571-2; and in 1590 it was 'planched;' but so far as can be gathered it had been mainly rebuilt, with 'more stone' pillars, in 1564.

Shambles were erected in 1606, apparently in connection with the Jacobean Guildhall; and a little later a 'new corn market house,' eventually made a shop. The Corn Market House is mentioned as early as 1539, and in 1625-6 another new market house was built at a cost of £9 13s. 11d.; but in the next year it was taken down and carried away to be rebuilt 'above higher mill.' In 1646-7 the markets were leased at £10 a year. In 1653-4 £6 14s. 6d. was spent on new building the 'Yarn Market' in Old Town. In 1656 Shambles were built in the middle of Old Town, a long narrow range of buildings 200 feet by 12, with the Leather Hall above extending about a third of the length, and costing £177 10s. 9d. The Old Green Market was on the south side of Whimble Street. In 1693 Fish Shambles were

constructed in Whimble Street, afterwards called the Old Fish Cage. The building was thirty feet long by ten feet wide, and was demolished in anticipation of the visit of George III. in 1789—'a waggon,' says Harris, 'being hired to drive against it to ensure its demolition.'

Thence the Market was removed to the Guildhall, and thence again when Evelegh began to build what is now the Free Library, to the site of the Old Almshouses north of St. Andrew Churchyard. A Fish Market had been made against the Churchyard wall in 1601-2, costing £18 19s. 4d.

The utter inadequacy of the provision made by Evelegh, with other pressing reasons, rendered the building of a new Market necessary early in this century. Accordingly the present site was bought—then an open field with a pond wherein a boy had been drowned, known as the Bloody Field; and the foundation stone laid in 1804. It was opened in 1807, and the tolls were first let by auction in 1809 for £900, while in the next year they made £2,010 (in 1783 the market rent had been £430). A tontine loan for building the Market was raised of £10,000, and the land cost £4,000 more. Plans for rebuilding were invited in 1853, and the first awarded to Mr. C. Eales, of London. Other plans by Mr. C. King and Mr. H. Alty were obtained in 1882, and the work has since then been proceeded with piecemeal, a main feature being the construction of a roadway through the Market from Cornwall Street to Old Town Street, at the Ebrington Street junction.

The Mayor used to be Clerk of the Market; and at one time had the revenue of the Shambles to keep up his kitchen.

A weekly Yarn Market was held in the seventeenth century in the Churchyard; and a Cloth Fair in November in Old Town, at which the Somerset and Devon clothiers used to assemble in large numbers.

The Fairs, for business purposes, practically came to an end in 1864.

Textile and General Manufactures.

The cloth manufacture is the earliest that can be traced here. There is no record when it was established; but it was certainly carried on in the reign of Elizabeth. When Drake brought in the water, mills were built in the town; and two of these were used, if not from the time of their erection yet very soon afterwards, as tucking or fulling mills. These were the mills in what is now called Russell Street,

then Horsepool Lane. They were known as the Eastern and Western Fulling Mills, and were leased by the Corporation with the right of setting up racks for the cloth in the lane and on the 'Great Hill'—the ridge overlooking Pennycomequick. The first fuller mentioned is John Chare, who rented the Western Fulling Mill, a moiety of which was leased in 1666-7 to Stephen Forstrete. He was the father of Abraham Chare, or Cheere, the first recorded pastor of the Baptist Church of Plymouth, and Abraham's life was on the mill when the lease was granted to Forstrete. Chare had also something to do with the Eastern Tucking Mill, a moiety of which was leased in the following year to William Bray, of Milton Abbot, fuller.

There was a revival of the woollen trade early in the last century by Mr. Shepheard, who came to Plymouth from Northampton. It flourished most under Mr. William Shepheard, his grandson, who paid £1,200 to £1,500 weekly in wages, and gave a tenth of his profits to the poor. At Plymouth there was a large baize manufactory, the tucking mills being at Yealm Bridge. The number of woolcombers was about 60, earning 15s. a week; spinners, 800, 3s. to 5s.; weavers 300, 9s.; warpers and tuckers, 15s.; spolers and children, 3s. Many of the children took home work one morning, and returned with it the next, when they received sixpence and more work. Mr. Shepheard was also engaged in fellmongering, and had six coasting vessels.

The baizes and cloth manufactured from coarse wool, not disposed of in Plymouth or the neighbourhood, were sent to North America, in exchange for tar and turpentine (which were taken by the manufactory of tar, oil of tar, pitch, and rosin, at Stonehouse, lately belonging to Luscombe and Co.), masts, &c., &c. On the breaking out of the first American war this extensive concern began to decline; and though a magnificent procession of the woolcombers at Plymouth took place in 1783 on the return of peace, and the business was continued after Mr. Shepheard's death by his sons with sufficient success to warrant hopes of its reviving, yet the whole has mouldered away or been dispersed into distant quarters, except one solitary remnant—a small white serge manufactory, carried on by Mr. Codd, in Old Town.²

Of manufactories existing in the port when he wrote (1814-15), Burt enumerates, excluding trades: A salt refinery of such antiquity that it was among those privileged in the time of Queen Anne, when an Act of Parliament was passed prohibiting the erection of new refineries, except in places

² BURT'S *Review*, p. 176.

containing salt pits or springs, and contributing in 1814 at the rate of £12,000 a year to the revenue; five tallow factories; a nail factory (in Colmer's Lane); a brown paper mill at Millbay;³ a writing slate and pencil manufactory at Lee Mill, near Ivybridge, delivering two slates per minute; two potteries, one manufacturing coarse ware of clay imported from Bideford, and the other 'cream-coloured, or Queen's ware, painted, printed, and enamelled ware,' of clay from Cornwall, Teignmouth, Poole, and Gravesend; varnish and pitch manufactories, from which large exportations of tar, turpentine, and varnish, had taken place to Newfoundland; an ivory black manufactory, established three years previously by Mr. Briggs, who employed many persons, principally women, in collecting bones; two tobacco and tobacco pipe manufactories;⁴ distilleries, employing twenty men; a straw-plait manufactory, established when the French prisoners were at Dartmoor, straw being supplied them, which they returned plaited; five tanyards—an increase of four in thirty years; thirteen ship-building yards; seven rope-walks; and two canvas manufactories, employing about 200 persons, the first established by a Mr. Jardine, from Scotland, in Westwell Street. The sail-cloth manufactory of Messrs. Hammett and Dove (at one time Shepheard, Hammett, and Co., and again, Hammett, Prance, and Co.) was a very flourishing concern; but the changed conditions of the shipping trade caused this industry to decay, and it has been given up by Mr. Yeo, the last to practise it.

The white serge factory ceased its operations long before these canvas works in Mill Lane, the last relic of the textile manufactures of Plymouth. A flock and shoddy mill was subsequently carried on at Brent by Mr. Peter Adams, who had introduced the manufacture of Brussels carpets, unfortunately just about the time that power looms were superseding the old machinery; so that operations were suspended after a couple of years.

Textile industries are now represented in Plymouth by great clothing factories, first introduced by the Messrs. Tippetts. The factory system has also been applied of late in other departments of production, and in the manufacture of furniture.

³ A paper mill was erected there by Thomas Netherton as far back as 1710.

⁴ The port received very great importations of tobacco from Virginia in the vessels of Mr. Rogers and Mr. Morshead, to the former of whom a singular but lucky accident occurred. Only two days previously to the legal commencement of the duty imposed on tobacco, three of his vessels arrived, by which he saved, or rather gained, £5,000 to £6,000.

Chemical Manufactures.

The great development in the manufacturing industry of Plymouth within the present century has been in the chemical branches. Hence the large establishments which have converted the district to the east of Sutton Pool into a manufacturing suburb, the tall chimney stacks of which sufficiently indicate the purposes to which it is devoted. This locality indeed has enjoyed some sort of connection with manufactures from the date of their introduction. There was a time when Millbay seemed likely to distance it in the race; but the progress of building has confined the manufacturing operations of western Plymouth within comparatively narrow limits. The Millbay paper mills and glass-house⁵ have disappeared; but it retains the extensive soap works established by Mr. Thomas Gill in 1818, now the property of the Millbay Soap, Alkali, and Soda Company, and formed into a Company in 1856; alongside of which a younger concern of the same kind—the Victoria Soap Company—was established in 1858. The Victoria Company is also the successor to the West of England Soap Company, which formerly conducted business in the Sutton Road. The cement manufacture has been carried on for many years—a manufactory of Roman cement at Millbay being the first established, by the late Mr. Rattenbury. It is now conducted at Cattedown.

Nearly sixty years ago the business of sugar refining was re-introduced by Mr. James Bryant. Having established the first starch manufactory in the town in Mill Lane, not long subsequently he founded in the same locality the refinery, the site of which until then was occupied by vegetable gardens and a tanyard. By Messrs. Bryant and Burnell it was carried on until 1856, when the concern passed into the hands of the British and Irish Sugar Refinery Company. After they ceased operations it was acquired by Sir Edward Bates, M.P., and eventually closed by him, as it was conducted at a loss.

Plymouth for a short time possessed a lucifer match manufactory, the property of Messrs. W. Bryant and E. James, which was burnt in 1829. Mr. W. Bryant was afterwards the founder of the Soap Works, subsequently known as the West of England; Mr. E. James, of the

⁵ The workmen of Messrs. Stanford's glass-house walked in the procession formed to celebrate the coronation of the Queen, with glass hats and all manner of glass paraphernalia. The premises were sold to the Great Western Dock Company.

Starch Works at Coxside, now owned by his sons (Messrs. W. Collier, and E. Hamilton, James), which have grown to very large dimensions; and at which black lead, blue, and other articles are manufactured. Part of these premises were occupied by the Poor Clares (see page 265). Mr. W. Bryant likewise established candle works, a branch of manufacture carried on at Coxside by the Patent Candle Company.

The manufacture of artificial manure has grown to very large proportions, as the extensive establishments of Messrs. Norrington, and of Messrs. Burnard and Alger, testify. Connected with the manufacture of manure are the production of sulphuric acid and metal reduction.

The tar distilling works of Mr. Harvey, at Deadman's Bay, are the only ones of the kind in the West of England.

The lead works of Messrs. James and Rosewall were established in 1850, on premises which had been unsuccessfully occupied as a naphtha manufactory for a few years. The firm was originally Sparrow, Hodge, and Co. The business was transferred to new premises in the Octagon in 1868.

The Plymouth Paper Staining Company has been one of the most successful concerns ever started in the borough.

About twenty-five years since Mr. George Frean founded the biscuit factory, now carried on by Messrs. Serpell and Co., by whom the fancy business has been largely developed.

Gas making is hardly looked upon as a manufacture. An Oil Gas company was incorporated under an Act passed in 1823, the first meeting to consider the matter having been called July 24th, 1817. (In 1770 the town was lit by 250 oil lamps.) In 1825 the United General Gas Company was established at Millbay; and in 1832 the Oil Gas merged into it. The Plymouth and Stonehouse Gas Light and Coke Company, by which the towns are at present lit, was incorporated in 1845. The prices in the first instance were charged at Plymouth, as elsewhere, per burner. Now the town enjoys the advantage of having almost the cheapest gas in the kingdom.

Plymouth China.

Plymouth was the seat of the manufacture of the first true porcelain made in England; and to the founder of the old Plymouth Pottery is Cornwall indebted for the discovery of her great mineral resources in china clay (kaolin) and china stone (petuntse). William Cookworthy, a member of the Society of Friends, was born at Kingsbridge in the year 1705. Removing to Plymouth, he engaged in the drug

Cookworthy's patent was dated March 17th, 1768, and there is a dated example of the Plymouth china of March 14th; but at least six years before the manufacture had been attempted, with Cookworthy's materials and probably with his aid, by Champion at Bristol, though then and there it failed. The Plymouth China Works seem to have been carried on between 1768 and 1772; but there is no certainty as to these details, or as to the exact locality where the porcelain was made. The so-called 'China House' at Coxside—now removed—seems to have been really a storehouse; and the probability is that the works were upon premises still standing in High Street, which the ratebooks show to have been in Cookworthy's possession at this period.

General Handicrafts and Trades.

There are sundry indications in the Corporate Records of the manner in which ordinary handicrafts and trades were conducted in the town at various periods. Thus in 1486 the 'taynyng' of the great banner and standards had to be entrusted to the 'stayner [dyer] of totyns'; and in 1506-7 Nicholas Adams had to be fetched from Looe to make the 'crosse and the vanyes on the stypell.' In 1624-5 there were 134 payers of 'ale and beer wyts' to a population of some 7,000, beside four vintners—one to every fifty inhabitants. Two of the houses of these four vintners are still in use as inns—the Old Four Castles and the Rose and Crown, in Old Town Street—the latter the most characteristic of its class in the town. The tobacco shops in the seventeenth century did a good business. Letters patent were granted for the exclusive sale of tobacco in Plymouth in 1634 to Thomas King, Abraham Briggs, John Adlington, John Wilcock, Nicholas Harris, Henry Honey, Richard Tapper, and George Rattenbury; London being the only place at which tobacco could be landed. The extent to which smoking was patronised is shewn in the report of Garrard to Lord Stafford in 1663, that Plymouth had yielded £100 and as much yearly rent to the licensees, besides which there were many unlicensed shops which the magistrates had to put down.

The brewers were strictly regulated. Ale-tasters were appointed (manorial fashion), who had to see that the ale and beer made were good and wholesome, and without whose approval none could be sold. Moreover the price was fixed. In 1608 the best was sold at 13s. 4d. per hogshead, the second quality at 6s. 8d.; while in 1627, in obedience to the

strong Puritan feeling of the town, it was ordered that no work was to be done by the brewers or their servants on the Lord's-day, 'that they may wholly apply themselves to the attendance of religious duties as fully and freely as any others.' Further, they were to sell no beer at a higher rate than 15s. a hogshead—a considerable increase on the prices of twenty years previous. The breweries and distilleries



'ROSE AND CROWN,' OLD TOWN STREET.

now rank among the oldest local industries, and a number of the former have recently been amalgamated into one concern, under the Limited Liability Acts, which have found frequent application in the locality.

Burt quotes from Bayley's *Western and Midland Directory* for 1783, the number of merchants, professional men, and tradesmen in Plymouth in that year, and gives a somewhat similar statistical statement for the year 1814, compiled by

Mr. Shephard, then collector of taxes. We put this information in a tabular form, with the addition of the number of principals engaged in the respective occupations for the years 1830, 1870, and 1890, as gathered from directories. It must be premised that the comparison, though sufficiently accurate to indicate the remarkable commercial progress of the town, is only approximate; the amalgamation and distribution of trades being governed by different principles now to formerly.

	1783	1814	1830	1870	1890
Attornies	12	...	31	65	66
Auctioneers and Salesmen	4	...	7	15	17
Bagmakers	1	...	1	3	4
Bakers and Confectioners	1	33	58	1.0	148
Banks	3	3	2	5	9
Barristers	1	...	2	3	4
Blockmakers	2	3	2	8	7
Boot and Shoemakers . . . . .	...	24	25	94	163
Braziers and Plumbers	2	4	6	8	37
Brewers, and Wine and Spirit Merchants }	6	13	15	53	42
Brokers	4	...	9	18	31
Brushmakers	1	2	1	8	8
Butchers . . . . .	...	21	11	109	152
Cabinetmakers	5	13	8	33	25
Carpenters and Builders	1	33	31	96	131
Cheesemongers	1	...	1	...	5
Chemists	3	7	15	38	39
Coachmakers	1	2	2	10	13
Coopers . . . . .	...	13	3	5	5
Corn Factors	1	...	6	38	28
Curriers	2	8	7	10	6
Cutlers	1	...	3	5	5
Drapers and Hosiers	18	18	43	100	107
Dyers . . . . .	...	3	6	3	10
Earthenware Dealers	2	4	6	10	20
Grocers and Tea Dealers	9	50	53	104	116
Gunsmiths	1	...	2	3	2
Hatters	1	7	10	16	19
Ironmongers and Ship-Chandlers	4	13	18	28	35
Maltsters . . . . .	...	2	1	7	2
Masons and Plasterers	1	21	11	56	44
Merchants	11	35	18	17	16
Painters and Glaziers . . . . .	...	14	11	46	52
Pawnbrokers . . . . .	...	9	9	37	34
Physicians	4	...	7	9	6
Printers and Booksellers	1	11	20	40	45
Ropemakers	2	5	5	8	7
Saddlers . . . . .	...	5	8	5	11
Sailclothmakers . . . . .	...	2	1	1	...
Sailmakers	4	14	4	4	7
Shipbuilders	7	10	13	8	11
Silversmiths	4	12	15	29	58
Smiths	15	...	10	27	26

	1783	1814	1830	1870	1890
Surgeons	10	...	26	40	61
Tailors . . . .	...	33	27	80	90
Tallow-Chandlers	3	7	4	5	11
Tanners	1	5	3	2	2
Tinmen . . . .	...	8	5	11	6
Tobacconists	2	...	1	21	44
Victuallers and Beershop-keepers . . . .	...	124	96	413	314
Woolstaplers . . . .	..	4	1	1	1

The first Plymouth Bank was established in 1772, by Barings, Lee, Sellon, and Tingcombe; the second, the Naval Bank, in 1773, by Harris, Turner, and Herbert. The former, the Plymouth Bank (then Elford, Tingcombe, and Clark), stopped payment in 1825, which caused widespread suffering. There are now nine banks in the town: The Naval, Bank of England, Devon and Cornwall (established as the Plymouth and Devonport in 1832, and of which Plymouth is the headquarters), National Provincial, Cornish, Wilts and Dorset, Mount's Bay (Bolitho and Co.), Plymouth and Penzance (Batten, Carne, and Co.), and Capital and Counties. The Plymouth and South Devon Savings Bank occupies the premises once held by the Plymouth Bank. A Three Towns Bank has been amalgamated with the Devon and Cornwall.

The general trade of the town has assumed a more wholesale character than formerly. The development of the local railway system made Plymouth the business metropolis of Cornwall, and of great part of Devon. Wholesale houses in the different branches of shop trades—drapery, grocery, and the like—have been established; and even in reference to building operations, the erection of sawing, planing, and moulding mills has largely contributed to increase the timber trade of the port, and by preparing the wood to a greater extent for the workmen, to reduce the quantity of manual labour required in the district.

An important local trade development on the co-operative system has to be noticed. The Plymouth Mutual Co-operative and Industrial Society, Limited, was started at a meeting of nine working men in December, 1859, and commenced business with a subscribed capital of something under £3 in February, 1860. September, 1890, showed a total membership of 14,825; trade for the year, £200,000; profit, £26,457. The capital was £39,006. Business is carried on at six places in Plymouth, five at Devonport, two at Stonehouse, and one at Torpoint, in thirty-four departments, including productive as well as distributive branches. Central stores are being built in Frankfort Street, at a cost of £25,000.

Tradesmen's Tokens.

There are some interesting relics of the traders of Plymouth in the latter half of the seventeenth century, in the little tokens, issued 'for necessary change' first under the Commonwealth, and during great part of the reign of Charles II. No copper money was coined by the Government, and as silver pennies did not meet their requirements, the tradesmen took the matter into their own hands. Probably 20,000 varieties appeared. Devonshire is known to have had 368, of which 42 were issued in Plymouth, all farthings, save those marked with an asterisk. The Churchwardens of St. Andrew also paid for 'smyting tokens.' The earliest is dated 1651, the latest 1670. The Plymouth tokens are business productions, commonly with some device—the arms of the trades to which the issuers belonged, or occasionally the arms of the family of the issuer. The town arms also appear, and there are instances of the signs of the houses kept by the issuers. These tokens are as follows. Where three initials are given, the second is that of the Christian name of the issuer's wife:

LEGEND.	FIELD.
<i>Obv.</i> Abraham Appelbee, <i>Rev.</i> Of Plymoth, 1668.	A ship of war in full sail. A.M.A.
This man went to the Exeter Assizes in 1663 to give evidence against a certain 'blind preacher.'	
<i>Obv.</i> Mary Baker, <i>Rev.</i> In Plymovth.	1667. M.B.
<i>Obv.</i> Maxemillian Bovah, <i>Rev.</i> In Plymovth, 1659.	A Trefoil. Three Stars.
<i>Obv.</i> Elizabeth Byland, <i>Rev.</i> Of Plymovth, 1667.	The Coopers' Arms. E.B. between two stars.
<i>Obv.</i> Henry Clarke, <i>Rev.</i> Of Plimovth, 1667.	A Lion rampant. H.M.C.
<i>Obv.</i> Nicholas Cole, <i>Rev.</i> Of Plymovth, 1665.	A full-blown Rose. N.C.
<i>Obv.</i> Iohn Cooke, <i>Rev.</i> In Plymovth.	Arms—a Chevron between three Pears. I.M.C.
<i>Obv.</i> William and Arthur <i>Rev.</i> Collings, of Orson.	Apparently a Man. W.A.C.
This would be Oreston, still in common parlance Osan.	
* <i>Obv.</i> Henry Davis, <i>Rev.</i> Plymovth, 1669.	His half-penny. H.D.
<i>Obv.</i> Benjamin Dvnnning, <i>Rev.</i> In Plymoth, 1666.	A Castle. B.D.
<i>Obv.</i> Grace Elliott, <i>Rev.</i> Of Plymovth.	Mercers' Arms. G.E.
Mark Elliott was an apothecary, probably husband of Grace.	

LEGEND.

FIELD.

Obv. Margret Eaton,
Rev. In Plymouth, 1665.

Apothecaries' Arms.
M.E.

Widow of Christopher Eaton, mentioned as an apothecary in the Siege accounts.

Obv. Ivdith Ford,
Rev. Of Plymouth.

1669.
I.F.

Probably widow of Thomas Ford, merchant.

Obv. Ioachim Gevers,
Rev. Of Plymouth, 1656.

A Castle.
I.A.G.

Joachim must have died soon after this; for in 1658 Widow Gavers was carrying on business as one of the five vintners of Plymouth.

Obv. Edward Geffery,
Rev. In Plymouth, 1664.

Plymouth Arms.
E.E.G.

There was a William Gefferie, a woollen draper; and a William Gefferie had 17s. 6d. for painting the king's arms on the New Shambles at the Restoration.

Obv. Ralph Gorge,
Rev. In Plymouth.

Shield with three Gurses (?).
R.M.G.

One of the Gorges family of St. Budeaux (?).

Obv. Richard Hamlyn,
Rev. In Plymouth, 1659.

A Bunch of Grapes.
R.P.H.

Obv. Christopher Hatch,
Rev. Of Plymouth, 1658.

A Swan.
C.R.H.

**Obv.* Michael Hooke, Grocer,
Rev. In Plymouth, 1667.

Grocers' Arms.
His half penny.

Obv. James Ireish at ye
Rev. Of Plymouth, 1667.

Three Fish Hooks.
I.E.I.

Obv. James Jackson, at the
Rev. Svn in Plymouth, 1651.

The Sun.
I.G.I.

Obv. Will. Mountstevens,
Rev. Of Plymouth.

1670.
W.P.M.

That Mountstevens was not a freeman we learn from an entry, that in the year of issuing this token he paid for leave to open his shop windows for the four years preceding.

Obv. Samvill Northcott,
Rev. Postma in Plymouth.

S.N.
1653.

Mayor in 1658, and ejected for refusing from conscientious scruples to give currency to a certain proclamation. Nathaniel Northcott was a mercer, and Nathaniel Northcott, jun., an artist.

Obv. Roger Oliver, 1663,
Rev. In Plymouth, Mercer.

Arms—A Chevron between three Trees.
R.O.

Obv. Edward Pateson,
Rev. In Plymouth.

Drapers' Arms.
E.A.P.

Obv. John Payne,
Rev. In Plymouth, 1656.

A Pelican feeding its young.
I.P.

Obv. Simon Paynter, of
Rev. Plymouth, 1657.

Four Castles, two and two.
S.A.P.

Obv. Richard Perry, 1658,
Rev. In Plymouth.

A Man making Candles.
R.D.P.

Obv. Thomas Phillipps,
Rev. In Plymouth.

Mercers' Arms.
T.M.P.

LEGEND.

FIELD.

- Obv.* Henry Pike, at the Three
Rev. Cranes, in Plymouth.
 The Three Cranes was in Looe Street. Pike was a vintner, and was
 succeeded by George Bellow.
Obv. Tho. Pike, at y^e 4
Rev. Castles in Plymouth.
 The occupant of the Old Four Castles, still standing in Old Town Street.
Obv. Iosias Pickes,
Rev. Plymouth, 1657.
 Probably the father of Isaac Pickes, grocer, noted in 1693 as occupying
 a house in Whimble Street. Josias was a Baptist, and persecuted as such.
Obv. Thomas Powell,
Rev. Plymouth, 1669.
Obv. William Reepe,
Rev. Of Plymouth.
 William Roope, or Reepe, was a grocer; when he died his widow, Johanna,
 continued the business, but had to pay the Corporation for leave to open her
 shop windows.
**Obv.* Samvel Seeley,
Rev. Of Svtton, 1657.
 The Seeleys, or Ceelys, are an old Plymouth family; and this issuer may
 have had some special connection with the locality of Sutton Pool.
Obv. William Toma,
Rev. In Plymouth, 1663.
**Obv.* William Tom, Grocer,
Rev. In Plymouth, 1666.
 These two are probably by the same issuer.
Obv. Adam Tvrtly,
Rev. In Plymouth.
 Judith Turtly, widow, appears as a gunsmith and armourer in the Siege
 accounts.
Obv. William Warren,
Rev. In Plymouth, 1656.
Obv. William Warren,
Rev. In Plymouth.
 Warren was a vintner. When he issued the first token he was married;
 when the second appeared he was a widower.
Obv. William Weeks,
Rev. In Plymouth, 1659.
 Weeks was a stationer, and supplied goods to the Corporation.
Obv. Iohn Williams,
Rev. In Plymouth, Stationer.
 A halfpenny was issued towards the close of the last
 century in connection with the sailcloth factory. It bears
 on the obverse a woman at a spinning-wheel, and the words
 SAIL CANVAS MANUFACTORY, with the date 1796 in the
 exergue. On the reverse is a man at a loom, with PLYMOUTH
 above and HALFPENNY below. On the edge are the words
 PAYABLE AT SHEPHEARD DOVE HAMMETT & CO. The same
 device of a man at a loom, and from the same die, is seen
 on a Rochdale halfpenny of 1792.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE TOWN: ITS GROWTH AND BUILDINGS.

Describe the Borough—though our idle tribe
May love description, can we so describe
That you shall fairly streets and buildings trace,
And all that gives distinction to a place?
This cannot be; yet moved by your request
A part I paint; let fancy paint the rest.
Cities and towns, the various haunts of men,
Require the pencil, they defy the pen.—*Crabbe*.

Hail narrow streets—haunts of mine innocent days!
I almost like your dinginess: in sooth,
There's not a nook or alley but doth raise
Some pleasing fond remembrance of my youth,
Yea e'en yon lumpish Guildhall's lack of grace,
That was the laugh of my uprising years.

Linked with a thought of cherished infancy
The crooked 'st lane leads straight into my heart!
Albeit, old town of mine, no love can screen
That ugliest truth of all—thou art not *over* clean.—*Gandy*, 1827.

IT is not probable that when William the Conqueror ascended the throne of England, the population of what is now Plymouth exceeded, if indeed it reached, 60 all told; *Domesday* only accounts for 30. A hundred years later it was but a little fishing village. A period of assured progress succeeded. The Subsidy Roll of 1377 sets forth, as already stated, that there were 4,837 lay persons of fourteen years and upwards resident in the town assessed to the poll tax, Exeter having 1560, and Dartmouth 506. In the whole of Devon 45,635 lay folk were assessed, and 1,115 clergy, so that Plymouth had over a tenth. These figures would indicate a total population of 7,000. During the next three centuries the average number of inhabitants could not have gone beyond this. The damage occasioned by the French in their frequent incursions was one of the principal operating causes in preventing increase, and the periodical attacks of pestilence the other. For part of the time the population must have been very much under this mark, since a Chantry Roll of 1547 states the number of 'houselyng people' (i.e.

people old enough to receive the Sacrament) at 2,000 only. At the close of the reign of Elizabeth the population was about 7,000; and it fluctuated between 6,000 and 8,000 during the Stuart reigns. In 1612 the assessments were: Old Town, 51; Vintry, 101; Venours, 52; Loo Street, 43—total, 247. In 1642 these figures were about doubled. But in 1628 Old Town had 134 assessments, so that very little can be concluded from these statistics alone.

There are no trustworthy data upon which to base an estimate of the population at the commencement of the last century. In 1740 it was 8,400. Probably there had been little change for the preceding fifty years. The following returns, extracted from the register books of the parishes of St. Andrew, Charles, and Stoke Damerel, indicate that it was after this the activity consequent upon successive wars first tended to the increase of the population from outside.

YEAR.		BAPTISMS.		BURIALS.		MARRIAGES.
1700	. .	299	...	331	...	...
1714	. .	409	...	581	...	...
1720	. .	295	...	310	...	...
1730	. .	239	...	285	...	...
1740	. .	299	...	728	...	...
1750	. .	552	...	397	...	...
1760	. .	878	...	1313	...	525
1770	. .	672	...	682	...	234
1780	. .	873	...	1553	...	518
1790	. .	891	...	872	...	352
1800	. .	1539	...	1770	...	845

The present century lands us on firm ground, supplying authoritative data in the Census returns:

	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881
Persons . .	16,040	20,803	21,591	31,080	36,537	52,321	62,599	68,768	73,794
Houses . .	1,744	2,185	2,646	3,472	4,298	5,178	6,408	7,867	8,192

Plymouth at the Conquest.

At the time of the Conquest the site of Plymouth had a very different appearance to that with which we are familiar, quite apart from its clothing of houses. Much that is now land within the area was water or marsh. The limestone hills of Cattedown, the Hoe, and Stonehouse, were half islanded peninsulas; while a still more inclusive peninsular character was given to the borough generally by the extent to which Stonehouse Creek on the west ran up to Pennycomequick and Houndiscombe, and Lipson Creek on the east penetrated towards Mutley. Sutton Pool spread within its narrow entrance on all sides, sending off a creek towards

the Laira at Coxside and another westward along the line of the Parade. Still wider was the expanse of the inner reach of Millbay, known for so many centuries as Sourpool or Surpool, covering the whole of what is now the Union Street district, from George Lane on the east, ranging by Frankfort Street and King Street on the north, and reaching to the Stonehouse boundary on the west.

Old Names.

And some of the old names would be as unfamiliar to us as the configuration, especially along the shore. Even so late as the Act of Incorporation we find Wynrigg or Wynderygge used in place of the Hoe, and evidently including what was afterwards called Battery Hill at Stonehouse—the metes and bounds beginning ‘inter montem vocat’ Wynrig,’ at the spot where the continuity of the ridge was broken by the narrow channel between Millbay and Surpool. The fact that the word Hoe is always prefixed by the definite article shows that it was not originally a proper name, but a common name adapted = the ‘height.’

Then we have Henstone or Hingston for what is now Cattedown; *The Catte* for Cattewater; Fyshe Tor for Fisher’s Nose, the later Lambhay Point; and still earlier than the date of the Incorporation Pol Tor—apparently for the headland then and subsequently known as Est Kyng or Eastern King; while at Stonehouse another promontorial point is called Whyttor. This frequent use of tor is noteworthy.

Touching Surpool there is further to be said that the customary interpretation as the ‘upper pool,’ from *sur* = ‘above’ cannot be maintained. The original form is not *sur* but *sour*. The suggestion may be made that the derivation is from the Keltic *sarn* = a causeway. In the Act of Incorporation, after Wynrigg, the boundary is said to run ‘by the Banke of Soure pole ayenst the north on the grete dyke otherwyse callyd the greate deche.’ This dyke was naturally thought to be the dam of the mills; but it is clear from early fourteenth-century deeds in the possession of Earl Mount Edgumbe that this cannot have been the case. Land is transferred in Stonehouse near Sutton, ‘within great diche’; and the dyke under its Keltic name of ‘Sarn’ may well have given title to the Pool of which it was a distinctive feature. On the age of this bank it is idle to speculate; but in all likelihood it had something to do with the exceptional early building which gave Stonehouse its special name, and was essentially a Stonehouse boundary.

The Sutton of the eleventh century was simply a few houses dotted here and there by the margin of Sutton Pool and Sour Pool; and a group or two on the slopes above. The whole would have hardly made a modern hamlet, much less a village; and the inhabitants divided their labours between fishing and tilling. There are just a few indications of the sites of some of the dwellings, in such names as Fletehenda, given to an early resident, showing that he lived at the end of a 'fleet' or little stream that flowed into the tideway; and of the locality of early enclosures in such terms as the *Lambhay*, or 'Vautordisparke atte Pole.' Tradition and history agree that the first *centre* of population was on the spot for six centuries at least called Old Town—and in Sutton Vawter as distinct from Sutton Prior.

Sometime in the twelfth century the first church was built; and the town assumed a definite plan. Old Town is the most ancient of the existing street names; St. Andrew Street is mentioned in a deed of 1386; Briton Side dated from the commencement of the fifteenth century; and in the Act of Incorporation we find 'Byllebury Strete, Note Strete, and Stillman Strete.' Catte Street is also ancient.

Growth.

Leland calls the town very large; and Risdon (died 1640), writing of it just a century later says: 'The commodious situation and healthful habitation was vulgarly known and allured many to resort thither, whereby it is so increased with beautiful buildings, that of the two parts formerly spoken [Sutton Prior and Sutton Valletort], conjoined is made one populous Plymouth; and now so great grown that it may be held comparable to some cities.' Undoubtedly the town was much improved and beautified during the Elizabethan era. There was ample evidence of this in the fine old houses of that period. But Risdon's standard was not high.

A quaint poetical description of Plymouth about this date, by the Rev. William Stroud of Newnham, from a country bumpkin's point of view, is too good to be passed by. It is in a collection of poems among the Harleian MSS.

Thou n'ere woot riddle, neighbor John,
Where ich of late have bin-a-;
Why ich ha bin to Plimoth, man,
The like was yet n'ere zeene-a-
Zich streets, zich men, zich hugeous zeas,
Zich things and guns there rumbling,
Thyzelf, like me, wood'st bleasse to zee
Zich bomination grumbling.

The streets be pight of shindle-stone,
 Doe gliassen like the sky-a,
 The zshops ston ope and all y^e yeere long
 I 'se think a faire there bee-a-
 And many a gallant here goeth
 I' goold, that zaw the King-a-;
 The King zome zweare himself was there,
 A man or zome zich thing-a-.

Thou voole, that never water zaw'st,
 But think-a in the moor-a-
 To zee the zee, wood'st be a'gast,
 It doth zoo rage and roar-a :
 It tast's zoo salt thy tonge wood thinke
 The vire were in y^e water ;
 And, 't is zoo wide, noe lond is spide,
 Look nere zoo long there-ater-.

The water from the element
 Noe man can zee chi-vore ;
 'T was zoo low, yet all consent
 'T was higher than the moor.
 'T is strange how looking down a cliffe,
 Men do looke upward rather,
 If there mine eyne had not it zeene,
 'Ch ood scarce believe my vather.

Amidst the water wooden birds,
 And flying houses zwim-a- ;
 All full of things as ich ha' heard,
 And goods up to y^e brim-a- ;
 They goe unto another world,
 Desairing to conquer-a-
 Vor wch those guns, voule develish ones,
 Do dunder and spett vire-a-.

Good neighbor John, how var is this ?
 This place vor I will zee-a- ;
 'Ch 'll moape no longer heere, that's flat,
 To watch a zheespe or zheene-a- ;
 Though it zoo var as London bee,
 Wch ten miles ich imagin,
 'Ch 'll thither hye, for this place I
 Do take in great induggin.

An Italian who visited Plymouth in the train of Cosmo de Medici, Grand Duke of Tuscany, in 1669, left an interesting pen-and-ink sketch of the town as it appeared to his unaccustomed eyes.

The city cannot be seen from the sea, and is almost shut up by a gorge of the mountains, on the lower skirt of which it is situated. Its extent is not very considerable [yet elsewhere the writer remarks that it may be reckoned one of the best cities in England]. The buildings are antique, according to the

English fashion, lofty and narrow, with pointed roofs, and the fronts may be seen through, owing to the magnitude of the windows of glass in each of the different storeys. They are occupied from top to bottom. . . . The life of the city is navigation. Hence it is that in Plymouth only women and children are to be seen, the greater part of the men living at sea; and hence also the town is exceedingly well supplied, all the necessaries of life being found there [fortunate Plymouthians], and many other articles that administer to luxury and pleasure; and silversmiths, watchmakers, jewellers, and other artists of this description are not wanting.

In Roger North's life of the Lord Keeper Guildford, we find:

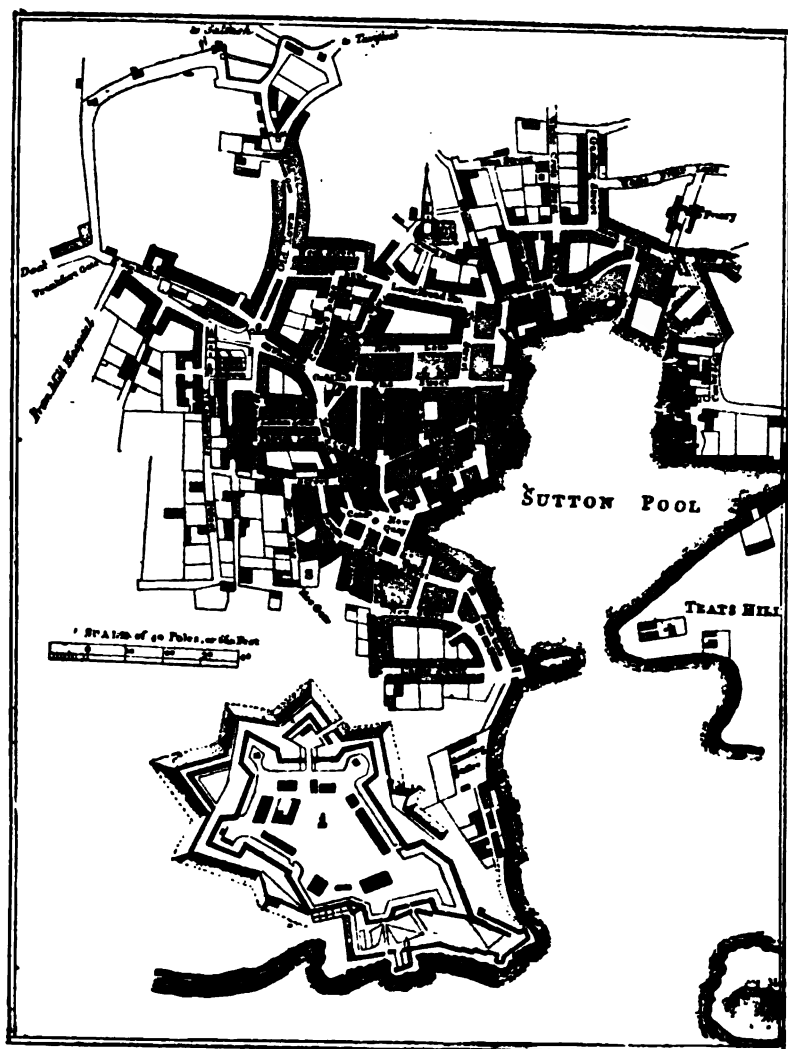
His Lordship went down to Plymouth to see the town, which, as other marine towns, is crowded together, and the streets are narrow. But the fort which was built by King Charles II. with the marble of the place, and lime of the same sort of stone burnt, is a worthy spectacle, especially for its glorious prospect overlooking the harbour, which consists of two waters, one called Hamoaze, the other Catwater. . . . All this lies below the Castle, and in view of the Fort, being seen as in a map or rather a flying prospect; and ships under sail look like cockboats.

Two hundred years ago the town covered much the same ground it did a century later. The increase in the interim chiefly consisted in packing more houses into the old gardens and on open spaces. A plan of the neighbourhood of the Barbican made in 1677, now in the British Museum, shows between the houses facing the New Quay and those immediately west of them on the Hoe, an area unoccupied by buildings at least 200 feet wide. A view from Cattedown, taken in 1715, proves that in the interval the buildings had been much more closely packed. The towers of St. Andrew and Charles appear on the very verge of the town, and in the distance is Stoke Church, embosomed in trees. About this date (1714) there were 1,139 houses. The first brick house with sash windows had been built in Briton Side seven years previously.

Let us attempt to describe the appearance of Plymouth one hundred years ago. There were about 1,600 houses. The Pig-Market, now Bedford Street, reached but to Frankfort Gate (the Globe Hotel). Not only Westwell Street, but part of Catherine Street was open towards the west, whilst southward a succession of fields spread between them and the Hoe. Old Town stretched away in irregular fashion as far as Saltash Street, with fields flanking it

on either side. The town proper did not extend further north than Week Street, through which the mail coaches ran; and Charles Church was still half in the country. Eastward the houses did not reach beyond the Friary; but a straggling advanced guard of buildings had been pushed out up Whitecross Street. From Frankfort Gate to Stonehouse—then merely Fore, Newport, and Chapel Streets, with a lane for Edgcumbe Street—lay the great salt marsh, where but a century before had appeared the waters of Surpool, and where now the great business artery of the Three Towns passes. The water had been banked out to some extent; by slow degrees the pool had silted up; and the growth of aquatic plants had so far completed reclamation, that the bulk of the ground was just such a rough pasture as can be seen by the side of the Lynher, intersected by numerous streams, and at the highest tides still overflowed. There were two roads from Plymouth to Stonehouse. One, a lane, wound round by Millbay, following the line of the ancient mill dyke; the other ran between the northern edge of the marsh, and the fields which covered the southern slope of the ridge, now crowned by the North Road. Most of the houses in Old Town Street were thatched. Even in 1875 there remained a thatched cottage in the North Road, the last inhabited thatched dwelling within the urban limits, and thatched stores in the very heart of the town—in Frankfort Street.

One of the earliest attempts to realise the future destiny of Plymouth was the commencement in 1776 of George Street as a pleasant series of suburban residences. Yet so little was that future foreseen by the general public, that it was remarked of one professional gentleman who built a house at its further end that he could never expect his clients to come *so far* to see him. The tide, however, had set in. Frankfort Street soon followed suit, and before the end of the century was reached building was going on in all directions. According to the *Picture of Plymouth*, between 1793 and 1812 there had been erected 500 houses, including the following streets and places: Tavistock Street (1803), Portland Place, Orchard Place, Park Street (1809), Duke Street, Cornwall Street (1810), New Town (York Street), Richmond Street (1811), Barrack Street (now Russell Street, taking its first name from the barracks in Frankfort Square), Willow Street, Arch Street, Market Alley, Hampton Buildings, Exeter Street, Jubilee Street, Brunswick Terrace (1811), Ladywell Buildings, and Lambhay Street. To this list, Rowe in



PLAN OF PLYMOUTH IN 1765.

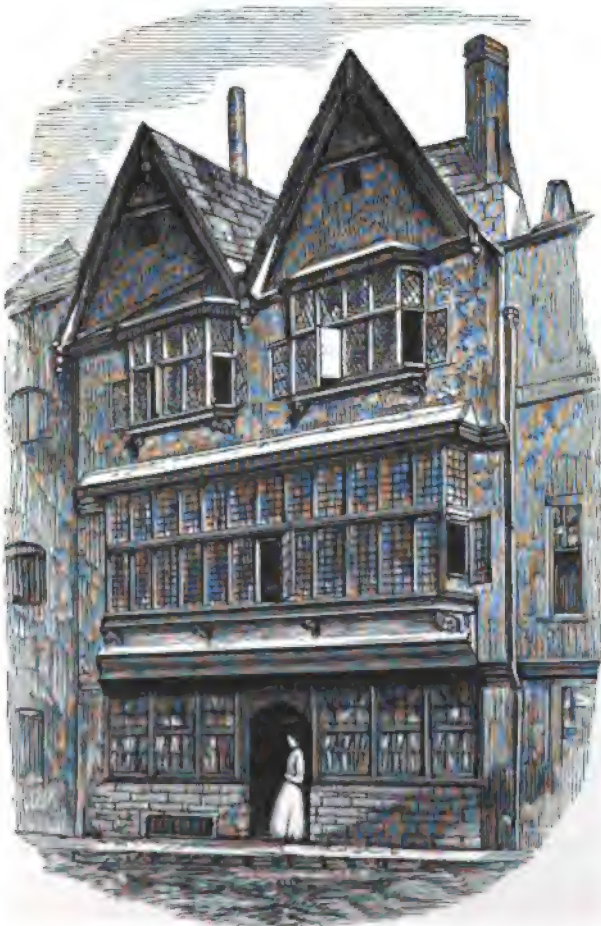
his *Panorama* adds Gascoigne Terrace (1811) and Portland Square (1811), and as of more recent construction Cobourg Street, James Street, Union Road (1816), Union Terrace, Queen Street, King Street, Princess Square, the Crescent, St. Andrew Terrace, Charles Place, Fareham Place, and Woodside.

The building trade when Burt wrote (1814-15) had shown much activity, but was stagnating. There were six or seven master builders, with about 200 masons and plasterers, and 150 carpenters. In the ten preceding years 500 houses had been built; 200 in the last three. Forty houses were untenanted. A project for the provision of suitable dwellings for the poor had been brought forward by Messrs. F. Fox, T. Cleather, H. Woolcombe, and G. Soltan; but had fallen to the ground after £1,450 had been subscribed. The scheme was to erect dwellings in Shute Park, and other spots contiguous to Plymouth, at a cost for each house of £120; the rent, including taxes, to be £9 15s., 'or 5s. less than what constitutes a parishioner.' From that day to the erection of Shaftesbury Cottages, in 1861, nothing in this direction was done, much as it was needed. The establishment in 1850 of the Baths and Washhouses, though resulting in pecuniary loss, however contributed somewhat to improve the comfort of humble homes.

The past twenty years have been more fruitful. The Plymouth Improved Dwellings Association have built workmen's dwellings at Coxside; Sir Edward Bates and Mr. John Pethick have erected blocks in St. Andrew and Victoria Streets; Messrs. Bulteel and Co., of the Naval Bank, have by building and conversion provided extensive ranges of dwellings at the rear of the old house in Notte Street, which is made the centre of a picturesque frontage designed by Mr. Gribble. But there are still scores and hundreds of houses in which it is a shame and a disgrace that human beings should dwell; and not in all cases of ancient date.

Sixty years ago, when 'Sailor William' was king, Union Road was not half built; there were only a few blocks of dwellings in Stonehouse Lane, and a few scattered houses near Eldad Chapel, between it and Deadlake; whilst the Crescent and the long departed Millbay Grove, the site of the Duke of Cornwall Hotel, were the only connected buildings between Union Road and the Hoe. The district whereon Lockyer and its associated streets, with Princess Square and its communications down to Notte Street, now stand, was almost entirely unoccupied, save by a ropewalk

and a house called Shady Groves. Portland Square was but partially built—a detached suburb; Gibbons Fields and Charlestown were in the hands of the farmer and dairyman; Woodside and Charles Place were pleasant rural retreats.



OLD HOUSE, NOTTE STREET.

Urban Plymouth was bounded by a line drawn from the top of Claremont Street to the Royal Hotel, and continued round that building along the back of George and Bedford Streets, by Catherine Street to the Hoe, in front of the Citadel, round Lambhay Hill to the Barbican, along Sutton Pool to

its north-east corner, thence direct to the head of Tavistock Place, and thence again by the Lower Mill, up Cobourg Street, and down the present North Road to the starting-point. And much of the ground within these limits was unoccupied.

Twenty years later great changes had taken place. Still Five and Four Field Lanes had not given place to the North Road. The ground between St. Peters and the South Devon Railway was open; Barley House, with its grounds (now covered by Harwell, Well, and Tracey Streets), was yet a private residence; Pontey's Gardens (Kings Gardens) were in the very height of their beauty; North Hill was unbuilt; Mutley and Ford Park were open country; Mannamead was still mainly field; Union Road was unfinished, the ground right and left only partially occupied; along the northern face of the Hoe there was scarcely a house from Lockyer Street to the Millbay Barracks.

The building activity of the past twenty years, and especially of the last decade, has far exceeded that of any former period.¹ Practically the whole of the building land within the borough, parts of Charles and still more Sutton Ward excepted, is now occupied. Eldad is completed; a small area only remains in the vicinity of the Hoe; the North Road is finished; North Hill and Houndiscombe are lined with houses; the fields south of Mutley Plain, Barley House, Greenbank, and Beaumont estates, have become towns; Sherwill House has been replaced by Queen Anne terraces and roads; the high ground by Freedom Fields, and the slopes thence above Tothill, are rural no longer; and still the town spreads towards Cattedown and Mount Gould. Suburban Compton, miscalled Mannamead (a name which of right belonged only to a couple of fields), has grown to such an extent that it acquired a Local Board in 1881.

Singularly enough, with the growth of north-eastern Plymouth the use of the name Mutley has been extended to embrace not only part of Compton, but a wide area of Plymouth proper, the Mutley railway station being treated as a kind of centre. The original Mutleys were on the west of Compton Gifford, two little manors in Weston Peverel. Mutley Plain is so called because it succeeds to Mutley Fields, thus named because the path through them led to Mutley.

¹ This is due mainly to the activity of speculating builders, and the manner in which they have been financed; so that at the present moment Plymouth is largely overbuilt.

Corporate Finances and Debt.

The Corporate Finances exhibit the progress of the borough very clearly. When the Municipal Reform Act became law the Corporate Debt was £41,888, and the rental of the Corporate Estates, including the water, £5,825. At the time of Mr. Rawlinson's enquiry in 1852 the debt was £52,518, and the rental £8,741. In 1870 the total debt was £55,796, and the rental £14,924. The Commissioners, when they were extinguished, left a debt behind of £15,000. This had been increased in 1870 by the great outlay on sewerage and street improvement under the Local Board to £88,471, besides which £35,045 had been paid off. The Municipal debt on the 31st March, 1890, was £232,001 15s., of which £116,061 17s. 4d. was on the Municipal Account proper, and £115,939 17s. 8d. on the account of the Sanitary Authority. Some of these liabilities were of old standing. There still remained an annual charge on the tontines created to build the original Market and Hotel and Theatre of £350; and old mortgages amounting to £30,000 on the Municipal Account, with £9,050 borrowed between the years 1826 and 1829 on mortgage by the Improvement Commissioners. At the same date the Municipal property was estimated to be worth £249,133 8s. 10d., exclusive of the Hoe, the Guildhalls—old and new—the Corporation Almshouses, and the Lunatic Asylum at Blackaton. It was then agreed, on the report of the Finance Committee, to borrow during the year ending March 31st, 1891, further sums of £25,000, while an additional expenditure of £30,000 had been previously authorized; and some of this has since been raised. The instalments of principal to be paid off during the twelve-month were, however, £13,703 5s. 7d.

The loan debt of the School Board on the 25th March, 1890, was £53,242 0s. 2d.; and, as the Board of Guardians had no outstanding loans, the total loan indebtedness of the public bodies of Plymouth for which the ratepayers were responsible, in March, 1890, was thus £285,243 15s. 2d.

The rateable value of the borough advanced from £28,983 in 1821 to £297,999 in 1890. In 1831 it was £36,923; in 1841, £76,000; in 1851, £101,818; in 1861, £127,184; in 1871, £165,953; in 1881, £193,845; and at Lady-Day, 1890, £297,999; the assessments having increased between 1861 and 1890 from 7,003 to 10,925.

Plymouth Pourtrayed.

We can accept Risdon's remark, that the town had been increased with beautiful buildings. Nevertheless, to a modern eye the Plymouth of the first James would have seemed but a poor place. A hundred years later its buildings were 'not extraordinary, and its streets narrow.' If we could believe the glowing account given in the *British Traveller*, we should imagine that another fifty years had made a marvellous change, and that in 1780 'the streets were spacious, and the houses in general regular and handsome.'

Not so, however, even at the commencement of the present century. Plymouth had no handsome suburbs then, and presented to the cursory observer few but business characteristics. Yet there were 'many good houses, but so concealed in bye-streets or lanes, or situated in the gardens of the proprietors, as not to be easily discoverable.' Most of these old mansions and their surroundings have disappeared. Their sites are covered by streets, their existence forgotten. A few remain, sadly fallen from their old estate. Dr. Kitto gives us a sketch of the business streets in 1818:

Excepting an occasional painting in the window of the sole picture-frame maker, and a few smirking portraits in the windows of the portrait and miniature painters, my sole resource was in the prints, plain and coloured, and in the book plates displayed in the windows of the stationers and booksellers. These were seldom changed, and often not until by frequent inspection I had learned every print in every window by heart: so that it was quite a relief to see one of the windows cleared out for a scouring or a fresh coat of paint. . . . In my own town the windows of the shops lay within such narrow limits that it was easy to devour them all at one operation.

A faithful but by no means flattering picture of Plymouth in 1852 was drawn by Mr. Rawlinson. He described nearly every house and shop as having an independent style of its own; the macadamised streets as very dirty in wet weather and very dusty in dry; the old back streets as narrow, crooked, and steep, with narrow passages leading into dirtier and still more crowded courts.

Originally many of the houses now in ruins were erected as residences for the nobility and gentry of the town; but from being the abodes of those possessing wealth they now give partial shelter to the improvident, the vagrant, the vicious, and the unfortunate. The quaint carving on the stonework looks out of

place; the walls are half in ruins; the gables are shattered, and foul weather stains of damp blotch the surface. Within matters are even worse; the rooms are now divided and subdivided on every floor; the staircase is darkened; its massive handrail and carved balusters are crippled and broken; the once firm stairs are now rickety and dangerous; the stucco-finished plastering is blackened and in holes.



ST. ANDREW STREET.

Great changes have since been made, though such a spot as St. Andrew Street still recalls the ancient picturesqueness of the older town. To the Commissioners Plymouth is indebted for the improvement of Treville Street at a cost of £15,000, and for the widening of Whimble Street, from fifteen feet in its narrowest part to thirty-five. Since the Local Board superseded that body much larger sums have been expended in street improvements. Union Street, George Street, Bedford Street, Old Town Street, Tavistock Street, on the main line of thoroughfare, have been cared for. To the commercial district, where the streets, old and narrow, proved utterly inadequate for the reception of the

traffic to and from the quays, great attention has wisely been paid. Notte and Woolster Streets have been widened almost throughout their whole length. Southside and Vauxhall Streets have received little less care. The capacity of the main manufacturing thoroughfare, Sutton Road, has been increased. And there have been a host of minor improvements, the value of which everybody recognises, but which do not call for special mention. At the same time, Plymouth was transformed, by large outlay on sewerage, from one of the unhealthiest towns in England into one of the healthiest, though the growth of population has made considerable further outlay in this direction essential since. Moreover, private improvement has kept pace with public, and the main streets of the town, though still rejoicing in irregularity of design, have many buildings which would do credit to the metropolis.

The names of sundry streets have been changed from time to time. Whitecross, or North Street, was once known as Old Penny Lane; Hill Street as French Lane; Week Street as Duck's Lane; Kinterbury Street as Colmer's Lane; Vintry Street as Foynes's Lane; Hoe Street as Little Hoe Lane; Hoe-Gate Street as Broad Hoe Lane; part of Ham Street as Scammel's Row; Basket Street as Love Street; Vauxhall Street as Foxhole Street; Westwell Street as Love Lane; Tothill Lane as Whitefriars Lane; Batter Street as Pomeroy Conduit Street; High Street as Market Street; Higher Lane as Loder's Lane; Middle Lane as Lyneham Street; Lower Lane as Patherick Street; Buckwell Lane as Mudd Lane; Woolster Street as Winchelsea Street; Bedford Street as the Pig-Market, &c. A few old names have been restored: thus Buckwell and Bilbury Streets were long called Higher and Lower Broad Street, Stillman Street Seven Stars Lane, and Looe Street Pike Street. On the other hand Briton Side has been turned into Exeter Street. Amongst other names which have disappeared are Catch French Lane and Cock and Bottle Lane.

Ancient Buildings.

Plymouth does not possess many features of archaeological interest. The most ancient is that Norman arch alluded to in the twelfth chapter, as having been discovered in pulling down the Almshouses near St. Andrew Church. Some thirty years since it was pointed out by a careful and competent observer that the town was not rich in architectural antiquities. Since that date fully half of those which remained

have disappeared, and live but in remembrance. There was then standing in St. Andrew Street, on the site now occupied by the Abbey Wine Vaults, an ancient hostelry known as the Turk's Head, reputed the oldest house in Plymouth. Not improbably it dated from the fourteenth century, and within its walls must the worthies of old Plymouth have quaffed many a flagon of sack.

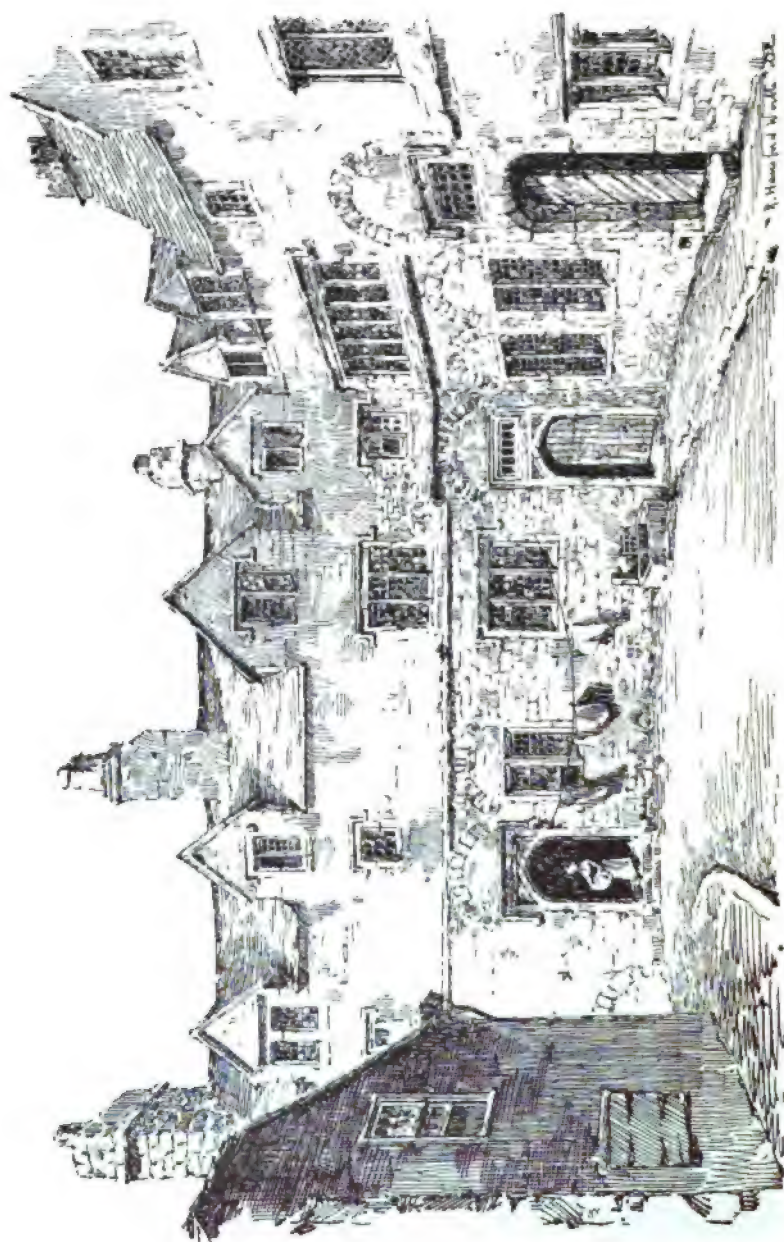
Of ancient domestic buildings, here and there corbel and gable and oriel still remain in low estate, to show what a picturesque town old Plymouth was. That fine Elizabethan dwelling, the grand old house in Notte Street, fortunately fell into good hands, and has been heedfully rebuilt. Another twenty years, and it will be nearly all we shall have left to connect the Plymouth of Victoria with the Plymouth of



THE TURK'S HEAD.

Queen Bess. It was only in 1880 that the great, massive quadrangular mansion in which Merchant and Mayor Paynter is traditionally reported to have entertained Katherine of Arragon—long known as Palace Court—was pulled down and replaced by a brand-new Board school (a quantity of ecclesiastical material was found built up in the walls); and, save the Notte Street house, we have not such another loss to sustain. It is not a little singular, that while Plymouth has been the residence of many a worthy of ancient time, the dwellings of none are distinctly traceable. Paynter's connection with Palace Court is purely traditional.

Yogge probably lived in a granite and limestone building with a quadrangle, in the Pig-Market, removed to make way for Market Alley, the 'goodly house of more stone,' which Leland says he built north of the Church. Of the Hawkinses, all we know is that they lived somewhere near the present Parade—presumably in Woolster Street, near the quays which they occupied in their mercantile capacities. The merchant branch of the Trelawnys (of Ham), however, without doubt lived in Looe Street, in a house which was



PALACE COURT.

long the *Plymouth Herald* office; and which, in December 13, 1885, was the scene of the most fatal fire recorded in Plymouth. Twelve persons were suffocated or burnt—eight of one family. Hard by, it is all but certain, was the residence of the great Sir Francis Drake. He was the owner of a house and spacious garden at the corner of Looe and Buckwell Streets, and of land opposite, at the corner of Peacock Lane; and his personal occupancy of this property, prior to his purchase of Buckland Abbey, hardly admits of



PINS LANE.

doubt. There are no buildings of that time left upon the site; but in his day some of what are now the most crowded localities of Plymouth were the most open, old deeds revealing the existence of extensive gardens where dwellings have been most thickly packed.

The most interesting domestic buildings still left in Plymouth are in Pins Lane, which retain the ancient arrangement of cellar and solar.

The seventeenth century was an active period in the structural history of Plymouth; and a very picturesque and

extensive group of buildings, dating thence, stood by St. Andrew Church—the Hospital of Orphans Aid, and the Hospital of Poor's Portion—until removed to make way for the New Guildhall. The Orphans Aid was erected in 1615, the Grammar School buildings behind in 1658, the Hospital of the Poor's Portion in 1630. A Guildhall and an Exchange were also among the products of the age. All have been swept away, with the walls and gates that defied King Charles; and there is left to us of seventeenth-century Plymouth but one building of importance—Charles Church—of which more anon.

If we turn to the ecclesiastical antiquities of the town we are somewhat more fortunate, though here too we have but a remnant. Of the church and buildings of the White Friars there were important remains down to the early part of the present century, but the last traces of the ruined walls lie buried beneath the South Western Friary station, which in its name preserves the memory of the ancient dedication. Of the house of the Franciscans there are a few bold doorways in Woolster Street, while in other of the older thoroughfares of the town, in the neighbourhood of the quays, there are sundry characteristic though hardly noteworthy and very fragmentary relics of the elder Plymouth. In Southside Street, however, are portions of the house of the Black Friars, now and long since a distillery of the noted Plymouth gin!

St. Andrew Church.

St. Andrew, or Old Church, though it has suffered from over praise, is a noble fabric, of which Plymouthians may well be proud; and the massive proportions and simple dignity of its tower—unexcelled for boldness and effect in the county—go far to redeem what may be regarded by some as the faults of the remainder of the building—essentially, however, a typical Devonshire Perpendicular church. The oldest portion of the present fabric is in part the south chancel aisle, which dates from 1385; and there are no means of forming an opinion as to what its predecessor was like, though probably it was Late Norman.

St. Andrew consists of a chancel and chancel aisles (of unusual size), nave and aisles, transepts and western tower, and will accommodate 1,700 persons. It is 184 feet long; 64 feet wide across the aisles; 94 across the transepts. During the Middle Ages, when its area was clear of seats, its want of height must have been much less apparent than now.

Towards the end of the sixteenth century (1595-7) the process of 'choking' was commenced by the erection of a gallery, the Churchyard being at the same time palisaded. Other galleries were subsequently constructed—one in 1709, when a thunderstorm threw down a pinnacle from the tower—and at length the Church assumed a thoroughly 'churchwardenised' type. In 1825-6 restorations and repairs were made at the cost of nearly £5,000, under the direction of Mr. Foulston. All the old galleries were pulled down, western and transeptal galleries erected in their stead, and the Church reseated.

Irreparable mischief was then done, for Mr. Foulston had no feeling for Gothic art. Practically as he left it the Church remained, with the exception of the provision of a new pulpit from the designs of Mr. J. Hine, and a few other works, until 1874, when it was thoroughly restored under the direction of Sir Gilbert Scott, and made worthy of its ancient state, at an outlay of some £6,000. Only then could the present generation form any adequate idea of the real beauty of the structure; with its fine accessories in artistic carving, rich stained glass, screenwork, and general decoration. The greatest change was the removal of the galleries, which threw open the entire area. The organ, originally built by James Parsons, of the Dockyard, in 1737, was shifted to the north chapel or transept, and greatly enlarged and improved.

The Church contains many monuments, several of which were rescued from oblivion, and the whole restored, during the churchwardenship of Messrs. Hingston and Bone. The oldest is dated 1583, and is said to be to the memory of a member of the Sparke family. The inscription reads:

I was once as thou art now,
A man, could speke and goe;
But now I ly in silence heere—
Serve God, thou must be loa.
When death did me asayle,
To God then did I crye;
Of Jacob's well to moiste my soule
That it might never die.

The next memorial in point of antiquity is dated 1589, to Humphry Fownes, and members of his family. Erected some thirty years afterwards (1624), we find another stone recording how John Fownes and his wife had been killed by the fall of a chimney. Until the recent restoration, when a fourteenth-century Purbeck effigy was found, with a fragment of another, no memorial was known to exist in the Church

older than the latter end of the sixteenth century—a sufficient indication of the great alterations which had from time to time been made in the fabric.

The most striking monument is that to Sir John Skelton, Lieutenant-Governor of Plymouth in 1672. There is a bust of Dr. Zachary Mudge, by Chantrey;² and a tablet in memory of Charles Matthews, who died whilst at Plymouth, and was buried in the Church. The most distinguished personages whose remains lay in St. Andrew Church were Sir M. Frobisher, whose bowels were deposited there; and Blake, whose bowels were buried at the door of the Mayor's pew, his body being interred at St. Margarets, Westminster.

In 1594 five bells were cast for the Church, costing £293 12s. 4d., Drake and Hawkins giving broken ordnance; and plenty of employment was found for them and their successors in reflecting the popular feeling.

In 1709 Colonel Jory, the founder of Jory's Almshouses, and in many ways a benefactor to the town, presented St. Andrew with a peal of six new bells, estimated to be worth £500. In 1749 they were cast into a peal of eight, with additional metal. The tenor bell weighed 4,032 lbs., and bore the motto, '*Ego sum vox clamantis parate.*' Some of the bells were re-cast; but there was still the same number, until, in response to a movement initiated by the late Mr. C. Norrington, jun., in 1874, Sir Edward Bates gave other two, and the present fine carillon was arranged.

Nowhere in Plymouth has there been so much change and improvement as in the vicinity of St. Andrews. Almost from the time that Thomas Yogge built its stately tower until the present day, the sacred edifice had been cramped and surrounded in nearly all directions by a number of buildings, many very mean, which prevented its beauties from being properly appreciated. One by one, at long intervals, these obstructions have been cleared away. A tablet in the Churchyard wall facing Old Town Street bore the following words:

Immediately in front of this wall lately stood a set of stalls called the Flesh Shambles, which narrowed the space from the opposite houses to about nine feet. On the right hand were two houses, which considerably confined the entrance to the Church; immediately in front was a building called the Fish Market, taken down on his Majesty coming to this borough in the year 1789;

² In the progress of some alterations the vault in which Dr. Mudge was buried was opened; and for a moment Mr. Bone caught a glimpse of the old Vicar. The next he looked upon a heap of dust.

on the left hand by Buckingham Steps were some miserable, loathsome almshouses; and at the entrance of Old Town Street stood a conduit and the New Shambles, all of which, for the greater comfort and convenience of the inhabitants and persons resorting to the town have, with great liberality and public spirit on the part of the Mayor and Commonalty, been removed, and the present New Market erected. To commemorate these improvements this tablet was set up 4th of June, 1813.

The Churchyard was thus thrown open to the street upon the eastern side, but continual interments since the middle of the thirteenth century having raised the natural level of the ground, the Church itself was still in great part hidden from view, and a generation elapsed before the work of improvement was resumed. Moreover, low houses continued the south side of Bedford Street in front of the Churchyard wall, so narrowing that thoroughfare as to render it almost impassable for two vehicles. Catherine Street, then a lane, was approached from Bedford Street by a flight of steps (see page 305), which cut off all view of the lower part of the tower. A great improvement was effected when the old houses were removed, and the lane approach levelled. But the dead wall of the Churchyard remained in blank integrity, even after the southern half of the burial ground had been improved by the Church authorities.

The works of the New Guildhall swept away the whole of the buildings on the west of the Church; the Almshouses, Orphans Aid Hospital, and Old Workhouse were demolished, and for the first time for 300 years, the Church was thrown open to distinct view. Catherine Street was converted into a wide thoroughfare. Substantial slices of the northern Churchyard were taken away, and a new wall surmounted by an ornamental railing placed round the remaining portion, which was sloped and turfed after the same method adopted in dealing with the southern section.

Charles Church.

Charles Church is a noteworthy structure.

For its time Charles Church is a remarkably good building. The true principles of Gothic architecture had long since been forgotten; they had gone out with the great Church-building ages; only the vaguest notion of there being something beautiful and worthy of reproduction in the Pointed Style lingered in the minds of a few degenerate disciples of William of Wykeham. One of these evidently was the architect of this Church. I think he must have

had a vision of the glorious days of old, from a confused recollection of which he prepared his design. Some parts of the building are really beautiful. The *outline* of the tower and spire is almost perfect. The east window of the chancel is a fine specimen of geometric tracery. Elsewhere, however, there is a contradiction of styles and a jumble of Perpendicular, Elizabethan, and Classic details, and the last spark of correct feeling would appear to have vanished when the designer stuck the four pine apples on the top of the tower.²

The Church consists of nave, chancel continuous therewith, north and south aisles, and western tower. It will hold about 850.

There were formerly some old flags here said to have been carried by the trainbands of the town at the time of the Siege; but they have long since disappeared. A pair of spurs and a glove were stated to have belonged to some one who had ridden from London in an incredibly short time, and therefore done infinite service to the town or country. Buried near the altar lie Captains Kerby and Cooper Wade, shot for cowardice in Benbow's action with Du Casse.

Here also wise improvements have been made, in cutting away portions of the Churchyard, and widening the adjacent streets; building new boundary walls; and in restoring the fabric itself, the original beauty of which had been sadly marred by the 'very wonderful galleries and high pews' within, and by some very tasteless utilitarian accretions without.

There is an odd legend that the original spire was knocked awry by the broomsticks of a lot of witches, which struck it in their flight.

Modern Plymouth.

Modern Plymouth now claims attention. The first attempt to give an architectural character to the extensions of the town was made by Mr. Foulston. He was a devotee of so-called Classic art, and set the fashion of his day. Hence nearly all the buildings reared in Plymouth during the first half of the century, that have any claim to design, present elevations of a Classic or pseudo-Classic type. Of Foulston's numerous works, the Hotel and Theatre are the most important, the Athenæum the most successful, St. Andrew Chapel the least attractive. The chapel of St. Paul at

² Hine's *Old Buildings of Plymouth*. Elsewhere Mr. Hine suggests that the architect was also the designer of Plympton Grammar School.

Stonehouse styles him also one of the local pioneers of Gothic revival, but shows how little the true principles of Gothic architecture were understood. The first Gothic building erected during the present century in Plymouth, St. Peters, Eldad (designed by Mr. Ball), in its degree illustrated the same fact. Mr. Wightwick, although most of his works, like those of his predecessor Mr. Foulston, were Classical, was a student of Gothic, and under his auspices the revival progressed. The result has been that, with few exceptions, the churches and chapels erected in Plymouth within the past forty years have had a Gothic character; while the most extensive pile of modern Gothic buildings in the West of England has been reared for a new Guildhall and Municipal Offices. Nor is this all. Various modifications of Gothic have been adopted in the designing of business premises and buildings of miscellaneous purpose; and, still more recently, the dreary wastes of stucco which replaced the honest slated fronts of earlier Georgian days, have largely given place to massive stone-faced houses and to brick buildings, reproducing with more or less success Queen Anne and earlier styles. And thus Plymouth grows, in beauty as well as size.

Royal Hotel and Theatre.

Mr. Foulston's great work, the Royal Hotel and Theatre, is said to have cost £60,000. Like the Market, it was erected on the tontine principle. The foundation-stone was laid on the 10th September, 1811, by the Mayor, Mr. Edmund Lockyer, and the building was finished in two years. The stone bears the following inscription:—‘Theatri et Hospitii impensis Majoris et Communitatis Burgi Plymouth. Edmundus Lockyer, M.D., Major, fundamenta locavit 1811. Johanne Foulston, architecta.’ The style adopted is the Ionic; but the imposing effect of the long lines of frontage, and of the bold porticoes, is sadly marred by the inelegant groups of chimneys which break the continuity of the roof. ‘Ryder's cherry garden’ occupied part of the site.

Prior to the erection of the Hotel, the principal inn of the town was the Pope's Head, in Looe Street, the landlord of which became the first lessee of the Royal. The assemblies were held at the London Inn, in Vauxhall Street. In January, 1863, a serious fire occurred in the centre of the north front of the Hotel and Theatre, which caused damage to the extent of several thousand pounds, destroying

the Assembly Rooms. In 1878 another fire gutted the Theatre, and the whole of the interior had to be reconstructed.

There are many entries in the Corporate Accounts touching the visits of bands of players to the town early in the sixteenth century and onward: 'my Lord Bushoppes players,' 'the Queenes players,' the players of Mr. Fortescue, Sir Percival Hart, the Earl of Warwick, Earl of Worcester, Lord Munyon, Lord Hunsdon, the 'Moryshe Dauncers,' and the like; and the growth of Puritan feeling is shown in



ROYAL HOTEL, THEATRE, AND CLOCK TOWER.

payments made early in the seventeenth century to the strollers 'to departe the Towne without playing.' The first permanent theatre recorded was in Broad Hoe Lane (Hoe Gate Street). The immediate predecessor of the present theatre was by Frankfort Gate, at the junction of George and Bedford Streets, immediately opposite the Globe, and was called the New Theatre down to 1765. In a playbill of 1759 the proprietor, Joseph Pittard, makes the odd announcement—to modern notions—by way of 'draw,' that he had 'been over to *Launceston* to engage some of the best performers belonging to the company there!'

Seventy years ago what we now regard as the natural order of things was quite reversed in matters theatrical. The Theatre Season was during the summer, and assemblies on alternate Wednesdays in winter supplied the whole of the public amusements enjoyed by genteel folks during the inclement months, those who did not keep their own conveyances availing themselves of one of the six public sedan chairs. The Old Theatre belonged to the Corporation, and when the new one was built was sold for the residue of a term, with the exception of the lobby. It was not originally built for a theatre, but adapted. Long Room was the local Ranelagh of the bucks and belles 'when George the Third was king.'

Modern Churches and Chapels.

To the rapid extension of Church and Chapel accommodation most of the modern architectural attractions of the town are due. Fifty years ago the only places of worship in Plymouth possessing any claims to attention on the score of their design were the churches of St. Andrew and Charles.

The majority of the new fabrics are Gothic; of the remainder most have a semi-Classical or 'Italian' character—as for example Trinity Church; Mutley Baptist chapel, with its elaborate Palladian façade, designed by Mr. Ambrose; the Presbyterian chapel, Eldad; Ham Street Wesleyan chapel, and Greenbank Road Bible Christian, both designed by Mr. Snell.

Of the Gothic churches the best are St. James and Emmanuel, in the Decorated style; All Saints, as yet unfinished; and two exceedingly fine examples of Early English and Perpendicular in St. Peters and St. Matthias—the elegant tower of the latter the first true Perpendicular tower built in the district since the Reformation.

The most noteworthy groups of modern Gothic ecclesiastical buildings in Plymouth belong respectively to the Roman Catholics and to the Independents. The Roman Catholic Cathedral is a very good example of Early English, the one defect being that the wall line is not broken and relieved by buttresses. It consists of a clerestoried nave of great height, north and south aisles, transept, apsed chancel with aisles, a Lady chapel behind the high altar, and a tower and spire. It was erected from the designs of Messrs. J. and C. Hanson, of Clifton; and is 155 feet long, 80 feet wide at the transepts, and 50 feet wide over the nave and aisles. The tower and spire are singularly graceful and elegant. Adjoining the

cathedral, in Cecil Street, is the Bishop's residence; in Wyndham Street a nunnery; and in the rear capacious schools. The whole are Gothic; and their effect exceedingly picturesque.

Sherwill Chapel in the Tavistock Road, with the schools adjoining, forms the second group to which reference has been made. The chapel and schools were erected from designs by Messrs. Paull and Ayliffe, of Manchester. The chapel consists of nave, lean-to aisles, transepts, tower and spire; and there is an apsidal organ recess behind the pulpit. There are galleries over the aisles and the entrance porches. It is a great and instructive contrast to compare this elegant and commodious fabric with its structural grandsire, the Old Tabernacle.

Miscellaneous Modern Buildings.

The Western College, designed by Mr. Hine, is another good example of modern Gothic. Some excellent carving, moreover, is introduced into the capitals of the pillars, the whole being reproductions of natural foliage.

The extension of education has played its part in the structural embellishment of the town. Most of the Board Schools are not merely substantial, but attractive, and some of these stand on sites once occupied by buildings which did the community no credit. There are also the High School for girls at North Hill, and the Plymouth College at Compton.

Philanthropy, too, has done its share, as in the Blind Institution; but chiefly in the extensive range of the South Devon and East Cornwall Hospital, strongly marked indeed by the beauty of utility, but not wanting in severe dignity and a certain effectiveness of grouping.

Improved business premises are too numerous to detail, beyond the position taken by some of the banks; the most ornate frontage in the town being that of the Wilts and Dorset bank in George Street.

The Clock Tower⁴ in George Street was built in 1862-3 to contain the clock, the gift of Mr. W. Derry. The Corpora-

⁴ The town had its first public clock in 1526:

It p ^d for vpysettyng [setting up] of a Clok in the geldhall &	
for the same Clok bought of Ro laurence . . .	xxiiij ^s vj ^d
It p ^d for Weyer for the Clok . . .	xv ^d
It p ^d for yreworke for the Clok to Coke the Smyth . . .	xv ^d
It p ^d for nayles for the Clok frame . . .	iiij ^d ob

However; in the next year we read—

Itm Rec of master herford for the Clok of the geldhall that he	
bought of the Towne	xxvj ^s viij ^d

tion had no powers to build a clock tower, hence called it a 'fountain,' but the basins have been always dry. The tower cost nearly £500, of which Mr. Derry gave £200, besides the clock, costing £220.

The Post Office in Westwell Street is built on a site once occupied by a later vicarage of St. Andrew, then in part by St. Andrews Hall, and purchased by the Post Office authorities in 1881. The previous Post Office was at the corner of Whimble and St. Andrew Streets, and was merely rented by the Department.

The Guildhall.

The most important modern public building of Plymouth has yet to be described—the Guildhall. Its history, with that of its predecessors, would be in brief a history of the town. Plymouth had a Guildhall certainly five centuries since; for in the earliest records of the fifteenth century there are references to a structure, even then ancient—the old 'guild' or 'eld' hall. The site of this edifice is unknown, but it was probably somewhere in Old Town, with which the fourteenth-century Guild of Merchants was more immediately connected. Not long after the Incorporation with Sutton Prior a new Guildhall was built, of which all we know is a tradition that it was somewhere in Southside Street; and that within its walls, or that of the Mayoralty in Woolster Street, Drake, Hawkins, Raleigh, Gilbert, Davis, Frobisher, Grenville, and many another unforgotten worthy, oft participated in the civic hospitality. The destruction of the 'stepell,' with the 'townes evydenge,' in the Western Rebellion perchance points to damage done to this structure; and there is an entry that the 'new halle' was ceiled in 1573-4. We know also that the Guildhall of Tudor days had a bell; and we find that the great bell was bought by subscription in 1560. A bell naturally suggests a bell tower or 'stepell.'

The 'elde hall' is first mentioned in 1486; the 'olde yelde hall' is 'heled' in 1494; and a 'morestone' window was made for the Guildhall in 1495, while it was refronted in 1515.

Firm footing is given by an order for the building of a new Guildhall, which we find in the *White Book* under date August, 1606; for this Guildhall stood at the head of High Street, on the site of what is now the Free Library, and it was still well in memory when the latest New Guildhall was built. Mr. James Skardon, who was present at the opening

of the building now standing on its site, participated in the ceremonial of laying the foundation-stone in Westwell Street; and Mr. W. H. Evens, Mayor both under the old and the reformed Corporations, who was present at the opening of the Municipal Buildings on April 16th, 1873 (when the Mayor, Mr. Kelly, entertained the Council and a number of the leading inhabitants at luncheon), stated that he saw the foundation-stone of the last Old Guildhall laid in 1800, and remembered and described its predecessor.

It was [he said] a picturesque and really pretty building. It rested upon granite arches and columns. The hall was built upon these, and underneath the market was held. There was a sort of opening, called Market Street, into Bull Hill; and on each side



ENTRANCE TO CHURCH ALLEY FROM WHIMPLE STREET, 1800.

of that there was a pork butcher's stall. Whimple Street was so narrow that scarcely one carriage could pass. There were houses on each side of the entrance to the Churchyard, one occupied by a grocer, and the other by a tinman. By the Churchyard wall was the fish market, and at the end of it the weighing-house. In the middle of Old Town Street were the shambles. Treville Street, then Butchers Lane, was so narrow at the upper part that two carts could not pass. George Street was little better than a *cul de sac*, and they had to go over the fields to Millbay. Union Street was a marsh, where he had seen snipes shot, and skating. The approach to Devonport was along Stonehouse Lane. Where Russell Street was, there stood a magnificent grove of four rows

of elms, and there was another grove on the site of the Duke of Cornwall Hotel. Of the old gates he recollected three, including Hoe Gate. He recollected, too, when the mail bags used to be despatched from Plymouth on horseback. He saw the first mail coach come into the town (and great was the rejoicing), and he had seen the last go out. Five or six days were then required before any answer could be got from London.

The Jacobean Guildhall, with shambles under, was built in 1606-7 at a total cost of £794 8s. 1d., under the direction of 'Thomas Apsey, of Nettlecom.' But the Corporation had gone rashly to work. In February, 1607, they resolved: 'that a parcel of the guildhall had been of late new builded for the keeping and holding of the King's Majestys Courts, and courts of the said borough; and that the said town was greatly indebted for the building thereof, and were not able to clear the same without selling some part of the revenue thereof, to the great discredit of the town and Corporation.' And so to avert this discredit, the Mayor, with the twelve Aldermen and twenty-four Common Councilmen, made an order for the assessment of the inhabitants. It used to be held that this Guildhall was rebuilt in 1667, but that is an error. Part of it was pulled down and rebuilt, and it underwent extensive repair, at the cost of £264. A new cupola was put up in 1706.

Under and around this Guildhall was held the butter and poultry market, whilst an enclosed court behind was supposed to accommodate the corn and vegetable markets. The state of the thoroughfare on market days may be imagined. In front a tower projected, in the upper storey of which was a clock surmounted by a cupola. Through the first storey of the tower, which formed a porch, the hall was approached, access being gained from the street by a flight of seventeen steps. These became in time proverbial; and a hint that anyone would have to ascend that number of stairs was held the reverse of complimentary. At the western end of the hall were seats for the Mayor, Magistrates, and Councillors, and at the eastern a staircase to the Council Chamber—a small room, partly in the tower and partly over the hall. At one end of the building was the debtors' prison, with a place where criminals were confined or detained prior to commitment. The lowest deep was the Clink, a couple of dungeons entered by the side of the steps. This was justly the terror of all evildoers. Howard in 1774 visited Plymouth to see the Clink, and condemned it strongly.⁵ In

⁵ A prison house is mentioned in 1486.

the space under the hall, on Sunday mornings, the Corporation used to assemble prior to going to church, their dignity being kept up by the attendance of a stalwart halberdier, while they strutted their little hour upon the stage preparatory to wending their way to worship.



JACOBÆAN GUILDHALL.

The present Free Library was intended to supply all the purposes of the old Guildhall and more. The architect of this 'unsightly, inelegant, and inconvenient erection, with its wretchedly-designed Gothic windows,' undertook to provide all the necessary rooms for 'a court-house, a guildhall, a mayoralty house with dining-rooms and kitchens, civil and criminal prisons, guard-rooms, a news-room, and a market-place!' His plans were adopted; £7,000 were spent; and the building was then found to be 'inconvenient as a guildhall, unsuited for a mayoralty house, totally inadequate as a prison, and perfectly absurd for market purposes.' Tell it not in the 'city of waters'—his name was Evelegh, and he came from Bath.⁶

⁶ Ten years after it was built the prison portion was described as being so badly managed and so inadequate as to be filthy in the extreme, 'the lowermost cells filthy beyond conception.' The prisons on North Hill, now the property of the Government, were completed in 1849, at a cost of £13,500.

Plymouthians were not long content with this *multum in parvo*. Three-score years ago the desirability of rearing a better structure was urged. But threatened men live on; and so Eveleigh's ugly building long continued the centre of the civic life of Plymouth. When the New Workhouse was erected it was decided that the most central site for a guildhall would be to the west of St. Andrew Church; and the Old Workhouse was consequently purchased by the Corporation. From time to time the property of the Orphans Aid Charity, and lands and houses adjoining, in Basket and Westwell Streets, were likewise acquired; and Westwell Street, as one of the main approaches, was widened. The propriety of proceeding to build was mooted upon several occasions; and in 1869—a public meeting having unavailingly been called in opposition—it was decided to invite plans and offer three premiums for the best. Twenty sets of designs were sent in; and the Council having called to their aid Mr. Waterhouse as professional adviser, the first premium was awarded to Messrs. Alfred Norman and James Hine, of Plymouth. Early in 1870 tenders were invited accordingly. Twelve were made, from which the Council selected that of Messrs. Call and Pethick, Plymouth, for £32,475, but the work was done by Mr. J. Pethick. The final cost approached £50,000.

This was in June. In the following month the site had been so far cleared as to allow of the foundation stone being laid by the Mayor, Mr. W. Luscombe. The day chosen, the 28th, turned out exceedingly fine; and many thousands congregated to witness the ceremonial. The proceedings were opened with prayer by the Vicar, the Rev. C. T. Wilkinson; and the Mayor was invited to lay the stone by Mr. Rooker, in an eloquent speech. After the ceremony there was of course a dinner at the Royal.

The new buildings are laid out in two blocks, with a public place between them averaging 100 feet in width, leading from Westwell Street to Catherine Street. In the southern block, 292 feet long, are the Guildhall and Assize Courts; in the northern, 207½ feet, the Council Chamber and Municipal Offices. The style is Early Pointed, the details bold rather than elaborate. They harmonize well with the Old Church Tower, the wings being treated in broad and simple masses, leading up to central features of sufficient richness and dignity.

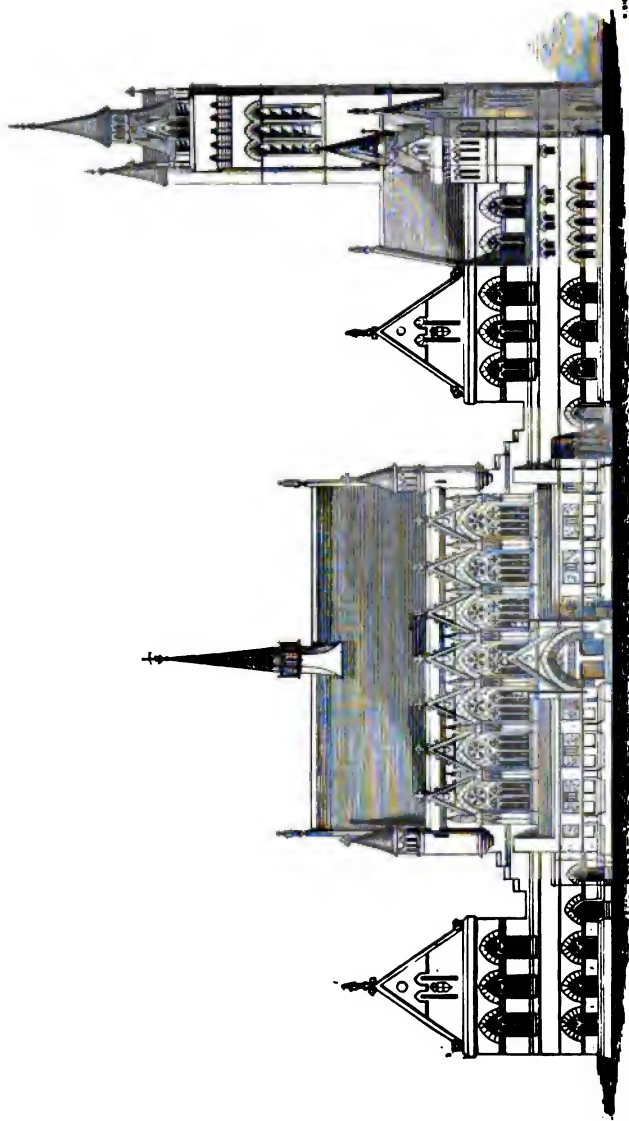
The Great Hall is the finest public room in the West of England, and consists of a nave 58 feet wide, with aisles on either side, the extreme length being 145 feet,

and extreme breadth 85 feet, while it is 70 feet high. The aisles open into the body of the hall by two arcades of seven arches each, with pillars of polished grey granite. The traceried windows of the clerestory follow the mystical and perfect number of the arches below. The hall was intended to seat 2,600 persons, and has seven separate doorways for ingress and egress. At the west end is a large orchestral platform, and in connection therewith a suite of ante-rooms, available for performers and others; at the east end there is a gallery. The internal dimensions of the police-court, at the Catherine Street end, are 46 feet by 38 feet; rooms adjoin for magistrates, magistrates' clerk, attorneys, and witnesses; in the rear are the station-house, police muster-room, reading-room, &c. Each of the assize courts, at the Westwell Street end, is 38 feet wide—one being 49½ feet long, and the other 47½ feet—and has separate entrances and apartments for barristers, attorneys, and witnesses, with accommodation for the public in galleries at the ends of the courts, approached by a stone staircase in an octagonal angle tower, forming an important feature of the Westwell Street elevation. The crowning feature of the great pile of buildings is the tower at the south-west corner, 190 feet in height. The finial of the spirelet which breaks the roof line of the hall is 140 feet from the ground.

As the Great Hall is the central feature of the southern block, so is the Council Chamber that of the northern. It is an exceedingly handsome apartment, 56½ feet long, 32½ feet wide, and 40 feet high, with a gallery. Adjoining is the Mayor's parlour. The various Corporation Offices are in the two wings; and in addition the School Board is quartered in the western, and the Chamber of Commerce accommodated in the eastern.

The general accessories in the way of carving and the like are rich and tasteful; and since the completion of the fabric the appearance of the hall has been marvellously enhanced by the gift of a series of stained glass windows, chiefly historical; and by placing in the orchestra by subscription a magnificent organ, by Willis, at a cost of over £2,500.

The subjects and donors of the windows are: The Black Prince Window (given by members of the Hawker family); the Breton Window (Rev. T. A. Bewes); the Drake Window (the Whiteford family); the Armada Window, the first erected (the Moore family); the Raleigh Window (Mr. C. F. Tanner); the Cookworthy Window (Rev. U. Cookworthy); the Opening Window (Mr. Gibbs, C.B.); the Priory Window



GUILDHALL, SOUTHERN BLOCK.

(the Stevens family); the Katharine of Arragon Window (Mr. C. S. Skardon); the William of Orange Window (Mr. J. Pethick); the Pilgrim Fathers Window (Mr. A. Rooker); the Siege Window (given chiefly by the descendants of combatants on either side); the Napoleon Window (Major-Gen. Congdon); the Masonic Window (the Craft). All the windows on the north, with the Drake Window, are by Messrs. Fouracre and Watson; the remainder by Messrs. Heaton, Butler, and Bayne.

The hall was used, though then unfinished, for a banquet in connection with the second visit of the Bath and West of England Society to Plymouth in 1874.

The buildings were formally opened by the Prince of Wales, August 13th, 1874, with elaborate and hearty ceremonial. At the invitation of the Mayor, Mr. A. Rooker, the Prince unlocked the door of the hall, in which a large and distinguished company sat down to luncheon. The next day the Freemasons of Devon and Cornwall met there and welcomed the Prince as Grand Master.

The Hoe.

Many a memorable event in the history of Plymouth is connected with the Hoe. It would indeed be impossible to compile a chronicle of this famous spot, which would not serve as a record of the town. Time out of mind it has been the theatre of important local demonstrations. It has been no less familiarly identified with the amusements of the people. When peace was declared in October, 1801, a bonfire was lit thereon which contained 800 barrels, sixty feet high, by 240 feet in circumference. When the Crimean war came to a close tens of thousands thronged thither to witness the illumination of the men-of-war that lay inside the Breakwater. When the Prince and Princess of Wales were married a bonfire was reared, which rivalled that of three-score years before, and the flames of which were seen for many a long mile. On the celebration of the Queen's Jubilee in 1887 even this was outdone.

Until the beginning of the present century the Hoe stretched in unbroken grandeur from Sutton Pool to Millbay, but it is a mistake to suppose that it had been a mere waste of sea cliff, for centuries before that date. The earliest building there of which we have any trace was the chapel of St. Katherine, not improbably the original place of worship—perhaps such a votive fane in its origin as St. Aldhelm in Dorset—of the fishers of the village of Sutton proper, as St.

Andrew of the older town which stretched along the heights. Then came the bulwarks, the germs alike of Castle and of Citadel.

The Hoe in these early days was a portion of the 'waste' of the manor of Sutton (part of the eastern end apparently excepted), and as such belonged to the Corporation; and the oldest right connected with it is that which the fishermen continued to exercise of drying their nets—which dated certainly eight centuries back. The Hoe was then looked upon as distinctly exterior to the town, but as its most important adjunct. Close to St. Katherine was the town barn, which may have been originally that of the Priory. On the ridge was the fire beacon, always well stored with furze, wherewith to signal the approach of danger. A watch-house was erected by the beacon in the reign of Elizabeth. Not far from the beacon, on the West Hoe, was a windmill, associated at almost the very earliest date of special mention with the ominous name—for a miller—of Michael Prigge; and in connection with this structure we find the first attempt made to provide for the comfort of the Hoe public by the 'Hoe Committee' of that day. This was the erection about it of a 'bench' or seat. There was no lack of amusements. On the Hoe were the butts for the practice of archery, which came to frequent reparation, and so must have been much in use. Thither the townfolk gathered when 'John the Drummer,' or one of his colleagues, summoned them to arms on the approach of a threatening sail. There most of the capital punishments of the town took place. The entries of charges for erecting 'gibbets on the hawe' are unpleasantly numerous in the earlier records of Plymouth.

'Hanging, drawing, and quartering,' burning, and in later days shooting, varied the methods of despatch; but it was holiday time for all save the sufferers.

The Smeaton Tower in 1884 replaced the old Trinity Obelisk landmark, which there is no reason to doubt continued the 'compasse for the use of mariners,' that tradition had associated with the name of Drake, but which was really erected by the Corporation in 1569 or 1570. This was simply a landmark intended to show the four cardinal points, with a vane to indicate which way the wind blew; and it was at first placed upon the West Hoe. Late in the seventeenth century, when in some way unexplained and inexplicable, the West Hoe passed into the hands of a staunch Royalist and Churchman—one Isaac Tillard, while

his Royal Master helped himself to the eastern end—the compass was removed and re-erected on or near the site of the old obelisk, and there it remained intact until well on into the last century. The West Hoe and the 'two Hawes' are mentioned in early Tudor days. Taking the place of the obelisk the lighthouse therefore occupies the sole site on the Hoe which claims direct association with 'the spacious times of great Elizabeth.'

Early in the present century there was much contention as to the rights of the public on the Hoe, which the Military Authorities endeavoured to claim, to the exclusion of the townsfolk. They gave permission to persons to put up little huts and pigsties on the waste by the glacis, which became a great nuisance; and eventually the occupants of these found themselves between two fires—both the Military Authorities and the Corporation demanding rent. Yet the assistant solicitor to the Ordnance, when he had investigated the matter, had to report that the Eastern Hoe belonged to the Corporation, and that a number of houses and small pieces of land had been taken possession of in 1666 for the Citadel without any other authority than the King's Order in Council, no compensation being made until 1679. It is quite clear from the recital of a deed that portions of the Hoe were taken at the same time. On this General Mercer wrote to the Corporation acknowledging their right to the Eastern Hoe, the claim to the huts being still maintained.

The question was brought to an issue by Dr. Bellamy in his mayoralty, and ended in the complete establishment of the rights of the Corporation, the Government having permission to use the Hoe for the exercise of troops, and to enter for that purpose by a key, should the ground at any time be locked up by the Municipal Authorities. Even then, however, new governors revived the old claims; and in 1815 persons were taken into custody by the orders of General Brown (who is said to have reserved all rights of passage for his cows!) for 'crossing the middle path leading from Broad Hoe Lane to the Eastern Hoe.' He was, however, speedily dealt with, and for some years subsequently the Corporation were very strict in demanding applications for permission for the military to exercise. Mr. John Collier, subsequently M.P. for Plymouth, was particularly active in defending the rights of the inhabitants on this question.

Ample compensation, however, has of late been afforded by the authorities for all these controversies, in the surrender of the outworks of the Citadel to the town, which has enabled

the eastern end of the Hoe to be considerably extended, and laid out ornamentally with gardens and paths; while new drives have been carried through the old trenches, and along the sea face immediately below the ramparts. Time will get rid of the air of newness, which was inevitable, and some of the alterations are in questionable taste. Taken as a whole, however, these works of improvement, which were mainly brought to a close in 1888, and which have cost upwards of £10,000, have added much to the general attractions of this famous and historic promenade. Unhappily the mutilation of the Western Hoe by quarrying,⁷ which began to make its ugly mark there early in the century, cannot be compensated in so effectual a way; but in connection with the development of building operations the best is being made of an act of vandalism which it would be worth the outlay of many thousands to undo. More has been lost in the destruction of the glorious sweep of swarded cliff from Sutton Pool to Millbay than all 'improvement' can replace, and there has been too great a tendency to crowd and trim and limit what is left. The picturesque charms of the ridge are but shadows of their former selves; and yet in its way it is unsurpassed.

There is still extant a lithographic panorama of the Hoe, which shows how much of its natural beauty has been lost in living, if aged, memory. Occasionally mischief has been done with the best intentions. We cannot rank under that head the formation of the first drive along the sea front by way of relieving the distress which followed the cessation of the French war (already noted); but most of the works carried out in 1830 and subsequently were in very bad taste, and met with the warmest denunciation, among others from the late Mr. Jacobson, who in serio-comic vein described them as no less than an act of murder!

The most important changes made of recent years on the seaward face of the hill have been the construction of the West Hoe Pier and Basin, fronting the West Hoe Baths, by Messrs. Harris, Bulteel and Co., of the Naval Bank, who had become the owners of the West Hoe Estate; and subsequently the erection of the Promenade Pier, opened in May,

⁷ The physical features of Plymouth and the sister towns have been greatly varied by the extensive quarrying operations conducted in the Devonian limestone, especially within the present century, and at Richmond Walk, Battery Hill, the Hoe, Cattedown, Oreston, and Pophlett. For centuries this limestone has been the chief source of lime for the country round; and of late years it has been worked also for building and ornamental purposes, yielding a rich variety of the most beautiful marbles.

1884, by a Company. Until these works were carried out facilities for landing and embarking at the Hoe were absent; but their provision has developed a large amount of steamer holiday traffic; and the Promenade Pier, to which this year a pavilion has been added, has become a very favourite resort.

Until very recently the only structures on the plateau of the Hoe were the Trinity Obelisk and a Camera Obscura, on the bluff immediately above the Bull Ring—now removed; and when, in 1864, the Town Council were offered the fine statue of Lord Seaton, now on Mount Wise, it was refused. Since then a different policy has been adopted. The Smeaton Tower has replaced the obelisk; and tercentenary features have been erected, in the magnificent statue of Sir Francis Drake, and in the Armada Memorial. The fountain in front of Osborne Place was the gift of Mr. C. Norrington, in 1880, in memory of his wife. That by the Bull Ring was erected by Alderman James King, for many years Chairman of the Water Committee, in commemoration of the Queen's Jubilee, 1887.

The last Plymouthian 'affair of honour' was to have come off on Sunday morning, October 1st, 1809, at six o'clock in the morning, on the Hoe, between Dr. Gasking and Dr. Bellamy. Mr. Pridham, the Mayor, had them apprehended!

Yonge in his *Diary* reports that on the 10th January, 1622, a minister of Plymouth walking with a French minister on the Hoe saw 'three clouds, which clouds seemed to come and meet together; at their meeting one of them brake, and gave a great noise as if it had been a cannon; after the second brake, and gave two sounds as of two cannons; then the third brake, and gave the noise as if it had been the noise of cannons in a set battle, with a whistling in the air as if bullets had been shot out of a piece. There was a thunder-bolt seen at Plympton to fall from thence into the ground, which weighed by report viii. lbs.'

There are indeed several points of scientific interest in connection with the Hoe. It has fissures filled with pebbles, sand, and clay, which had been evidently transported by water; from the direction of Dartmoor. Cavities in the limestone have yielded bones of extinct animals, with a couple of fine mammoth tusks. And immediately above the lower road there are still left remains of a Raised Beach of considerable interest, ranging thirty to sixty feet above the present sea-level. But the most noteworthy connection of the Hoe with science now is the presence beneath the Citadel of the Marine Biological Laboratory.

The Hoe no longer stands alone as a public recreation ground in Plymouth. The land attached to the reservoir at Hartley has been laid out in walks and thrown open daily. More recently Freedom Fields, associated for centuries with the borough official life, and ever memorable as the scene of the final act of the great 'Sabbath-day fight,' have been formed into a public park. This year the site of the Higher Mills, south of Drakes Place Reservoir, has been made into a promenade, with terrace and piazza, the granite columns supporting which, removed from the Old Market, in all probability include some which belonged to religious houses in the neighbourhood, bought by the Elizabethan Corporation of one of the Champernownes, and utilised in public works in Plymouth ever since; while even remnants of the Mediæval Market Cross may also be among them. And by joint action of the authorities of the sister towns Deadlake—the old Stoke Damerel Fleet—is now being reclaimed, with the view of being made a general recreation ground, having been purchased of the Earl of Mount Edgcumbe.

CHAPTER XV.

FORTIFICATIONS.¹

Britannia needs no bulwark,
No towers along the steep ;
Her march is on the mountain wave,
Her home is on the deep.—*Campbell.*

NO better evidence of the gradual growth of the prosperity of Plymouth can be desired, than the successive steps taken for its protection. During the reigns immediately succeeding the Conquest there was no organised navy, and when the King wanted ships, merchant vessels were called into requisition. Just as in the Napoleonic wars, and even during the Crimean campaign, the Government fell back upon the mercantile marine for means of transport, so up to the end of the sixteenth century English monarchs drew their war vessels chiefly from the same source. Hence the importance of the fortification of such a port as Plymouth in the reigns of the early Henries and Edwards.

That Plymouth needed safeguard was made only too plain through the damage done by the French in their frequent incursions. Under Edward III. (1374) it was ordered that a survey should be made, the town and port fortified, and the men of the place so arrayed 'that they be always ready and prepared to resist our enemies, so often and when it shall be necessary, and any danger shall be imminent.' In 1378 Richard II. made the order for putting Plymouth in a state of defence, already quoted—it then appearing that the town was 'in great danger and not enclosed or fortified with walls or turrets or otherwise.' He granted 100 marks yearly for twenty years, to be expended by the oversight of the Prior in walling. Six years' Customs Duties were also given. It is difficult to say what was done under these powers ; but clearly it proved insufficient to protect the town against such incursions as that of the Bretons. Then a patent was granted by Henry IV., and a wall built with towers and other defences.

¹ The Municipal Records, State Papers Domestic, and papers in the British Museum, are the chief authorities on this head.

'Le grete decche apud le Catte,' mentioned *temp.* Henry VII., may date thence.

The Castle.

The Castle was built on the rocky spur at the eastern end of the Hoe, immediately overlooking and commanding the entrance of Sutton Pool, somewhere in the reign of Henry IV. Bishop Stafford in 1416 granted an indulgence towards the erection of two towers, and the repairs of the causeway in the Pool; and his successor but one in the see, Bishop Lacy, in 1449 granted another to all true penitents contributing *ad novam fabricacionem fosse vie justa castrum infra villam de Plymouth*. Another prelate, Bishop Veysey, in 1520, not only assisted in the same way, but according to Leland took a more direct part in the execution of the work; as Risdon says Stafford also did. When Leland visited the West he found the entrance to Sutton Pool defended by a block-house on the south-west, and on a rocky hill hard by 'a strong Castel quadrate, having at eche Corner a great Round Tower. It semith to be no very old Peace of worke. Hard to this Castelle waul *Veysy* now Byshope of Exestar began a peace of an highe and stronge Waull from *Plymouthe* by good enclosyd Ground and strong Waull.' Risdon in describing the same fortification says:

A castle they have, garretted with turrets at every corner, supposed by some to have been built by the Vaulltorts, lords of the town; but more probably sheweth to be the work of Edmund Stafford, bishop of Exon, the Lord Chancellor of England, whose armories engraven in the work were lately to be seen. [One of the towers was sometimes called 'the bishop's tower.'] The haven is sufficiently fortified on all sides, and chained over when need requireth, having on the south a peer, they call it the fort, built upon the cliff between the town and the sea, called the Haw, a place delightful for walk and prospect, which fort with the town force is sufficient defence against all hostility.

From this old 'castle quadrate' the arms of the town, a saltire between four castles, are considered to be in part derived. The saltire is now vert and the castles sable, the coat being properly blazoned, Argent, a saltire vert between four castles sable; but there are grounds for suggesting that originally the saltire was sable also.



THE CASTLE, FROM A MAP *TEMP.* HENRY VIII.

The Municipal Records contain many references to the Castle, and show that it was maintained by the appropriation of one of the corner towers to each of the four wards, by the names of which the towers were occasionally known. Moreover, as the Mayor of the town in these early days was Commander-in-Chief of the borough forces, and all the inhabitants had to take their part in 'watch and ward,' or else find a substitute, so the heads of the little community—the 'twelve and twenty-four'—were supposed to act as the castle garrison. The text of an order is extant, made by Humphry Fownes, Mayor in 1588-9 and 1596-7, setting forth who should inhabit the Castle, 'in time of warre.' Three Aldermen and six Councillors were set apart for each tower, the Mayor taking his station in the north-eastern, which would be that more immediately overlooking the entrance to Sutton Pool.

Work was done upon the Castle in 1508-9, when, after it had been made clean, at a cost of 'iiij' for mete and drynke for the beggers that labored aboute' its cleansing for a day, stone was brought from Prince Rock for its reparation or improvement. At another date we read of the pulling down of the ivy that grew on the Castle walls, and the clearing of the ditch; but as time went on the building became comparatively of less importance.

The entries indicate nothing more of the character of the structure than that each of the towers consisted of an upper and lower floor, with a platform roof. Under Elizabeth the platforms were covered with lead, and in 1590 '7 brass pieces were playnted uppon the iiij Castells.' In all probability the Castle was allowed to fall into decay after the Siege, when it played its final part in actual warfare. It remained with the town when the Fort was built; was used as a workhouse in 1610; and was partly burnt in 1624. Clearly the town was allowed to maintain it when the Citadel was erected.

Still there must have been considerable remains within a century. The last portions of importance left were the north-eastern tower, and the foundations of the south-eastern, with the gateway. To the MS. recollections of Harris we are indebted for all the particulars that can be gleaned of the appearance of the fabric early in the present century. In 1807 there only remained one tower, and that 'brought down almost to the internal base, there being on the inside about five feet serving for a breastwork, and a garden wall, the area being let for a garden. The diameter

of this tower was about 30 feet; 200 feet to the south there were the remains of one with a diameter of only 10 feet; finally removed about 1804.' The tower which Harris describes disappeared only within recent years; and he evidently overlooked the existence of other relics, some of which have continued to the present day, including those of the gateway in Lambhay Street, preserved by being utilised as a dwelling.



GATEWAY OF CASTLE, 1887.

The Castle Barbican has long existed only in the name given to the pier at the entrance of Sutton Pool; and here again Harris has preserved the sole description. It was of small extent, not quite the breadth of the present pier, and had a breastwork. In the enclosure there was an old one-roomed building with a porch, having the town arms on the front, and the date 1528. 'In the pavement was the figure of a gunner in the act of firing a cannon, said by tradition to record the bravery of one man, who, when Plymouth was besieged, and only one charge of powder left, fired the cannon, which had been crammed to the muzzle, and placed in a lane by which the besiegers approached, scattering death around, and losing his own life!' The ground of the Barbican

was dug away for the pier, and four square subterranean chambers discovered outside the wall, and below high water-mark. Stone shot have been found in the Castle remains.

The Bulwarks and Ordnance.

The Corporate Accounts from the earliest dates contain numerous items of expenditure on works of defence; and from time to time provision was made at the individual cost of wealthy townsmen. Thus we read of 'thykpeny ys bolwerke,' 'John Walsh is bullework,' and of the guns of William Randell, John Ilcombe, Pollard, and Stephen Pers; the 'greate gonne,' the 'westmasto gvnne,' the 'portyngall gunne' 'the gvnne of loostrete warde,' &c.

The bulwarks are mentioned in the Accounts for 1486, when candles were provided for them, and furze for the 'ffyre bekyn' hard by. These bulwarks lined the sea front of the Hoe near the eastern end, and one was 'vnder Seynt Katyn.' We have also the 'great' bulwark, the 'west' bulwark, and the 'new' bulwark. In the same year there are entries relating to the ordnance and the provision of ammunition. 'Jheffry Thomas barber ys man' was paid for making balls of 'led and eyrryn.' In other years stone shot were used, some made of 'More' and some of Staddon stone.² Pyllets of iron were provided for a 'slynge' in 1522; and arrows much later.

It appears to have been the custom to drag the guns to and from the Hoe as need was; though the great guns may have been an exception. In 1486 also occurs the first of a long series of entries of payments to the watchman at Rame.

Itm payd ffor foreys to make the ffyre bekyn at hawe	
iij tymys	ix ^d
Itm payd vnto the whaycheman att Rame ffor keypyng off	
ye bekyng ther & brinyng iiij tymys	iiij ^d
Itm payd vnto Wyllm bovy ffor the keypyng off the	
bolwerke ffor a yere	vj ^s viij ^d

The 'whaycheman' was paid better later on. In 1511-12 eighteenpence was delivered to the parson of Rame for him; and in the next year he not only had 2s. for his 'yeares wages,' but 4d. for a reward 'to come and yeve warnying of shippes at sea.' In 1522-3 he had 4s. for his yearly wage,

² One found at Hoe is in the possession of the writer; and another, of Roborough Down stone, found in Sutton Pool, at Briton Side, equivalent in size to an iron seven-pounder. It is doubtless one of the shots fired against the Bretons.

and 1s. for his labour in coming to Plymouth sundry times. He must have thought himself luckier still when in 1543-4 he received 8d. for 'comying hether by nyght when the new founde lande men came yn.' The 'waccheman of Rame,' however, had to be supplemented in 1537-8 by two others, who watched 'the water syde for pyratts.'

What is rather amusing, considering the use the guns were put to, is that ordnance were bought in Spain. In 1504-5 two great guns were 'bought out of Spaine,' and paid for by twenty-two dozen of 'whyttys,' worth £7 11s. 8d. This cloth was packed in canvas and sent to Saltash to be forwarded. There had been an agreement drawn up with the gunmakers, and three 'chésys' worth 10d. were included in the bargain. The ordnance of the town was then rather scanty. There was a 'brazen gon,' and the end of the great gon (which a 'portyngal' not long before had been mulcted in some wine for damaging) was caulked with oakum! while a piece of iron was nailed over the mouth to 'kepe hym close.' In 1509-10 two other guns were bought in Spain, and paid for partly in hake.

That the townsfolk not only had to find the defences of the town and the munitions of war, in these days; but also to do their own fighting; and that they were not above taking pay from those they helped—is abundantly clear from the entries in 1526-7.

Itm Rec of tharrogosye for defendynge theyre shyp	
agaynst the ffrenshemen that wold have taken	
her	xvj ^{li} xiiij ^s iiij ^d
Itm Rec of Spaynards for lyke defens	xxvj ^s viij ^d

It is recorded that those who manned the bulwarks for this business were Stephen Pers, Wm. Bull, Christopher Moore, William Hawkyns the elder, John Pers, Rd. Horswell, Simon Weryng, Rd. Gerrard, Nich. Sark, Langharne, and Lawrence.

In 1528-9 William Hawkyns sold two brass guns to the town, and was paid in instalments of £8. A few years later other guns were bought in Flanders. And then there was such continual expense on the bulwarks, and on the 'gun slyngs' and 'chambers' and the like, that the town got into difficulties.

Beyond the grants of authority to fortify, and to levy Customs, the Crown seems to have done nothing for the defence of Plymouth until the reign of Henry VIII. Between 1537 and 1539 Henry caused to be erected 'bloke-

houses, castles, and platforms' upon 'divers frontiers of the Realme,' and a little later such important works as the castles of Pendennis and St. Mawes; built, with other local defences of this period, by Mr. Treffrye,³ of Fowey. The records show that there was considerable expenditure on the bulwarks of the town and on their armament at this time.

The tower at Devils Point, that near the Winter Villa, and that which formerly stood at the modern Eastern King, Stonehouse, belong to this series; and so does the ancient tower worked into the sea face of the outworks of the Citadel, the blockhouse mentioned by Leland. There is, however, this difference—the Stonehouse towers are all of the same material, limestone with granite dressings, and were evidently planned and built by the same heads and hands. The Plymouth tower does not differ essentially in plan, but the dressings are of Roborough Down stone, which was not in common use in the sixteenth century. It may therefore have been built in part of older materials, and under somewhat different conditions. The fact may also be significant that the first direct help recorded from the Crown is about this date, the gift of two brass guns in 1544.

What was still more acceptable followed—the grant of a pension for defence of £39 10s. 10d. out of the Customs. In 1560 the Corporation complained that Thomas Edmonds, who had succeeded William Amadas as collector, had stopped the payment. They had then spent £440 in the repair of works on St. Nicholas Island, where they had agreed to maintain at their own charge four gunners in time of peace and twelve in time of war, with eight pieces of ordnance.

St. Nicholas Island.

St. Nicholas Island had passed to the Corporation, with the rest of the Priory property in Plymouth, at the Incorporation. A scheme for fortifying it was devised, not later than 1547, when twelve pence were given in reward to the post which 'brought the Counsaylls lres for the fort to be made on saynt Nichos Irlond.' There is a letter from the Privy Council (March 28th, 1548) to 'the Maior of Plimouth & his Bretheren, merveling of their unwillingness to proceede in the fortifyinge of St. Michaells Chapele to be made a Bulwerke . . . & wher they alledge the plucking down of that Chapelle hard to the foundation,'

³ Thos. Martyn had sailed to 'penle' in 1496-7 'to speke wth mr. Treffrye' on the town business.

they were answered, 'the same beinge made upp againe with a wall of Turfe should neither be of less effect or strengthe (for a meane strength for such a place sufficed) nor yet of such great coste as they intended.' The Corporation seem also to have questioned the force of the garrison required. However, work was done on the Island, under the direction of Sir Francis Fleming; and William Hawkins, John Elyott, John Ilcombe, and Richard Hooper rode to London about the business, and had £2 each. (This sum was the yearly fee of Roger Newport for keeping the ordnance in 1573.)

Thirty years later (April 6th, 1580) we find the Corporation authorising William Hawkins and Thomas Edmonds to seal all the documents needful for transferring the Island to the Queen—'The fortification, continewaunce, maintenance, artillerie, furniture, and munition to be had, placed, used, or employed, in or upon St. Nicholas Island for the defence of the same.' And in the same year Hawkins was paid £22 'for money laide owte in pcurryng the patent for the Ilonde, and for his charge in the suyte thereof.'

The maintenance and defence of the Island remained under the patent in the hands of the town with the yearly grant; and in 1583-4 no less a sum than £279 14s. 4½d. was paid out 'in fortifyinge, buyldinge, entrenchinge, and other munytyons boughte for the fortificacon of St. Nicholas Island.' Having to bear the burden, the Corporation directed in March, 1584, that no captain or governor should be appointed to the charge of the Island, save thought meet by the Mayor and Commonalty. This, however, was not acceptable at head-quarters; and the authorities next unavailingly asked that Drake might be made commander of Castle and Island; and claimed either to appoint the captain to the Island, or to be free from all charge in maintaining it. But before many years the appointment fell definitely into the hands of the Crown, and the Corporation had to content themselves with the mere expression of a wish.

The 'Fort of Plymouth.'

The position of affairs in May, 1590, is clearly set forth in a letter addressed to the Privy Council by Sir Francis Drake and the Mayor, begging help of the Queen towards building of a fort, the town lying open to the enemy, and not defended by 'anie forte or rampier.' If the Queen would contribute £1,000 or £1,200 the townsfolk would build a fort on the

Howe of strength and force sufficient to withstand an enemy 50,000 strong for ten or twelve days at least 'without one pennie charge to her Majestie; in which time the countrie might come to their releefe.' Sir Francis offered to give £100 at least. The letter proceeds:

There is now some thirteen pieces of ordnance placed on the Howe, parte of which they have borrowed of sondrie persons to serve this present action if neede so require. And uppon the Castle towers which is of no strength they have placed foure. They have beside on St. Nicholas Islande about 23 pieces of Ordnance, the greater parte whereof are likewise borrowed. If the borrowed pieces were restored the places would be left verie bare. So that they doe likewise become humble suitors that her Majestie would be pleased to bestow eight or ten brass pieces out of her stoare, the rest they themselves would furnish.

The forte being once erected, the town and whole countrie should be more resolute and safe, which would be a great encouragement to the Realme, and the enemy, knowing the Artillerie to be out of danger would, with less boldness, enterprise that way. Nowe, the harbour, lying without anie defence to make long resistance, the towne uppon this late reporte was stricken with such feare, that some of them had convaied their goods out of the towne, and others, no doubt, would have followed if they had not ben stopped by the cominge of Sir Francis Drake, who, the more to assure them, brought his wife and familie thither. So that if the enemy had made his approach in his absence, he had assuredlie taken the towne without anie resistance and carried away their Ordnance.

They have of late at their own charge fortified St. Nicholas Islande with a wall where the entrance was lowest and easiest to be made of 20 foote in height and 150 in length, which hath made that place of the Islande equall in strength with the rest. Within the Island they have armor (as Calivers, Musketts, and Pikes) for the arming of 350 men. Besides they have brought thither 50 barrels of pitch, 40 barrels of tarre, 10,000 weight of hearth pitch, as manie of brimstone, to be in a readiness to be prepared for fireworks uppon anie occasion.

Uppon May daie last (as their custom is every yeare) they made shewe uppon the Howe of at the leaste 1,300 men well appointed wh were there all the morning mustered. From that daie ever hereafter Sr Francis Drake hath taken order that there shall be watch and ward every night kept in the towne no lesse than if it were a towne of garrison. Of which watch every Master in his tourne as captain is to have the charge and to watch with them himself until midnight, and then to be relieved by his deputie, who shall like be a man of good substance and truste. This watch did Sir Francis himself beginne on Friday laste.

This proved the commencement of a work out of which developed the Fort of Plymouth, 'divers platformes on the haw,' which had been 'tymbred' in 1589, being 'methodised into a fortification Regular'; while in 1593 we read 'the Fort built, on the haw cliffs.' But this can only have been a beginning. The disbursements on the Fort by William Stallinge, from July, 1592, to October 11th, 1595, reached £1,627 1s. 5d. London and Plymouth had aided in the work, and Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins had given £60 each.

The Wall.

The Fort was not the only matter taken in hand.⁴ The statement of Drake and the Mayor that the town had neither 'forte nor rampier' (rampart) in 1590 is decidedly inexact. There were defences at the Hoe and the Island, as admitted in the letter; and there was also a town wall, which was ignored. Plymouth indeed had been circumvallated from the early part of the fifteenth century, at least; and the very year before this letter was written there is the entry in the *Black Book*: 'the gate at cocksyie w^h is to be shutte every neight was newe made.' Touching the work at the Island the same authority adds that 'a greatte platteforme by the gate att Iland & the wall neere the same containing 251 feete was nowe newly made.'

The town wall, however, can have been of little importance. One Robert Adams was sent to Plymouth from London to inquire into the state of the defences in 1591. Touching him there are several entries of account. In the same year he had a gift of £10 from the town, and there are other items of expenditure upon him, and on assistance for him.

Adams designed a complete system of defence, so far as it went; and in 1592 sent in a report to the Privy Council, accompanied by a plan, which unfortunately cannot be traced. He recommended carrying a wall round the town from an existing wall and tower on the Hoe, to a quay or wharf belonging to Mr. Sparke at Coxside. The eastern quarter of the town he left out, regarding Sutton Pool as a sufficient defence there, but advised a boom at the entrance, as in the earlier days. At the eastern end of the town there was a steeple with a Friary, and there was a promise to pull the steeple down, so that it should give no advantage to an enemy. This steeple would be outside his wall, and he recommended it to be demolished and a mount erected. To

⁴ In 1590 ground was viewed for a fort at 'Hawe Stert.'

environ the town with a royal strength would cost millions; nevertheless it should be fortified against a sudden surprise. The circuit of the walling was 380 perches—under a mile and a quarter. He likewise proposed the improvement of the Fort, which would be 75 perches in circuit—the works to be such that the townsfolk might easily retire to the relief of the Fort from the bulwark on the Quay. There was a ‘bulworke’ at ‘Fishernosse.’

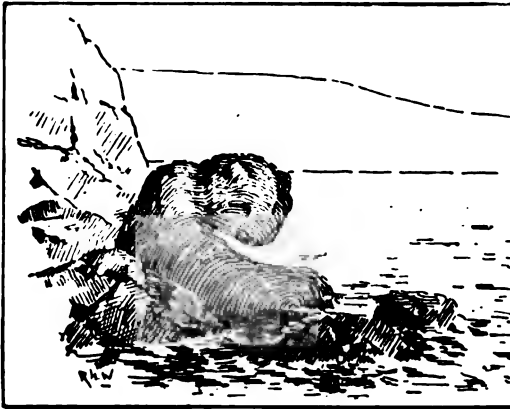
William Borrowes, or Borough, in the same year put the cost of fortification at £5,000, and proposed to levy 3d. a ton on each ton of shipping passing from the town every voyage, which he reckoned to yield £40 or £50 annually. He also suggested a tax of 2s. 6d. a hogshead on pilchards exported by strangers or in strange bottoms; 1s. a hogshead on pilchards exported by English or in English bottoms; 6d. a cwt. on hake. Subsequently the Queen ordered a tax of 2s. and 1s. respectively, and granted £100 a year out of the increase of the Customs beyond the average for the past seven years. Even this, however, was more than the trade of the town could bear, and the same year these taxes were reduced to 1s. 6d. and 1s., and in addition to the £100 the Queen gave half of the forfeitures of prohibited wares. The pilchard tax was paid very unwillingly by other towns.

In February, 1593, John Sparke, the Mayor, petitioned that the wall might be built. The townsfolk had heard that the Spaniards intended to burn the town next summer, and many were leaving.

In May following Adams reported that the works were going on as well as the time and small means afforded. They were not finished, however, by August, 1594; for in that month the Queen asked the Earl of Bath who the contributors to the work in the county were, and why they had not given enough! About this time it was estimated that it would take £800 to complete the fort; while to garrison it with 100 men would cost £700 a year. The townsfolk were very anxious to have Arthur Champernowne made commander.

Some old plans in the British Museum show what the Hoe Fort was like. It occupied part of the site of the present Citadel, and had a ditch and rampart, which completely isolated the ground upon which it stood. If reliance could be placed upon a drawing by some unknown Italian, preserved among the Cottonian MSS., the ancient chapel of St. Katherine was also within its bounds. According to this plan, Plymouth was entirely enclosed by ramparts, which

came to the water's edge at one end at the Hoe, and at the other near Bear's Head (a curious rock in Deadmans Bay, now destroyed, which figured prominently in the borough boundaries). These are the only mural defences of a more extended character than those shown in the map of the defences of Plymouth at the time of the Siege. In 1643 the wall enclosed the strictly urban part of the town only, the Hoe and the eastern borders of Sutton Pool being beyond its limits. There is a plan much to the same effect



BEAR'S HEAD.

among the Cecil papers, showing the east of Sutton Pool enclosed by ramparts, and a very elaborate system of works at the Fort. As no such works existed, the probability is that these matters were simply suggestions, never carried out. A note on the Cecil plan runs: 'The circuit or compass of the new fortification of the towne amounts vnto a 500 perches at 18 feet the perche'—or 3,000 yards. There are letters on the plan—A at the fort, B and C from Teats Hill to Coxside—and it seems a fair inference that these marked intended new works.

Martyn's Gate.

Adams's wall did not cover so much ground as these schemes by a great deal; but it was more extensive than the circumvallation which it continued or replaced. The proof hereof lies in the existence of a gate far within Adams's line. This was Martyn's Gate, at the junction of Green Street with Briton Side. Harris, to whom we are

once more indebted for the only description, states that it had two arches: one leading from Bilbury Street into Green Street, and the other into Briton Side. It was very old and low, with rooms over; and so strong that when it was taken down the materials were separated with difficulty. 'Bilbury Bridge' was close by. From Martyn's Gate the old wall ran up Green Street, which follows its line; and Dr. Hawker made it the foundation of his vicarage wall. We do not know either the date of this gate, or for a certainty the origin of its name; but the first Martyn prominent in town affairs was John Martyn, Mayor in 1569-70; and in the next century the gate is spoken of as behind 'Mr. Martin's' house, which seems to afford a clue to the title.

Another significant fact is that Martyn's Gate was regarded as the Old Town boundary, and hence became the chief scene of the annual fights between the Quay boys and Old Town boys, the former being called Burton (a corruption of Breton) boys. The Old Town boys used to aggravate the Burton boys during the wars with France, by reminding them of the damage the French had done in their quarter. Long after the fighting had ceased its memory was preserved in the sign of a public-house, called the 'Burton Boys.' This was changed to the Black Lion, from a preference on the part of the owner 'for some more peaceful name!'

Sir Ferdinando Gorges.

Sir Ferdinando Gorges was apparently the first commander of the Fort upon its practical completion. The Mayor states in October, 1595, that the town was glad to have Gorges in that capacity. When appointed, Sir Ferdinando proceeded to finish the works. The original arrangement (May, 1596) appears to have been that he was to have fifty men assigned out of the Low-Country force by way of garrison, but to be allowed to keep as many less as would give him 4s. a day, without raising the charge above the cost of the fifty. The half-year's pay of Gorges and his force was £900. March 5th following he had disbursed on the Fort £1,327 4s. 6d.; while the pilchard tax between 1592 and 1595 had produced £877 4s. 6d. Gorges was paid by the town in 1596-7 three quarters of his annuity to Michaelmas, £22 10s.

In June, 1598, there were 200 men in garrison; while in the following August, of thirteen companies of soldiers five were lodged in the town and eight in the adjacent parishes. Gorges wanted them all brought in; but the townsfolk

declared there was no more room, and the Mayor thought Gorges was malicious. Apparently in this same year a Spanish spy reported that the town was not walled (it is perfectly clear that it was), that there were 40 or 50 guns on the Island, and 100 men; 30 in the Fort, and 100 men; and six or seven in the Castle. There was a chapel in the Fort.

Gorges was Governor for many years, his son, Sir Robert, occasionally acting as his deputy. In 1599 he proposed to throw a bridge over the entrance to Hamoaze, to place booms there and at Cattewater, to erect a fortification at Mount Edgcombe, and to plant guns and a fort on Haw Start. He then ceased to be Governor for awhile. In 1601 Sir John Gilbert is mentioned as in command; but Gorges had returned to the post in July, 1603, when he was dispossessed, and Sir Nicholas Parker appointed in his stead. In September, however, Gorges was back again with a salary of 56s. a day, and continued.

Among the Harleian MSS. is a report on the defences of the town in 1624. The Fort is described as a guard for the 'famous harbour of Cattewater,' not so well placed as it might have been, yet of great strength and consequence. It contained fifteen serviceable cannon (three of brass), and seventeen unserviceable, and to render it thoroughly efficient an expenditure of £206 12s. was required. St. Nicholas Island was impregnable, since the only means of approach was by small boats, which could easily be driven off. The works had never been finished, and required an outlay of £137 12s. 8d. There were twenty serviceable cannon and ten unserviceable. One thousand and twenty-two pounds a year was allowed for the maintenance of the garrison, at the disposition of Sir Ferdinando Gorges. The 'allowance' did not amount to much, if Gorges is exact in his complaint in January, 1627, that his garrison had not been paid for three and a quarter years, and that some had died of famine! However by 1634 the three brass cannon had grown to eighteen, so that the authorities were not absolutely neglectful of their duties. A platform for ordnance, replacing a gun, was made on the Barbican in 1627-8.

The governorship of Plymouth was of sufficient importance and emolument in the early part of the reign of Charles I. to induce Sir James Bagge to buy the reversion for £1,000, of Sir T. Aylesbury, to whom it had been granted in succession to Sir E. Howard. The patent was made to Sir James Bagge and Captain Arthur Chichester; and in 1638,

after his father's death, Captain George Bagge, for whom it had been bought, petitioned for confirmation. But the post was given to Sir J. Astley, and in January, 1639, Bagge was dispossessed. Affairs were then in a very sorry plight. They work was done by deputy. Captain Thomas Gay, lieutenant-governor, at £30 a year, had only 40 men, whereas 300 were not sufficient; much of the ordnance was unserviceable; the carriages were decayed; the match was spent; and there were only 70 barrels of powder, and these five years old. Thomas Roche then commanded the Island at £30 a year; Polydore Roche was master gunner at £20.

The Siege Defences.

The Siege furnishes the next stage in the history of defensive works at Plymouth. The walling of the town was repaired and completed, and the redoubts and breastworks already mentioned in the sixth chapter constructed. After the raising of the Siege the walls, being of no further utility, were gradually suffered to fall into decay, and as the town grew, little by little disappeared.

The first important work done by the townsfolk in preparing for the Siege was the lengthening of the town wall. This they effected by carrying a new wall through the Friary Garden round the Friary buildings to the corner of Sutton Pool, enclosing the ground that Adams had omitted. Next they raised the line of earthworks along the ridge of high land north and east of the town, as already described, from Lipson to Eldad; and then and subsequently at various times erected redoubts on and in advance of this line, and across the water at Batten and near Turnchapel.

The wall in its complete state ran from Coxside round Friary Gardens, across Whitefriars (now Tothill) Lane, thence to the head of Gasking Street; nearly east and west through the gardens behind Hewer's Row, by the north side of Ham Street, through the gardens on the south of Park Street, to the head of Old Town Street just below Drake Street, up to the entrance of Saltash Street (where traces were recently discovered beneath the pavement on the west); westward along Dove's Court, the cottages next to the Ebenezer Chapel boundary, called in the deeds 'townwalls,' and retaining the exact line; across what is now the Market, to the Globe Hotel; thence through Westwell Street burial ground and across Princess Square to the head of Hoe-Gate Street, and so round the Castle to Sutton Pool at the Barbican.

There are a few fragments still left. The best preserved are at the Friary, where the wall is a tolerably substantial limestone structure. A bit of the older portion, consisting of slates set on edge simply, is built into a garden wall at the end of Gascoigne Terrace, near the site of Gascoigne Gate. There is also a very interesting fragment in the gardens north of Ham Street. But much more remains in recollection. Fifty years ago many old inhabitants recalled the existence of great mounds of earth at the head of Hampton Street, and at Frankfort Gate, which had formed two of the spurs or projecting portions of the circumvallation. Near the latter place there was likewise an old castellated building covered with ivy.

The last quarter of a century has been specially fatal, through the extension of building operations, to the relics of the outworks. They were still important far within this period, including remains of Maudlyn Work, Holiwell Fort, Lipson Work, the rampart in the North Road, and along by Freedom Fields. Now all are gone.

There are yet, however, banks at Batten towards Fort Stamford, which formed part of the Roundhead ramparts, though to a casual observer they would only suggest a hedge.

The 'line' was made up again in 1654-5 on the rumours of Penruddock's rising. Part of Pennycomequick Work had been taken down in 1650-1, and the highways new made there, and so at Maudlyn Hill.

The Gates.

It took just a century to demolish the gates, which had drawbridges. Friary Gate, which stood near the remains of the Friary, was removed in 1763; Gasking or Gascoigne Gate, otherwise North Gate, in 1768; Frankfort, or West Gate (rebuilt about 1661), which occupied part of the site of the Globe Hotel, in 1783; Martyn's Gate, between Briton Side and Bilbury Street, in 1789, the inhabitants subscribing for the purpose in consequence of an accident happening to a servant of one of the royal princes, who was injured while passing through it on a carriage. Old Town Gate, at the head of Old Town Street, rebuilt in 1759, was taken down in 1809. East, or Coxside Gate (called New Gate early in the seventeenth century), which stood near Jory's Almshouses, not long subsequently; the Barbican, or South Gate, in 1831; and the last remaining, Hoe Gate, in 1863.

Strenuous efforts were made to preserve Hoe Gate, which had become the property of Mr. T. W. Fox. That gentleman was, however, inexorable, and sold the materials by auction for £44. This Gate was leased in December, 1657,

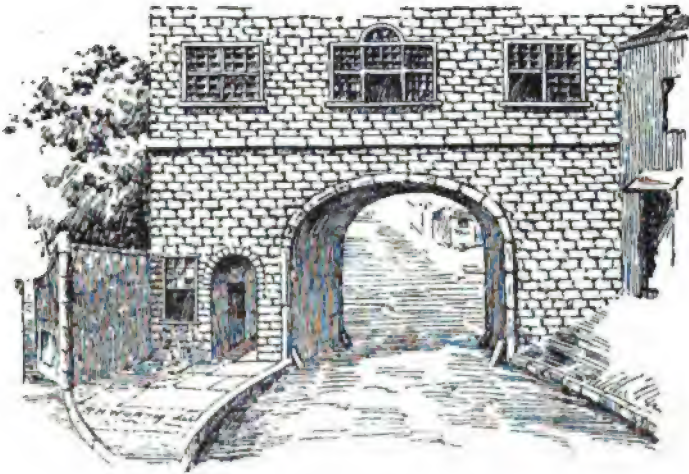


HOE GATE.

by the Corporation to Mr. Timothy Alsop, then one of the representatives of the borough (who had rebuilt it), for a term, which expired in 1754. It subsequently passed from the possession of the Corporation altogether. The house

was at one time the residence of Dr. Musgrave, a native of Exeter, and a man of considerable literary repute, who lived and died poor, 'impolitic, unfortunate, and finally deserted.' William Elford Leach, the naturalist, one of the most eminent men whom Plymouth has produced, was born in the same building.

The only two gates of which authentic drawings exist are Old Town and Hoe Gates. The reproduction of Frankfort Gate, put up in 1890 as part of the town decorations in connection with the visit of the Royal Agricultural Society, was purely imaginative.



OLD TOWN GATE.

The Citadel.

The erection of the Citadel marks the next stage in this section of the history of Plymouth. Built less for the defence of the port than to keep the townsfolk in order, there was something more than poetic justice in the fate which made it the first fortress in England placed in the hands of William of Orange. The Crown had carried matters with a high hand. The authorities helped themselves to as much of the Hoe as they wanted, without compensating the Corporation; and also appropriated land near the Lambhay belonging to Sir Edward Hungerford, Sir G. Carteret, and Richard Strode, besides the dwelling houses and gardens of smaller folk. The commission for

building the Citadel is dated Nov. 17th, 1665, the commissioners being the Earl of Bath, Sir J. Skelton, and Sir Bernard de Gomme, the engineer. The connection of the Earl of Bath with the building is commemorated on a stone built into the wall of the seaward front. Gomme commenced work in 1666, and 'carried farr on this year.' Some of the money wanted was taken from the militia fund of the county, kept in the Fort. In 1667 orders were given to push on with all speed. Portions of the walls were reported up forty feet in May; while in June they were said to have reached twenty feet generally, and to be secured by a gate guarded at night. The entrance gateway is dated 1670. But the works at that date were far from complete, for Allen, the mercer, thus records a visit of inspection by Charles II. and his brother James in July, 1671:

King Charles y^e 2^d together wth his brother James Duke of Yorke came from Portsmouth to Plym^o in his Pleasure boat, they had seuen pleasure boats & six Frigotts to attend him in his motion. They landed in plym^o at the barbican staires Monday y^e 17th July 1671 about 5 of y^e Clocke in y^e afternoone & from thence went presently to y^e fort, where y^e Mayor and his bretheren p^resented him wth a purse of Gold. The K. & D: lay in y^e fort & next morning he was out vpon the hoe by 4 of y^e clocke, and thence to y^e Iland, & then took boat & went vp the riuier towards Saltash &c & afterwards vp the riuier to osen & Lary, & returned into Sutton poole & went round it, & then to the fort to dinner, & after dinner he touched for the evill about 18 persons, & at 5 of y^e clocke Tuesday y^e 18th July tooke boat at the Barbicon starres & went aboard his pleasure boat, and about 8 of the clocke at neight set saile, & went & from Plym^o both the 6 frigots & 7 pleasure boats. The great Guns both from the fort & Iland gaue him a very Loud farewell.

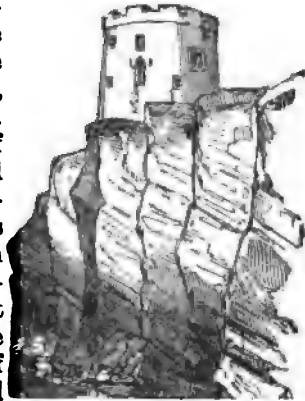
The interest felt by Charles and James was natural, seeing the work was mainly intended as 'a check to the rebellious spirits of the neighbourhood.' In the British Museum is a plan of the Citadel in 1677; which shows the older fortifications near the sea level to a certain extent incorporated with the new work. A new harbour, about 240 feet long by 80 feet wide, is delineated as hewn out of the rocks immediately in front, with an entrance at the south-western corner. This no longer exists, unless we may identify it with the present landing-place. On the site of the magazine a spot is marked as the 'Grott or Giant's Cave.'

That name is doubtless associated with the legend of Goemagot, for it was in the construction of the Citadel that

the two fighting figures, so carefully renewed in the turf for so many centuries, were destroyed. The caves and alluvial deposits on the Hoe have frequently yielded relics of the extinct mammalia of the local cavern period; and such a discovery was made while the Citadel was building. Says Scawen: 'At the last digging on the Haw for the foundation of the Citadel of Plymouth the great jaws and teeth therein found were those of Gogmagog'; this at least was the current and for that time not unnatural belief.

The Earl of Bath was connected with the Citadel as Governor. At the Restoration Sir William Morice and his son obtained a grant of the governorship of the Fort and Island at a fee of 56s. a day. They surrendered in the following May for an annuity of £200 a year to young Morice, and grant was then made to the Earl of Bath. It was this Earl who handed the Citadel over to William. The connection of the townsfolk with the defences had ceased at the Restoration.

In 1701 it was proposed to provide for the defence of the infant Dockyard by the construction of two batteries at the Island, one of nineteen and the other of fourteen guns; of one at Mount Edgumbe of twenty-four guns; and of one at Stonehedge (Stonehouse) Point of eleven. The total cost was estimated at £8,798, of which £200 was for land. Reports upon the fortifications of Plymouth were made by Colonel Christian Lilly in 1717. He describes the works on the Island as being ruinous, and requiring an outlay of £7,000; whilst he recommends an expenditure of £9,958 at the Citadel. Of 138 cannon at the port, in addition to a field train of 16 guns, 63 were unserviceable, and not more than 190 were wanted, including 20 for Stonehouse Point, and 4 for Cawsand. The tower at Mount Batten⁵ was mounted with six guns, whilst



BATTEN TOWER.

⁵ This was built in the reign of Charles II., on the site of one of the old forts erected for the defence of the town at the siege. It consists of two floors, the upper having a vaulted roof, and has embrasures for ten guns. Above the entrance on the level of the upper floor is a coat of arms.

Col. Ludlow was said to be organizing a rising near Plymouth in 1662, his party being 'sure of the town.' So much for the origin of the Carolan 'defences.'

eight more were lying in the adjacent bay. There were likewise fourteen guns to the eastward of the Citadel at Piggs Point—Queen Annes Battery. All these Lilly recommended should be brought away as useless, the Citadel being sufficient. There only remains of Queen Annes Battery at present a portion of the exterior wall facing the sea, with several embrasures.

The Citadel has five bastions, with intermediate works, and was originally mounted with 165 guns. Until 1888, when the outer works were partially levelled and partially



CITADEL GATE.

converted into ornamental grounds, drives being carried through the trenches in connection with plans of Hoe improvement, it was the finest example remaining in England of a regular seventeenth-century fortress. The main cincture is still intact, and the rampart forms a delightful terrace walk; while the handsome gate which once niched a statue of Charles II. has been carefully preserved. But as a fortification its use is gone; and it is to be hoped that

ere long the uninteresting buildings in the interior will be cleared away and the area left free. If any exception is made it may be in favour of the comical leaden statue of George II., which Robert Pitt erected in 1728 at the expense of a loyal Captain Louis Dufour. According to Browne Willis there were still certain Elizabethan guns on the ramparts, when he visited Plymouth early in the last century.⁶

From the date of the erection of the Citadel down to 1860, with the exception of strengthening the works on Drakes Island (the modern name which has supplanted that of St. Nicholas) no addition of importance was made to the defences of Plymouth. Devonport as the arsenal was considered to have the first claim, and became the seat of both the naval and military government. In 1860 a Royal Commission recommended the construction of a chain of forts entirely enclosing the Three Towns, from Tregantle on the west to Staddon on the east; and these have been proceeded with to completion. None are within the limits of the town. Most important of the series is the Breakwater Fort, built on an artificial island of stone immediately within, but detached from, that work.

Volunteers.

In the Early Middle Ages the garrison of Plymouth consisted of all the male inhabitants capable of bearing arms. By slow degrees the professional military element was introduced, at first only in an auxiliary character. Even so late as 1572 there was an order made by the Corporation that every inhabitant should have in some convenient place in his house a 'good black bill or a clubbe,' to find in any time of strife, on penalty of 3s. 4d. The watch was then rather a matter of public safety than of mere police; and while the inhabitants were ordered generally to aid the constables, it was directed in 1580 that they were to do their duty in the night or day watch, provide some sufficient substitute, or be fined.

In the reign of Elizabeth the town forces were duly organized. Prior to that date, while the Corporation were expected to take the lead, special levies were made for special duties; and perhaps there was a certain amount of volunteering when a body of Plymouth men dressed in 'grene jaketts' (the first indication of local uniform) went into Cornwall to oppose Perkin Warbeck. The

⁶ By a fire in the Citadel in 1829 Fort-Major Watson and two of his daughters were burnt.

Plymouthians practised their archery, and later their musketry, at the butts on the Hoe; and there in the days of Elizabeth they mustered for inspection, under the command of such men as Grenville and Raleigh. Thus was laid the foundation of the famous Plymouth trainband, which did such service in the days of the Commonwealth. There seems to have been an attempt to tamper with this body under James I., since an order directed to the Mayor of Plymouth (October, 1617) directs that 'persons of worth and quality be inrolled.' That the local authorities had a different idea may be gathered from the following entry—thence appearing yearly—in 1628:

Item p^d Liutennt Burthogg being entertheyned by the
Toune for the exercising of the youth of the towne
in military discipline xⁱⁱ

This 'discipline' was turned to good account later on.

When the trainband was disbanded there does not seem to be any direct evidence; but it is probable that volunteering in Plymouth, after a persistent if varied life of well-nigh two centuries, dropped for a while late in the seventeenth.

'Town Militia,' with the Mayor as Major Commandant, were in existence, indeed, in 1717, when sundry items of expenditure on 'the Regalia or Trophy,' drums and silk sashes, are entered; but the notes seem to indicate a revival rather than a survival.

Yonge in his *Memoirs* gives a list of the 'divisions' made in Sessions, 1686, and appointed to each Alderman—thirteen in all, with a further apportionment of Councillors to each division; but this was merely for the purpose of order and cleanliness. There are earlier traces of the ancient division into four wards continuing the basis of a defensive organization; but the practice seems to have died out long before Yonge's day.

Volunteering was renewed with vigour in the latter half of the eighteenth century, and the Volunteers of 1779 were a really formidable body. Two corps were raised, the members of one of which clothed themselves and had no pay; the other was paid and clothed by the Government; and, as they kept guard over the prisoners held in durance in the town, they saw both regular and what must be called active service.

The more strictly volunteer corps was under Messrs. Hawker and Lockyer, as colonel and major respectively, and eventually increased to six companies and a strength of 350—the tradesmen of whom they were at first composed having been replaced and recruited to a large extent by

working men. And a dashing force they looked, in their uniforms of red turned up with yellow, and their helmets covered with bear skins.

Later the Plymouth Foot Association was formed—an 'aristocratic body of the most respectable tradesmen.' They provided themselves, and formed three companies of about 190 file, under the command of Major Culme, Captains R. and B. Fuge, and A. Hill. They wore blue coats with red collars, white waistcoats and pantaloons.

Then there were the Sea Fencibles, 250 strong, composed largely of Custom-house officials (a very numerous body in these days) and fishermen. They were armed with the 'pike,' were under the command of Captain Clements and other naval officers, and were exercised by the garrison of the Citadel in artillery practice. No particular jealousies can be aroused now-a-days if it is stated that 'Langmead's Volunteers,' dressed in red faced with yellow, and clothed and paid by Langmead himself, were considered the pick of the whole contingent. They were chiefly brewers.

There was also a rifle corps in green, of about fifty strong, 'Julian's Rangers'; and a small body of cavalry was recruited, chiefly among the butchers, and dressed in the customary red and yellow, with helmets.

All these were Plymouth corps; but Stonehouse had a couple of companies under Captains Pridham and (the Barrack Artificers) under Captain Scoble; and Dock also had a couple of independent companies. The total Volunteer strength of the Three Towns towards the close of the last century was therefore little, if at all, short of 1,500.

All these bodies were disbanded at the end of the war, on the Treaty of Amiens, 1802, but when hostilities were resumed, the 'martial ardour' of Plymouth again had way. August 15th, 1803, the inhabitants of the town and borough assembled in the Guildhall 'to consider on the most proper and effectual means of enrolling themselves as Volunteers for the defence of the country against the common enemy.' That meeting was not only 'numerously' but 'respectably' attended, and it was resolved, *inter alia*—

That the measure of raising Volunteers to exempt this town from the arming and calling out the first-class of people as directed by the Defence Bill is highly expedient, and ought to be adopted; that two battalions of infantry be raised under the command of a colonel-in-chief, and that Major-General England be invited to take the command; that each battalion do consist of eight companies of sixty men, with one lieutenant-colonel, one major, eight

captains, ten lieutenants, six ensigns, and one adjutant; that one battalion be commanded by John Hawker, Esq., the other by P. Langmead, Esq.; that these battalions do receive the pay and allowances for clothing provided by the Defence Bill.

For defraying the extraordinary expenses a subscription was entered into, and a standing committee was appointed to superintend the affairs of the battalion. And as Plymouth had ceased to have a paper of its own, the notices were published in the *Sun*, *Star*, and the *Sherborne and Exeter papers*. The following was also placarded:

Lists are now lying on the Guildhall Table, for the signature of all such persons as may be disposed to enrol themselves for the defence of the country, pursuant to the resolutions of the meeting held this day, and will remain there until four o'clock to-morrow afternoon, when the same will be transmitted to the lord lieutenant of the county for his approval.

The same day a letter was written by the Mayor and Mr. John Hawker to Major-General England, communicating the resolution of the meeting, and adding—

It was also resolved by the meeting that you should be invited to honour the regiment by taking the command as colonel, and that the wishes of this meeting should be communicated to you by us. We, therefore, beg leave to inform you of the above resolutions, and we most cordially join in the request that you will be pleased to accept the command accordingly.

In the following October Mr. Elford, of Bickham, wrote as Deputy-Lieutenant to the Mayor, asking assistance in the establishment of Pioneer Corps 'liable to be called out at the time of Invasion, or the actual appearance of an enemy on the coast,' acting for the Hundred of Roborough. Mr. Elford was anxious to discover what men would undertake the Pioneer service in each parish, as it was material 'at the moment of threatened Invasion that every man should know his post.' So Mr. Edmund Lockyer, Mr. Langmead's successor in the mayoralty, issued a notice, desiring that the wishes of the authorities to form a Pioneer corps should be carried into effect.

And that every good and loyal subject may have an opportunity of exerting himself in the defence of his King and Country, against the ambitious designs of an implacable and desperate enemy—I do hereby request that all such able-bodied men as have not enrolled themselves to serve in either of the corps of Volunteers raised in this town, and who are willing to serve as Pioneers, will immediately deliver in their names and places of

residence to one of the constables of the said borough, or enroll them in a book now lying on the Guildhall Table for that purpose ; together with such a list of such tools or implements as they can engage to bring with them.

Moreover, to secure an adequate supply of waggons, &c., in case of invasion, with horses and drivers, for the conveyance of forage and other necessities, the proprietors of waggons, carts, and carriages kept within the borough, who were disposed to make a voluntary offer of their services, were also requested to enrol their names, with the number of their carriages and the terms on which they would supply them. As to the result of this appeal we only know that volunteering was much more popular than pioneering, and that Government had to put powers of requisition in frequent force for the conveyance of baggage, &c.

Meanwhile the work of fitting out the corps decided upon in August went briskly on. In the following January Mr. Peter Birdwood was anxious to be paid £1,000 as an instalment of his clothing bill, as contractor, and funds being short, on the last day of that month notice was issued asking subscribers to pay up at the Plymouth or Naval Banks prior to the 6th of February. But there was money still due in the following May, and the committee for managing the affairs of the Plymouth Volunteers of 1803 had no sinecure.

So far as can now be ascertained the two battalions reached a total strength respectively of 525 and 420. They stuck at first to the old colours, red with yellow facings; but in twelve months the second battalion adopted blue facings, and became the 'Prince of Wales's Own,' while in 1807 a rifle company was clad in green. The second battalion had, moreover, a capital band. The Loyal Dock Volunteers, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Foot, were 500 strong, with a good band. Dock likewise possessed a battalion of artillery 300 strong, under Colonel Rawle, and called the 'Duke of York's Own,' and a small body of horse. Altogether, in 1804-5, the Volunteers of the Three Towns could put over 2000 men in the field.

The Volunteers of those days, like the regular soldiery, were not infrequently billeted about in the various public-houses; and there are some curious notices concerning their relations with the press-gang. Is it suggesting too much to hint that some of the popularity of the Volunteer force was due to the immunity it conferred from impressment? or rather was supposed to confer—for we find the Mayor of Plymouth written to on one occasion by Colonel Foot, to

tell him on board what vessel in the Sound a sergeant of the Loyal Dockers had been carried, that the Admiral's order might be obtained for his discharge. When the war was over this civilian military spirit soon died out, and the Volunteers ceased to exist. They had, however, seen some service, for they, too, occasionally mounted guard.

The existing Volunteers date from 1859. Plymouth and Devonport were close rivals for the honour of being first in the Volunteer field. Devonport indeed held the first meeting for the purpose; but the first enrolment took place in Plymouth, and the Plymouth corps thus became the 2nd Devons, the Exeter corps, which had a yet earlier origin, retaining the first place. Virtually the Plymouth corps is thus the senior body of the general Victorian movement, Devon being the leading county. And it has an interesting link with the old volunteering days of Plymouth—the colours of the 'Prince of Wales's Own' presented to it in 1879.

Major Duperier was the first commandant of the corps, which started with some 150 members. When he became adjutant of the 2nd Devon Battalion he was succeeded by Captain Bewes, who in his turn, in 1861, became adjutant of the 4th Devon Battalion. Lieut.-Colonel Hutchinson followed for a few months, and was replaced on resignation by Lieut.-Colonel Fisk, who held the command until 1869. Colonel Elliott came next, but as he succeeded Major Duperier in the adjutancy in 1870, a vacancy was once more created, and filled by the appointment of Major-General Pickard. On his retirement the corps first came under Volunteer command, in the person of Major M. Collier. He was succeeded by Major Pitts, and Major Pitts by the present commanding officer, Major Spearman. The present strength (December, 1890) is 20 officers and 494 non-commissioned officers and men. These numbers include a Mounted Company, formed in February, 1883.

The head-quarters and drill-ground were originally at the old Grammar School, in Catharine Street, but when the New Guildhall was built, removal became necessary, and the present quarters in Prospect Row were obtained, the drill-shed being built from the designs of Lieut. Pearse. In this building the largest indoor political meetings of modern Plymouth have been held, over 7,000 being packed into it on the occasion of Mr. Gladstone's visit in 1889, when temporary galleries were erected.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE BOROUGH WATER WORKS.

My name is Water ; I have sped
Through strange dark ways, untried before,
By pure desire of friendship led,
Old Dartmoor's swift ambassador;
He sends four royal gifts by me—
Long life, health, peace, and purity.—*Lowell* (altered).

The Corporation Records.

WHEN the first edition of this work was published, the original materials for the history of the Plymouth Waterworks were very meagre; and official and non-official tradition were hopelessly at variance. The old Corporation always contended that while it was true Sir Francis Drake had brought the water into Plymouth, it was at their cost; and therefore that they had a right to make a water rate. A section of the inhabitants, on the contrary, held that the water was a gift from the great navigator, and therefore in the nature of a charity. This divergence of opinion issued in legal proceedings.

Until 1881 almost the sole contemporary record in the possession of the Corporation was an entry in the *Black Book*, that the Corporation of Elizabeth had agreed with Drake to bring the water into Plymouth, at a cost of £300. But in 1881, fortunately, the long missing volume of Receivers' Accounts, which contained the leading details of the financial transactions of the Corporation in the reigns of Elizabeth and the earlier Stuarts, was discovered at Widey Court. Since then other original documents have become accessible. Thus the history of the Plymouth Waterworks can now be written with reasonable fulness, from contemporary records, and we are no longer dependent on mere hearsay.

The following narrative is drawn solely from these original and official records. They are as far as possible left to tell their own story, without reference to a somewhat heated

controversy which resulted from the discovery of the Widey Court Book. Those who are interested in the controversial side of the question will find it fully set forth in the *Transactions* of the Plymouth Institution, vols. vii. and viii., and those of the *Devonshire Association* for 1884, vol. xvi.

Wells and Streams.

The water supply of Plymouth was, in the first place, derived chiefly from wells. Among the names of wells of a more or less public character preserved are Buckwell, Quarrywell, Ladywell, Finewell, Westwell, St. Andrews Well,¹ Holywell, and Martock's Well. The sites of most of these are known, and they were fairly scattered throughout the town, as it then existed. An old conduit by Notte Street was fed from a well in Well Park adjacent, continuously on through the seventeenth century. Private wells were also numerous. Plymouth is exceptionally supplied with underground water. There are even yet a number of productive wells along the line of junction of the slate and limestone rocks, in the less compact slates, and associated with the trappean bands; and these, in 1881, when a severe frost deprived the town of its ordinary water supply, proved capable of materially relieving the necessities of the inhabitants, large as the population now is.

In addition to the wells, two streamlets flowed through the town. One of these rose in Shute Park, near the Free School; the site of the other is yet marked by the name Hampton Shute. The first must have been of some little importance, since what is now Bilbury Street, which lies between its source and Sutton Pool, was anciently in part called Bilbury Bridge, the stream flowing into a little creek of the Pool now filled in. More distant, but barely a mile from what in the sixteenth century was the centre of the borough, were the still existing streamlets at Pennycomequick and Lipson; and to these it was the custom to resort when the ordinary supplies within the limits of the town itself fell short in time of drought.

¹ A lease of 1631 mentions St. Andrews well as 'lately digged, made, and enclosed' by Philip Andrewe, in the lane leading from Totehyll to Catt Downe. At the beginning of the century it was overshadowed by a big fig tree, and 'had the reputation of being a holy well.' Holywell was east of Longfield Terrace; Martock's Well west of the way leading from Briton Side to the Maudlyn. Finewell is said to have been in a garden attached to the 'Prysten House.' Westwell was on the west side of that street, near Princess Square, and when filled up, about 1805, took some cartloads of rubble.

The governing body of Plymouth from an early period interested itself in the matter of water supply. We find in the first volume of Accounts preserved, under date 1495-6, in the mayoralty of William Nycoll—

Itm p^d for mendyng of a Cunditt y^a the tenemente some
tyme Nicolas Elsworthy y^a xiiij^d

So in 1509-10 work was done in John Paynter's close 'for the conveyance of the wat^r yn to the waye.' Some entries of this class may be doubtful; for the word conduit is not always applied in its more modern sense; but others are clear enough. References to wells cannot be mistaken, nor can such entries as the following, one of a numerous class. It occurs under the mayoralty of William Weeks (1549-50):

Itm paid for plats of Ire to amend the boxe of the
plumpe of the well of the south syde and for
Arnold Rawlyns labour abowte the same iiij^s iiij^d

Outside Supplies Sought.

But the town was growing and its needs increasing. Not only was a better supply of water wanted for the residents, but the 'plumpe at the south syde,' constantly out of order, was utterly unable to meet the demands of the shipping. Thus the port outgrew its primitive system of water supply; and hence in the mayoralty of Lucas Cock (1559-60) we find the following entry among the records of Corporate expenditure:

Itm to M^r forsland of bovy & his company for vewinge
of the ground wherebie freshe water myght have
byn brought unto the towne xvj^s x^d

This is the real starting-point of the Plymouth Corporation Waterworks. Forsland was a man of some note in his day. By occupation a 'tin streamer,' he was a member of the Stannary Parliament that assembled at Crockern Tor in 1576, and was of sufficient standing to be described as 'gentleman.' Of all men in those days, a 'tin streamer' was best qualified to advise on such a question. Water was indispensable for washing tin ore out of the alluvium; and to obtain this water the streamers sometimes carried their little 'miners' leats' for miles, winding round the flanks of the hills. There are artificial courses of this character still in existence, of great and unknown antiquity.

Though it is not said whither Forsland went, it is clear it must have been some distance from the town, and probably

to the river Meavy. As nothing appears to have come of his work beyond the payment, the entry is chiefly valuable as showing that the idea of bringing water from a distance originated with the Corporation.

While apparently unable to follow up the survey of Forsland, the authorities were not unmindful of the wants of the town. Entries follow of expenditure, not merely upon the Southside pump, but upon a pump in Hawe Lane, and on a town well and pump. Moreover, in 1569-70 William Hawkins built a new conduit; and either this or another conduit associated with the Market Cross came to repair in 1571-2. And that one or other of these conduits was supplied by a stream of some sort (probably from Shute Park) is shown by an entry in the mayoralty of John Sparke (1583-4):

Itm pd to Wilstrewe for bringinge the water above
grounde to the Conditt v^s

But the Corporation had not abandoned their wider scheme. They had it before them in the mayoralty of John Ilcomb (1576-7); for we have the entry:

Itm pd to certayne men that vewed the River at the
requeste of m^r mayo^r & his brethren for their
paynes & for their charges aboute the same liij^s v^d

Here it is clear, from the mention of the river, that the Meavy, the only practical source of a gravitation supply, is intended. It is clear also that 'M^r mayor and his brethren' are the moving spirits. Of these brethren Drake was not then one. Indeed, as he sailed on his voyage of circumnavigation in November, 1577, he must have had his hands quite full of other matters, more important personally to himself. The entry, in date and language, is conclusive without collateral evidence. The Corporation scheme of 1559-60 is the Corporation scheme of 1576-77, and the scheme carried to completion in 1590-91. It is not difficult to understand this delay. During the earlier years of the period, as the accounts show, the Corporation were struggling with financial difficulties, and could hardly meet current expenses. Later on the operations against Spain absorbed all their energies and resources.

The Water Act.

But want of money was not the only reason why the Corporation did not proceed. They did not possess the requisite legislative powers; and as no Parliament sat

between 1572 and the end of 1584, there was no opportunity of procuring the needed authority. Directly Parliament was convened the Corporation introduced a bill, the history of which is to be read in the *Journals* of Sir Simonds d'Ewes.

Christopher Harris, of Radford, and Henry Bromley were chosen burgesses for Plymouth; and 24s. were 'paide to a man to goe to London wth L^{res} to S^r Frauncis Drake and Mr. Hele touchinge o^r Burgesses for the Parliamente.' Mr. Hele was Serjeant Hele, then 'town counsel,' afterwards Recorder, and the framer of the Water Act.

The entries in D'Ewes's *Journals* touching the Plymouth Water Act are as follows :

On Thursday, the 10th of December [1584], Two Bill [*sic*] of no great moment had each of them their first reading, of which the first was the Bill for the preservation of Plymouth-Haven.

[Monday, 21st December]. The Bill for the preservation of the Haven of Plymouth was upon the second reading committed unto Sir Francis Drake, Mr. Wroth, Mr. Edgcombe, and others, who were appointed to meet the third day of the next sitting of this Court in Lincolns-Inn Hall in the afternoon of the same day.

[Thursday, 18th February]. Five bills of no great moment had each of them one reading; of which the second being the Bill of Plymouth-Haven was upon the second reading committed again to the former Committees, and Mr. Grafton was added unto them, and the Bill was delivered to Mr. Wroth, who with the rest was appointed to meet in the Middle-Temple Hall to-morrow in the afternoon.

[Saturday, 20th February]. The Bill for Plymouth-Haven was brought in again with a Proviso.

[Tuesday, 23rd February]. A Proviso was added to the Bill for Plymouth-Haven, and was twice read, and Ordered with the Bill to be ingrossed.

[Saturday, 27th February]. The Bill for Preservation of Plymouth-Haven passed upon the Question after the third reading, and was presently sent up to the Lords by Mr. Treasurer [Sir Francis Knolles] and others.

[The Royal Assent was given Monday, 29th March.]

As the Parliament met on the 23rd November, 1584, and the Bill was introduced on the 10th December, no time was lost by the Corporation. The delay between the 21st December and the 18th February is mainly accounted for by Parliament having been adjourned from the former date until February 4th.

And it is here, in the *Journals* of Sir Simonds d'Ewes, we have the first mention of Drake (then member for Bossiney) in association with the Plymouth Water Supply; as one

of a select committee, of which Mr. Wroth, member for Middlesex, was chairman, and to which Mr. Edgcombe, member for Liskeard, and Mr. Grafton, member for Gram-pound, also belonged.

The Act is a curious document, and is worth giving *in extenso*, as preserved among the records of the Plymouth Corporation.

It is entitled 'An Acte for presvacon of the Haven of Plymouth.'

Whereas yo^r Mat^r Towne of Plymouth in the Cowntie of Devon being an aunycnt Borough Towne bordering upon the meane Sea, yet havinge a pleasaunte and safe Harboroughe and Rode for Shippes within or nere the same, comonlie called Plymmowth Haven, wheare as well yo^r Ma^{ty} Shippes as the Shippes and Vessells of dyvers yo^r Highnes Subiects tradinge into forren Partes and from Porte to Porte within this Realme do often upon necessitie and otherwise arrive harboroughe refreshe and vittell themselves as well wth fresshe water, being a thing very necessarie for them, as with divers other thinges, Hathe, for the moste Parte of the yere, none, or at the leaste verey litle, fresshe water within a myle of the said Towne or thereabowt, a matter verey incommiouise; By reason whereof yo^r Ma^{ty} Shippes and the Shippes of yo^r Highnes subiects arrayving and harbouring in the saide Haven as aforesaide the Marryners of the same are manye and often Tymes dryven by necesyitie to goe a Myle or more from the saide Towne and their Shippes to fetch fresshe water for their necessarie uses, by reason whereof dyvers Tymes they lose dyvers good Wyndes and oportuyties whiche they might take benefite of, yf they mighte water them selves nere their shippes; besides the saide Towne being subiect to fyer, as well by the Enemye, for the same was once burned by the Frenche in the tyme of Warre, or by negligence and other mishappe at Home, there is no Water in or nerer the saide Towne for the moste Parte of the yere (especiallie in the Sommer Tyme when the Daungers bee greateste) then a Myle or sometyme more, as the dryeth is, and wheare also the said Haven of Plymouth, being one of the pryncipall Havens and Harboroughes of the West Parts of Englande, doth Daylie querre & fill wth the Sande of the Tynnewoorcks and Mines nere adioyneng to the same, and in shorte Tyme wilbe utterlie decayed yf some Redresse and speedie Remedie be not hadd; and wheare also there is a Water or Ryver within the saide Countie of Devon called the water or Ryver of Mewe als Meve distaunte from the saide Towne abowte Eight or Tenne myles, Parte of the whiche Water or Ryver wth some charlge wilbe brought into the saide Towne of Plymouth without any greate Preiudice or Damage to anye Owner or Owners of any Lande throughe whiche the same shalbe conveyed, By reason (the moste Parte) in effect all the same Lande is either barren and

heathie or ells hillye and drye grounds whiche wilbe bettered and amended by the water that shalbe brought through the same. By brynging of whiche water moste of the Incomodities and Daungers and divers others shall not onlie be remedied, but also some Parte of the Chanell of the saide Haven scoured & cleansed by the same Ryver to the p^{er}petuall contynewance of the same Haven, a matter moaste beneficiall to the Realme.

And wheare also the Inhabitaunts of the same Towne are Incorporated by Kinge Henry the Sixte by the name of the Maio^r and Coialtie of Plymouth whiche is confirmed by yo^r Ma^{tie} and dyvers yo^r noble Progenito^{rs} Kings of this Realma.

Maye it therefore please yo^r moste excellent Matie of yo^r moaste noble and abundant Grace and accustomed Favoure that yt maye be Inacted by this present Pliament that yt shalbe Lawfull to & for the saide Mayo^r and Coialtie and to their successo^{rs} at all Tymes after the Feaste of Easter nowe next comynye, to digge and myne a Diche or Trenches conteyneng in Bredthe betwene sixe or seaven Foote over in all places through the and over all the Lands and Grounds lyeing betwene the saide Towne of Plymmowth and anye parte of the saide Ryver of Mewe als Mevyne, and to digge, myne, breake, banck, and cast vpp, all and all maner of Rockes Stones Gravell Sande and all other Lets in any places or Groundes for the conveyent or necessarie Conveyenge of the same River to the saide Towne, and further from Tyme to Tyme to doe Repacon and make Weares Bancks and all other Things necessarie whereby the saide River may be brought & conteynewe vnto the saide Towne withowte Lette Denyall Vexacon or Trouble of the Lord or Lords Owner or Owners of the same grounde or of any other pson or psons by suyte in the Lawe or otherwise upon Payne of xx^s for everie Tyme that they or anye of them do attempte the Contrarie thereof, the one half thereof to be to o^r saide Sovereigne Ladie and thother halfe to the said Maio^r and Coialtie & their Successo^{rs} to be recovered by Action of Debte, Bill, Pleynt, or Informacon, wherein the ptie Defendant shall not wage his Lawe, nor in the saide Action, Actions, or Suytes anye Essoyne Licence or Protection shalbe allowed, The saide Maio^r and Coialtie gyving and payenge to the Lorde or Lords Owner or Owners of the Soyle where suche Things shalbe made or done, in Recompence and satisfaction of & for the Lande or Grounde so to be digged or myned, for the full & absolute Purchase of the same to them and their Successo^{rs} so moche money as by the Twoe Iustices of the Assise of the Countie of Devon for the Tyme being shalbe adiudged ordeyned and determyned. And also gyveng and payenge to the Tennts Fermo^{rs} and Occupiers of suche Lande or Grounde for suche Hurts or Losses as they or any of them shall have or susteyne by the same, as moche as shalbe assessed adiudged and determyned by the saide two Iustices of Assises, the same Recompence and Satisfaction as well concernynge the Lord or Lords of the Lande as the Tenants

Fermo^m and Occupiers of the same to be paid by the saide Maio^r & Coialtie of the saide Boroughe for the tyme beinge or theire Successo^m within the space of Sixe Weekes next after the ratinge assessing and determynenge of the same, unless the saide Maio^r & Coialtie & theire Successo^m can otherwise compounde and agree wth the Lords Tennts Fermo^m & Occupiers of suche Lande and Grounde or with any of them, and in Case yt happen the Maio^r and Coialtie of the saide Boroughe do make Defaulte of Payment of the sayde Recompence & satisfaccon and resiste to paye the same as is before reserved, That then the Lorde Lords Owner Owners Tenants Fermo^m and Occupiers of suche Lande or Grounde that is aggrieved therewth and to whom the Recompence & Satisfaccon ought to be paid shall and maye Lawfullie comence affyrme & take his or theire action of Debte by the course of the Comon Lawe against the Maio^r and Comynaltie of the saide Boroughe for the Tyme being and their Successo^m for recoverie of the same in any Courte of this Realme at the will and Pleasure of the ptie grieved, and the like Proces thereupon to be hadd, as in acccon of debte at the Comon Lawe grounded upon Contract or Specialtie hathe used to ben hadd, in whiche no Wager of Lawe Essoyne or Protection shalbe allowed.²

Provyded allwies and yt is further Inacted by this present Pliaiment and by the authoritie of the same, that the said water shall not be conveyed throughe the House Garden or Orcharde of any pson or psons or throughe anye Parte thereof wthout Composicion to be firste hadd with the Owners and Occupiers of the saide Howses Gardens and Orchardes. Provided alwaies that this Acte nor any Thing herein conteyned shall extende to gyve Libertie, as aforesaid to bring the saide Water or anye Parte thereof owte of his auncient Course to or for any Intente or Purpose menconed in this Acte, unlesse everie suche pson and psons as are Owners of any Mylle or Mylles scytuate and standinge upon or nere the saide Ryver of Mewe als Mevye shalbe first compounded withall as aforesaid, yf the sayede Milles shall by the bringinge of the said water or any Parte thereof unto the saide Towne of Plymouth be impayred or hyndered.

We notice here that the Act was not passed as first introduced. Reference to Sir Simonds d'Ewes's *Journals* shows that in Committee a proviso was added; and reference to the Act shows that this proviso is the only part of the measure in which any allusion is made to the erection of mills, or which can be construed to authorize the appropriation of the intended watercourse to that purpose. Power to erect mills was *not* sought by the Corporation of Plymouth,

² Charles II., by his Charter of 1680, granted the moiety of the penalty of £20 for interfering with the leat, here reserved to the Crown, to the Mayor and Commonalty.

but was added by the Committee, the only member of which who had any connection with Plymouth was Sir Francis Drake, at that moment lessee of the ancient Corporation Manor Mills at Millbay.

The Receiver's Accounts are conclusive as to the means by which the Act was obtained, and whence the money came to pay for it.

Itm paide to Mr. Hele for his helpe att London for furtherenge of o ^r sute for bringinge in of the water as by his bill appeareth	. ix ^{li} j ^s vjd
Itm paide to Mr. Christopher Harris for the helpe aboute the water as by his Bille appeareth	. xviij ^{li} vj ^s
Itm paide to George Baron for his paines and charge in sollicitinge the Cawse for the Bringinge home of the water to the Towne w ^{ch} is enacted spendinge xxviij daies	. viij ^{li}
Itm paide more for drawinge of the Acte manye tymes writen	. iiij ^{li}

George Baron was the town clerk, sent specially to London to 'sollicit the Cawse.' Both he and Hele, as officials of the Corporation, were paid for their services. Another phrase, however, is used with regard to the outlay by Harris. He is paid, not for '*his* help,' but for '*the* help'; and his outlay was as much as that of both the others put together.

There can be no doubt that influence was bought to further the passing of the Act; but there is no evidence that Drake exercised any (beyond the proviso, which seems fairly traceable to him); and there is no reason to suggest that he was one of the gentlemen who was bribed. His reward came later, in other and more substantial fashion.

Beyond the money laid out in London there were several local items of expenditure.

Itm paide for a supper for the Justices when they came to viewe the course for bringinge the water into the town	. xxxij ^s
Itm paide for victualls wine beare and other pvision carried from hence vpon the Downe	. v ^s vjd
Itm paide for the hire of three horses att that tyme	. ij ^s vjd
Itm paide to a poore man to shewe them the waye	. xij ^d
Itm paide to Sprie the painter for riding to mevie aboute the water	. v ^s
Itm paide for his horse hire then	. xij ^d
Itm paide for Mr. Carewes diett when he rode aboute the water	. ii ^s viij ^d
Itm paide to Sprie the painter for makinge of a plot of the Towne and parrishe w th a Bourder Carried to the Counsell	. x ^s

The legitimate inference is that some of the local justices viewed the proposed line of leat to report thereon to the authorities. That they were strangers to it is shown by the hiring of 'a poore man to shewe them the way.' The Act cost the Corporation £39 17s. 2d., equivalent to nearly £250 of current money, a heavy charge for an unopposed measure, and a sixth of the total corporate income of the year.³

Cutting the Leat.

Although the Corporation thus obtained powers to proceed early in 1585, some five years elapsed before they made a start. We are not surprised at this, when we bear in mind that in the interim Plymouth had to play the leading part in the great struggle with Spain. Year by year plunged the Corporation more deeply into debt, until 1588 brought the expenditure up to £659 11s. 6½d., more than three times the ordinary outlay in time of peace.

However, in the mayoralty of John Blitheman (1589-90) preliminaries were commenced. The first entry runs:

Itm pd for a staffe to [take] the leuell of the water &
for mendinge the hedde, being broken and for
ledde vjd

The next brings Drake into the business incidentally.

Itm paid for hire of a horse to buckland for Ratten-
burye about y^e water xij^d

Rattenbury was a servant of Sir Francis, and Buckland is Buckland Abbey; but there is no clue to the exact nature of the business on which Rattenbury was sent, or respecting which he was sent for. The only subsequent entry in the accounts of this year referring to Drake is more definite.

Itm pd Peter Vosper to goe to buckland to knowe
when the Judges did come xij^d

These were the Judges of Assize, who were to assess the compensation to be paid to the landowners and tenants. In the next mayoralty they paid their visit, for we find the entry:

Itm paid to Peter Sylvester for a tonne of wyne w^{ch}
was given the Judges for theire paines and helpe
touching the water Course xx^{li}

³ In the same year a Water Act was obtained for Chichester; and in 1593 one for Stonehouse, which makes precisely the same professions of national advantage as the Plymouth Bill.

Blitheman's mayoralty, so far as the water was concerned, was wholly occupied in preparation. First one Burden was sent out to Meavy to make some investigations.

Itm pd to Thomas Burden for ij horses hire to mevye
for vewe of the water xx^d
Itm pd att the Church howsse of mevye for wine &
milke ij^s vj^d

And then we come to a set of extracts, giving the name of the original 'water engineer' and his assistants.

Itm pd Robart lampen for Plⁿnynge & vewinge the
grounde for the water Course from mevie for vj
daies x^s
Itm pd haywoode for vj dayes & newe writinge the
vewe iiij^{or} tymes viij^s vj^d
Itm pd nicholas Jeane for iiij^{or} dayes iiij^s
Itm for theire dyett viij^s vj^d

This Robert Lampen was a member of a family long resident at St. Budeaux, and still represented in Plymouth. Robert Lampen is mentioned in 1566 in the St. Bude Register as the father of another Robert, who was baptized July 25th in that year. And one of these was unquestionably the surveyor by whom the Plymouth Leat was planned. He was accustomed to surveying; for in 1592 he helped Robert Adams, sent down by the Privy Council to advise concerning the fortifications. Lampen was aided in subsequent work upon the Leat by his brother.

The most important record of this year is not to be found in the Receiver's Accounts, but in more formal fashion in the *Black Book*.

Also this yere the composyton was made betweene the towne and S^r Frances Drake for the bringinge of the River of Mewe to the towne for w^{ch} the towne have paied hym ijc^{ll} and more c^{ll} for w^{ch} he is to compounde wth the lls: of the land over w^{ch} it runneth.

This must have been very late in Blitheman's mayoralty, because it is not until the following year (1590-91) that we find the drawing up of the 'composition' (= contract) paid for.

Itm paied to m^r heles man [Hele was now Recorder]
for wrytinge owte of the articles of agreement
betweene the towne and S^r Francis Drake vj^s viij^d

The 'composition' itself has been diligently sought for, but cannot be found; and probably it was one of the documents destroyed by Nicholas Goodridge, of Totnes, when in

1601-2 he burnt 'a cheste in the Councill Chamber wherein were containyd divers evidences and writings concerninge the Towne.' And there is a document among the Corporation muniments referring to the water, that has been partially burnt.

Concerning three points, then, there should be no dispute. First, that Drake's association with the water was under conditions duly set forth in a contract, and therefore of a strictly business nature. Second, that he had £200 for the actual work. Third, that he had £100 additional to pay compensation for the land. That is to say, in modern money, at least £1,500.

And whether the work upon the Leat actually commenced in Blitheman's mayoralty or not, there is evidence that the Corporation had begun to raise the money for the purpose, in the entry:

More to deduct owte of this Charge for monye by m^r
Blitheman rec of Richard hawkins in parte of
paimnt of l^u given towards the bringinge in of
the water w^{ch} xv^u the towne standeth indebted
to the water xv^u

All the entries of payments for work actually done fall within the mayoralty of Walter Pepperell (1590-91), in which year we have also the entry in the Black Book:

This yere on the⁴ daye of December S^r Fraunces Drake Kneight beganne [the River⁴] to bringe the Ryur Mewe to the towne of Plymouth w^{ch} being in lenght about 25 myles he wth greate Care and diligence [p^rformed⁵] effected and brought the Riu^r into the towne the xxiiijth daye of Aprill the next after peentlie after he sett in hand to Builde sixe greast mills two at wythy in eck buckland p^h thother 4 by the towne the two at wythy and the two next to the towne he fullie fynished before Michaelmas next after and grounde Corne wth theym.

The entries in the Receiver's Accounts of the year, precisely in the order in which they stand, are as follows:

Itm paid for provision when the mystresses Rade first
to vewe the water Course iij^u x^s viij^d
Itm for the hyer of a horse for a Trumpeter to Ryde in
compayng to the Riv^r xij^d
Itm pd to 4 trumpeters that were att the leate by Mr.
Maiors comaundemt v^s
Itm pd for horses for theym iij^s
Itm to a messeng thatt was sente to S^r Fraunce Drake xij^d

⁴ Blank in original.

⁵ Erased in original.

Itm to a messenger sent to m ^r harrys	xij ^d
Itm for hyer of two horses to Carry provisions to the leate	ij ^s
Itm for bredd carryed to the leate	vii ^s
Itm p to m ^r Whitakers for wyne to Carry to the leate	xl ^s vj ^d
Itm for other pvions sente the same tyme	xj ^s ix ^d
Itm to Henry Ellys for a dozen of bredd spente at the S ^r vaye of the water	vij ^s
Itm to John Hoop to Carry owte plancke to make the bridge att mawdlyn	iiij ^d
Itm paid to workemen to make the bridge	iiij ^s
[There are also entries of the cost of the materials—a beam cost 2s., and other plank 5s. 6d.]	
Itm given to Robert lampyn in reward at the bringinge in of the leate	ij ^s vj ^d
Itm pd for x pounde wayghte of powder thatt was spente att the bringinge in of the Riu ^r	xvj ^s viij ^d
Itm to John Rewbye for a dynner att the bringinge in of the Ryu ^r	xvj ^s
Itm to the gunn ^s thatt daye	xvj ^d
Itm more spent vppon theym then	iiij ^s iiij ^d
Itm to Willyam Stockam servaior of the woorkemen of the leate in rewarde	xij ^s
Itm to the peon of Meavye in Clothe asmuche as cost	lj ^s
Itm to John Stevane one other S ^r vaior of the same woocke	xiiij ^s
Itm given to the ij lampyns in reward touching their paines taken about the leate	xxvj ^s viij ^d
Itm given to Robert lampyn and his brother in reward for their paines about the water	xxvj ^s viij ^d
Itm paid over and above the Charges in this accompte ⁶ before mentyoned w th amountethe to xvj ^{li} xvij ^s ij ^d for and in bringinge in of the leate and beside the money given S ^r Fraunce Drake the some of, as by a bill of pticulers appeared the some of	xlviij ^{li} viij ^s viij ^d

We thus find that, in addition to the works executed by Drake, others were performed by the Corporation, at a considerable outlay. We also find the Corporation acting as hosts and employers when they celebrated, at the Head Weir,

⁶ There are other entries in this year connected with the water, but having nothing to do with the Leat. Thus £39 15s. 2d. was paid for 'lead for to Conveye the water, 99^s § 16 att viij^{li} the tonne,' and one 'Moore the plumber,' had £15 for his labour, besides 3s. for wine and 5s. 'toward his charge cominge hither.' The lead pipes were stored with one 'Mathewe Starkeys wyfe,' who had 8d. a week for 'selleradge' from September 17th, 1591, to September 16th, 1592. The entry concerning the 'mystresses' is very curious. It reads very much like the provision of an official picnic for the wives of the Aldermen or 'masters.'

or somewhere at a distance from the town, the completion of the undertaking. The rewards to the 'parson of Meavy' and to the two 'Surveyors of the work'—the foremen of the two gangs by whom the Leat was made—all show the direct interest taken in the actual construction of the water-course by the Corporation; and as if to set beyond all doubt the fact that it had been made after the plans prepared by Robert Lampen, we have the entries of the rewards given to him and to his brother for the pains they had taken, with the special mention of Robert himself. These rewards are, of course, gratuities; and if they appear small in amount it is only because in the course of time there has grown up a wonderfully exaggerated idea of the real character and extent of the work done.

We complete the series of entries, so far as they relate to the outlay on construction, by quoting from the Receivers' Accounts of the two succeeding years. We have in 1591-2—

- Itm rec of Diu's parsons [persons] toward the charges of bringinge in of the water ouer and aboue that w^{ch} hathe byn paide owte to diu's peons vppon soundrie reckninge w^{ch} ought to be paied, whereof mentyon is maide in a bill of the pticulars thereof. iiij^{li} xvij^d
- Itm pd for makinge of the brydge by the mylles & other worke viiij^s
- Itm paid to S^r Frauncis Drake, knyght, towarde the bringinge in of the water w^{ch} the Receavor allowed him in his rent dewe for the milles for one yere att Michelmas 1592 xxx^{li}
- Itm rec of William Browne [Receiver of the previous year] for y^t w^c he was sett to paie toward the bringinge of the water v^{li} and for monyes that he receaved of the water monye more then he hath accompted for all amounting to xxv^{li} iij^s xj^d

And in the next mayoralty, that of [Sir] John Gayer, 1592-3:

- Itm paied to S^r Frauncis Drake, knyght, in full [final] paiement of the ccc^{li} thatt the Maio^r and Coaltye were to paye hym for bringinge of the Riu^r and prchas of the land ou^r w^{ch} the same is broughte which is allowed owte of the mille rent w^{ch} was payable this yere xx^{li} xvj^s viij^d

Cost of the Works.

We thus get direct current evidence of the expenditure by the Corporation 'upon the water,' in addition to the money laid out upon works of distribution in the town, of

£488 11s. 6d., and of the payment, under the composition or contract, of £300 of this sum to Sir Francis Drake—£200 for 'bringing in the water' and £100 for compensation to the landowners.

The Leat itself, as originally made, was seventeen modern miles in length, and was simply a ditch or trench between six or seven feet in width, banked up along its course with the material dug; and not involving the excavation of more than 2,000 cubic yards of soil a mile—a much simpler undertaking than those familiar with it only in its modern form were accustomed to believe. The only point at which there was work of an exceptional character was on the hillside at Yannadon, along the gorge below Sheepstor Bridge. A map in the collection of the Marquis of Salisbury (substantially in duplicate in the British Museum) has a note at the Head Weir: 'Here the river is taken out of the old river & carried 448 paces through mightie rockes which was thought impossible to carrie water through'—'huge rockes' themselves being depicted as commencing less than a mile off.

This plain statement was mistakenly amplified by Westcote and Risdon into the assertion that Drake tunnelled 'through a mighty rock generally supposed impossible to be pierced'; but the Leat was simply carried at this point among the rocks through a wooden shute or launder; and so continued until the middle of the last century, when the first regular channel was cut. The entries are extant of the payments in 1757 for 'laying in y^e moore stone Chafel for the Leat to run in on Yenadon Common.'

There is evidence, documentary, traditional, and structural, that prior to the construction of the Leat, there was an ancient pot-water stream from the Meavy to Warleigh; and that this was partially utilised in the new work, the residents at Warleigh retaining their supply.

Calculation shows that the whole of the work upon the Leat (assuming that the Corporation had left it all for Drake to do, which their outlay shows was not the case) could be well accomplished for the £200 allowed for the purpose; and there is among the Plymouth Archives a contemporary copy of the Deed of Composition with the owners of the soil and their tenants, for the land taken. Instead of the £100 allowed for this the total was £60 4s. 4d.—£33 19s. 4d. for the owners, and £26 5s. for the tenants.

The document is too long to quote in its entirety, but it gives the name of every landowner and of every tenant interested twice over—first in the recital of the land taken,

and then in the award—in due order from the commencement of the Leat to its termination, citing in several instances the names of the estates. The amounts throughout are stated to be calculated 'after the rate of xvj yerres pchase according to the verie value'; and each award is specified to be made 'for all the Landes and groundes of' each owner 'in the possession' of each tenant, 'digged mined or turned or anie waie delt wth for the convayeng or bringing of the said water course.' It commences in the following terms:

This indenture made the fuethe daie of Julye in the fower and Thirthith yere of the Raigne of o^r soueraigne Lady Elyzabeth by the grace of godd Queene of England Fraunce & Ireland Defender of the faith &c. Between S^r Edmond Anderson Knighte lorde cheyf Justice of the Courte of Comon plees, and Thoms stroud Gente Baron of her Ma^{ty} Courte of Exchequer Justices of Assise of the Countie of Deuon of thone partie, and the Mayo^r and Coialtie of the Boroughe of Plimouth in the said Countie of thother partie, whereas it was enacted in the Parliam^t holden in the seauen & Twentithe yere of the Raigne of o^r said sou^aigne Lady—

Here the chief provisions of the Water Act are set forth.

And whereas the said Maio^r and Coyaltie after the said feaste of Easter haue digged mined and trenched and caused to be digged mined and trenched one ditche or Trench containinge in breadthe betwene sixe and seuen foote in over and through the Lands & grounds lyeinge betwene the said Towne of Plymouth, and some pte of the said Riuer of Meawe als Meavye, and digged mined brocken banked and caste vppe all manner of Rocks stones grauell sande and all other letts in the groundes and places convenient before mencofied, for the convenyent or necessarie conveyeng of the said Riuer to the same Towne of Plymouth pte of w^{ch} Lands & grounds soe digged mined trenched is thinheritance of Walter Elford gent beinge in thoccupacon & possessione of one Willm Stockeman and ouer and through the Lands & inheritance of the said Walter Elford and of Thomas Elford beinge in the possession & occupacon of one Walter Elford John Elford and Johan Sop—widdowe tennts or farmo^{rs} of the same eyther solie to themselves or ioyntlie or in Comon wth some others, and ouer & through certen Lands & grounds, &c. &c.

Then the list of owners and tenants is given after the same form, and next, at the conclusion of the recital, the awards.

The Judges were aided by the advice and information of a commission of county justices and resident landowners—Christopher Harris, Thomas Wise, William Crimes, John Coplestone, and William Strode—who had 'viewed and measured' every part of the land taken, and considered

of its 'value and goodness,' and some of whom were personally interested; and further, of 'the information of divers gentlemen and others of good account dwelling near the said town of Plymouth.'

The total quantity of land used was about fifteen acres, and the compensation paid averaged £2 3s. per acre, or in modern value about £10 15s. Much of the land was, however, worthless; and some was valued at £23, in modern money. The average rent of the best land near Plymouth then was only 3s. 6d. an acre, which at the sixteen years' purchase of the Act would give a modern value of £15.

Other sums in compensation were paid by the Corporation subsequently, so that Drake did not defray the whole; while compensative rights of supply were granted to the estates of Whiteleigh, Manadon, and Ham. On these points we have the following entries:

1604-5. Itm p^d for an Ordynarie to Bentley vppon the Comysson betweene the Towne and S^r Thomas wyse . . . xvij^s x^d

1605-6. Itm p^d for a dynner for S^r Thomas Wyse knight [Lord of Stoke Damerel] and others w^{ch} came aboute the water Course . . . xviii^s

Itm p^d to Robte Trelawney for three hoggesheds of Clarett wyne geuen to S^r Thomas wise knight for the soyle in the leate in his Orcharde at Stoke Dam^ell thorough w^{ch} the Towne Water is Conveyed, and for his right in the wast ground and Key by the Barbican . . . xiiij^s x^d

1606-7. Item p^d for two hoggesheds of Clarett wyne sent to S^r Thomas wyse knight in full [final] payment of the Composition betweene hym and the Towne for the soyle of his lande in the water Course and his right in the ground & soil of the southside key . . . viij^s

And in 1607-8, agreement to pay having been come to in 1603-4:

Itm geuen to M^r Walter Elford one hundred of deale Boardes⁷ w^{ch} are delive^d and also his freedome for y^e absolute inheritance of the hedd weare in the Ryver and the water leate of the water of meawe als meavy that runneth thorough his lande towards Plymouth w^{ch} Boards cost . . . iiij^s xiiij^s

⁷ This payment in 'deale Boardes' seems curious, but is easily explicable. The wooden launder by which the water was carried through the 'mighty rocks' was made of such boards; and probably Elford had those that were left when the launder was finished, with what more might be required to make up the number.

Both Wise and Elford appear on the award; Wise, moreover, being one of the Commissioners by whom the assessment was made.

Nor were these the only sums paid directly by the Corporation. There is yet extant an original receipt for the payment to William Creese on the 28th October, 1594, by the

Maio^r and Coalty of the Borough of Plymouth by hands of William Stallinge, gent, the sune of xj of lawfull money of Englund in full recompense and satisfaccoon of all sum and sumes of money as is by theym payable or due to be payed to and for that pt of the Ryu^r of Mevy which is brought to the towne of Plymouth ou^r my grounds lying in the pish of Buckland aforesaid, and is the inheritance of Phillipp Crymes, gent.

Drake himself, as tenant of land near Plymouth under Edmond Parker, had 17s. awarded.

The Leat Mills.

The money payment of £300 was the smaller portion of the recompense Drake obtained for 'bringing in the water,' upon which the Corporation had laid out up to the year 1601, including the provision of pipes and conduits, £850—very nearly equal to three years' ordinary revenue, and equivalent to between £4,500 and £5,000 now.

When Drake entered upon the undertaking he was—as already noted—lessee of the Manor Mills at Millbay. Within six months of its completion he built six mills on the Leat, two at Widey, four in the town. Of these he obtained a lease for sixty-seven years, and his rent for the old Manor Mills was reduced from £40 to £30. His outlay on these six mills could not have been £500, since two were rebuilt in 1672 at a cost of £140 18s. 6d. Their yearly profits, however, exceeded £200. In 1628 the Corporation paid the second Sir Francis Drake £1,500 for a moiety of the lease when it had thirty-two years to run, and the yearly profit then was £300. Here again we see that the connection of Sir Francis Drake with the construction of the Plymouth Leat was distinctly a business matter.

The oldest Leat Map shows that when the Leat was first made, the water flowed to Sutton Pool. It was quickly, however, diverted to Millbay; for the old mills there are mentioned in 1596 as the 'late salt mills,' and soon after this we find part of Surpool being 'made drie for a meadow.'⁸

⁸ An attempt was made in 1664-5 to exempt the Corporation of Plymouth from the operation of a bill to settle salt marshes gained from the sea; which did not pass.

The 'waste leat,' as it has long been called, still follows much the same course, but underground, whereas it used to be exposed to view at several points, and was the scene of many accidents. In addition to the corn mills—fulling, shammy, and other mills were built upon its course within the town at a very early date; and leases were granted of the water for manufacturing purposes so far back as 1610. In more recent years the power was employed to drive machinery of a miscellaneous character at different points; but the substitution of piping to bring the water home from Knackersknowle, and the growing demands for water in other directions, led to a diminution of the constant flow of original days, and finally to the cessation of the old mill grants. The course of the Leat within the borough was under the footway west of Mutley Plain; round Houndiscombe, in front of Stafford Terrace to Drakes Place Reservoir and the old Higher Mill; thence on the west of Tavistock Road (where a garden through which it passed gave name to 'Purling Stream House'), to the Cattle Market, and the Lower Mill at the corner of Rowe and Pound Streets; thence by Mill Lane (where it did much work) and Morley Lane to a mill at the junction of Raleigh and Frankfort Streets; and thence again by the backs of Queen Street and Union Street, across the latter, through the Station Road, and under what is now the Railway Station to the Docks.

'Controversy.'

Serious troubles quickly followed the erection of the Leat Mills. In 1592-3 a bill was introduced into the House of Commons for their removal, or for satisfaction to those aggrieved. The promoters declared that the Plymouth Water Act was

for the good of the said Towne of Plymouthe by providinge of freshe water for releiffe of the said Towne, and of suche Shippes as should com into the said Porte or Haven & not for anye other entent or purpose Neither was yt the intente of the said Acte that by meanes thereof the Quenes Ma^{tie} or such other as hadd anie Milles vppon or neare the said Ryver or Towne shoulde thereby receave Losse damage or preuidice, As by the preamble bodie & certayne provisoies in the said Acte compared & considered together dothe and maye well appeare Sithens the makinge of w^{ch} Acte the Maiore and Comynaltie of the said Towne of Plymouthe have brought a sufficient quantitie of water & parte of the said Ryver to the said Towne, Whereby they might have held them selves well contentyd & satisfied, according to the

intente and meaninge of the said Acte Havinge payd litle or nothings to the owners of the soyle throughe w^{ch} the said water is conducted; But they not therewth contentyd, but covertlie & secretlie vnder coulour of a comon profytte to manie, principallie seekinge there owne private gayne and comoditie, to the greate hurte preuidice & disinheritance of other men Have wth dyvers others buylte & erected vppon the said water so broughte vnto the said Towne, Seven Corne water Mylles, By meanes whereof not onlie the Quenes Ma^{ty} havinge in Reversione two Water Milles for Corne, called the Priorie Milles of Plympton, standinge neare vnto the said Ryver But also dyvers others of her Highnes lovinge subjects throughe whose Lande the same newe Water course ys carried & conveyed Havinge likewise Water Mylles for Corne formerlie buylte vppon or neare the said Ryver or neare the said Towne (that ys to saye) wthin one two or three myles, either of the said Towne or Ryver, sustayne & suffer & are daylie more & more like to sustayne & suffer losse and damage and disinheritance in the profite of theire Milles & otherwise to the valewe or some of Sixe thowsande Pownde by reasone of the said newe erectione & buyldinge of the new Water Mylles aforesaid contrarie to the trewe entent & meaninge of the said Statute.

All we know of this measure is that Drake was the Chairman of the Committee which sat upon it; that it was read a second time and committed Tuesday, March 26th, 1593; and that a copy is now in the House of Lords. It was after this bill disappeared that the mill lease to Drake was granted.

Following Drake's death came further troubles, some with Thomas Drake, his brother, and successor in the lease; but the more serious with William Crymes of Buckland, who diverted the stream on Roborough Down to certain tin mills, with the assistance of three of his friends among the county magistrates—Sir John Gilbert, Tristram Gorges, and Henry Coplestone. They assessed the damage to the Corporation at 1s. a year, while divers tinnners and others were encouraged to help themselves in a similar way. The Star Chamber was appealed to by the Corporation, the Privy Council by Crymes; and the end of the business was that Crymes took a lease for 42 years of the Corporation, and Thomas Drake, of so much water as

shalbe fitt & sufficient for the vse workeing and Employmt of two tynne milles knocking mills or Classe milles of the said William Crymes by him newly and lately erected vpon the said lands of the said William Crymes called Rowborrough Downe aforesaid. And also so much water out of the said leat . . . as shall be fitt sufficient & conveyent for the clensing washeing

makeing workeing & dressing of all such tynne tynne mettall & tynne oare as shalbe at any tyme hereafter brought to the same mill or milles tobe washed clensed made wrought or dressed. The said William Crymes . . . at all tymes leaveing a sufficient & full streame of water to Runne & come vnto in & through the said Towne of Plymouth & eu'ry pte thereof for the use of the sd Towne of Plymoth and the milles there wthout any contradiccon of the said William Crymes. . . .

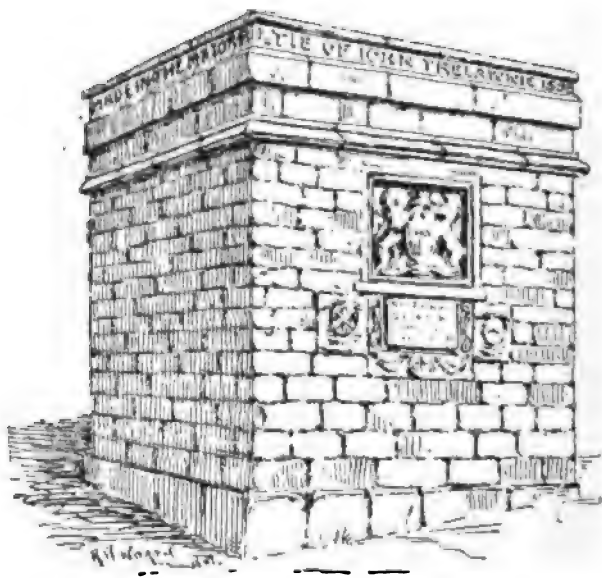
Among the considerations for this grant beyond the maintenance of the Leat is the curious provision that Crymes

will at all tyme & tymes dureing the Contynuaunce of the said lease at his and their owne pper costs charges and expences find and prvide to and for the better assistance and helpe of the said Maior & Coialty & their successors & the said Thomas Drake & his assignes sixe sufficient and labour men to labour and worke in the tyme of Froste for the clearing and cleansinge of the said leate and watercourse in ou^r and throughout all or anie the lands of gamaliell Slanninge esquier scituat in and vppon Rowborough Downe aforesaide nowe in the tenure of Margarett Heathe widowe.

Conduits.

The erection of Conduits in connection with the Leat commenced in 1592. In 1598 those on Foxhole Quay were built, and in 1602 those at East Gate, and the Barbican. Finally we find: Three at the Guildhall, two in Basket Street, two in Pike (Looe) Street, and one each opposite Friary Green, at the bottom of Friary Court, at the head of St. Andrew Street, in the opening leading from Lower Street to Exeter Street, at the west angle of the Parade, the west end of Lower Street, the head of Old Town, the west end of Whimple Street, the bottom of Gasking Street, the Old Town Shambles, the Old Fish Cage, the Old Mitre, Martin's Lane, Higher Pomeroy Conduit (Batter) Street, Notte Street, Market Street, Barbican, Pig-Market, Southside Street, and Foxhole Quay. These were gradually removed, but not without considerable opposition. The last remaining, that in Old Town, was demolished in 1834, and a portion of the materials built into the boundary wall of the reservoir area at Drakes Place. Proceedings were taken against the Corporation for closing the Conduits, which afforded a free water supply, but these came to an end when the Municipal Reform Act passed. The Foxhole Conduit was pulled down in 1761; and quickly afterwards that near the Shambles, which bore the motto *Redigit desertum in stagnum*.

All that is left of these structures will be found among the fragmentary memorials in the walls of the waterworks in the Tavistock Road. The granite inscription, MADE IN THE MAJORALTY OF JOHN TRELAWNIE, 1598, is part of the original Old Town Conduit of that date. The Portland stone carvings of arms⁹ and the reference to Drake bringing the water into Plymouth, belong to a second Conduit made to replace the former, in the mayoralty, as set forth, of William Cotton, 1671. The granite trough of the drinking



OLD TOWN CONDUIT.

fountain does not, as might be gathered from the inscription thereon, date even to the later period, but only to 1746, when the original street gutters of bricks and boards were replaced by wrought stone. The site of the old Higher Mills has been converted into a recreation ground, with gardens and fountains, a piazza (the columns of which come from the Old Market), and a terrace.

Occasionally, at times of public rejoicing, the Conduits were made to run with wine—for two days in 1660 at the 'glorious Restoration.'

⁹ The arms are those of the town and of Drake—the fesse and pole stars, according to the Elizabethan grant.

General History of the Water Property.

That from a very early period it was the custom for the Corporation to afford supplies to private houses there is ample proof. 'Water money' was first paid in 1592-3—Peter Silvester 30s., and Mr. Kympe 15s.; and water rent was collected in 1600-1, £4 2s. in amount. In 1602 an order was passed prohibiting any of the inhabitants from bringing water from the great pipe into their houses without leave of the Corporation. The first water rental extant is dated 1608, and contains the names of thirty-eight persons, of whom one paid a rental of 10s., and the rest 4s. each. These rates continued to be paid until 1740, when 8s. was charged to private householders, with special rates for victuallers and brewers. The water was subsequently leased out to private houses for twenty-one years, on payment of a fine of three guineas and a half, and an annual rent of 12s. a year, the lessees laying the pipes.

The water was taken to the Barbican for vessels in 1751-2, at a cost of £681 19s. 5½d.

Early in the last century the Corporation refused to supply the Military Authorities (though subsequently leases to the Victualling Office, Hospital, and Prisons were granted), and in 1766 rejected an offer of Sir John St. Aubyn of £200 a year for the supply of Devonport, although Sir John offered to be at the expense of finding additional streams for Plymouth if required. Here the old jealousy of Dock stood in the way of self-interest; and in 1792 it was shown in an opposition to the formation of the Devonport Water Company, the Corporation then declaring that their stream was big enough to supply everybody.

Boswell cites an amusing instance of the prejudice of Dr. Johnson in relation to this very matter. At the Doctor's visit to Plymouth in 1762, he 'set himself resolutely on the side of the old town, the established town, in which his lot was cast, considering it as a kind of duty to stand by it.' When Dock asked for water, Johnson, 'affecting to entertain the passions of the place, was vehemently in opposition, and half laughing at himself for his pretended zeal where he had no concern, exclaimed, "No, no; I am against the Dockers; I am a Plymouth man. Rogues, let them die of thirst. They shall not have a drop."' On another occasion he is reported to have exclaimed with the utmost vehemence, 'I hate a Docker.'

The system of water leases ended in 1822, and in 1824 an

Act was passed authorising an arrangement for the supply of the Victualling Yard and the Naval Hospital. Under this Act the primary series of alterations and improvements in the waterworks were made. The Head Weir and Leat on Yannadon were first improved. Next, one of the reservoirs in the Tavistock Road was formed, and then the other, the Conduits done away with, and a regular system of pipes laid; the total expense, defrayed out of the Corporate estates (considerable portions of which were sold for the purpose), being about £25,000. Chiefly as a consequence of these changes 1831 saw the water rents advanced—from £197 11s. 6d. in 1821—to £1,694 2s. The population had increased fifty per cent., the rents had gone up seven hundred and fifty.

Some of the earliest modern suggestions for the improvement of the Water Property were made by Mr. Roger Hopkins. He proposed to make a reservoir at Roborough, some threescore years before that work was carried out. He also advised that the supply should be increased by bringing in a supplementary stream six miles from Sampford Spiney to Dowsland Barn at a cost of £600, or a Plym stream three miles to the Head Weir for £300. This was in 1823.

The past fifty years have been a busy time in connection with the Plymouth Waterworks, in consequence of the enormous increase of population, and the rapid development of the needs of manufactories; and the expenditure has been correspondingly great. The first reservoir made outside the town was that at Widey in 1849; Knackersknowle followed in 1852-3; Hartley in 1862. In connection with the Knackersknowle reservoir mains were laid to Plymouth; and in 1886 these mains were extended to Roborough, where a reservoir had been constructed to feed them. The discontinuance of the Leat between Roborough and Knackersknowle, as the regular course, led to sundry disputes with owners and occupiers of land along the route, who set up claims to the user of the water—by encroachment—to which they had no original legal title. These were mainly met by concessions of standpipe supply.

The legal powers of the Corporation in connection with the water, as conferred by the Act of Elizabeth, being very inadequate, applications to Parliament became necessary. One such in 1852 was rejected, in consequence of the opposition of some of the inhabitants and certain outside landowners. An action was commenced against the promoters to prevent their costs coming out of the Corporate Funds; a

Chancery Commission sat at the Royal Hotel to take evidence; and eventually the matter was settled by the defendants paying £500 to the Borough Fund, and the out-of-pocket costs of the action.

In 1867 an Act was obtained which gave authority for the substitution of a constant for an intermittent supply, and for the supply of consumers outside the Municipal boundaries.

The latter point led to a long and costly arbitration and trial between Sir Massey Lopes and the Corporation. Sir Massey claimed heavy compensation, on the ground that as riparian owner he had the property in all the water of the Meavy which remained after the wants of the town itself—for watering ships, cleansing the harbour, protection against fire, and use by the inhabitants—and the requirements of the Government establishments under the Act of 1824, were met. The arbitration was heard before Mr., afterwards Sir Frederick, Pollock; and the legal points involved as to the construction of the Act of Elizabeth was argued before the Court of Common Pleas. Lord Chief Justice Bovill held that the only limitation in the Act of Elizabeth was as to the width of the trench or leat, and that the Corporation were entitled to take all the water that could flow through or by means thereof, and use it for any purpose whatever; and that there was nothing in the Act of 1867 which interfered with any right that Sir Massey Lopes possessed. The other judges concurred.

Litigation indeed has been an ever-present attendant on the Water Property. In 1653, as we have already seen, the Orphans Aid Hospital was endowed with one-fourth of the mills, and of the water in the Leat, in consideration of a debt due to the Hospital from the Corporation. In 1805 a committee recommended that these fourths should be re-purchased for £1,800, and this was done. In 1840 the Charity Commissioners thought there was something about this arrangement which called for enquiry, and filed a bill against the Corporation, contending that the Hospital was entitled to one-fourth of the mills, and to one-fourth of the waste water of the leat. The Master of the Rolls in 1845 decided the other way.

Head Weir and Harter.

Great controversy began in 1882, and continued for several years, in connection with the proposal to make a storage reservoir, first suggested in 1826. Sir Massey Lopes declined

to sell a site applied for at the Head Weir; and the Council then agreed to buy one from him at Harter, $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles farther up the Meavy valley, for £150 a year or £5,000 down. A meeting of owners and ratepayers in July, 1883, rejected this proposal by about 2,500 votes to eight. The land on the left bank of the river at the Head Weir belonged to Mr. John Bayly, and September 25th, 1884, he gave to the town his portion of the site of the proposed reservoir, being $23\frac{1}{2}$ acres. Sir M. Lopes, however, still refused to part with his portion; and in the summer of 1886 the Harter Scheme was revived. This led to the renewal of the struggle—in the Council Chamber; in meetings called by a 'Ratepayers' Association, formed in September, 1886, specially for the purpose of defending the 'water rights' of the town; and in the columns of the local newspapers: the feeling being heightened by a letter from Sir Massey Lopes, stating that if the Head Weir Site were pressed he was prepared 'to contest it, and in so doing I should raise the question of the purposes for which the water is taken.' The Harter Scheme was chiefly defended in the press by the Mayor, Mr. W. H. Alger; and chiefly opposed by Mr. A. R. Debnam on engineering issues; and by Mr. R. N. Worth, the Secretary of the Water Rights Association, on historical and legal grounds. The knot was suddenly cut by the agreement of Sir Massey Lopes to sell; and on survey £15,750 was agreed on as the price. The Council then as a body dropped Harter and adopted Head Weir, though some of its members still favoured the higher position; and on the 26th November, 1886, the Head Weir Scheme was accepted by a statutory meeting, with only one dissident. To aid the movement, Mr. Worth's letters were reprinted in pamphlet form and several thousands freely distributed.

Powers to make a reservoir at the Head Weir were obtained in 1887; and explorations made to ascertain the best position for the dam. These at first proved most unsatisfactory; but another line being chosen farther down the valley, what was reported as a practicable site was found. The estimate of the probable cost, however, was much higher than had been anticipated; and the advocates of Harter brought their proposal once more to the front; whilst a party who had always been against the construction of any storage reservoir, argued that the piping of the leat from Roborough and other measures had led to great economy, and that if properly managed the supply of water was ample even in the driest season.

The most exciting controversy recorded in the annals of the Municipal life of Plymouth followed. The proposals were again and again debated in the Council Chamber, and in public meetings held outside. The Water Rights Association was revived, and a memorial signed by between thirteen and fourteen hundred of the ratepayers—largely representative men of business—was presented to the Council, setting forth that in the opinion of the memorialists the permanent interests of the community demanded the construction of a reservoir at Head Weir in preference to Harter.

The majority of the Council, however, decided to go to Parliament for powers to make a reservoir at Harter, upon plans prepared by Mr. Hawksley, F.R.S.; and a statutory meeting of owners and ratepayers to ratify or reject that step was called on February 3rd, 1890. The Mayor, Mr. H. J. Waring, presided, and by arrangement the respective cases of the promoters and opponents were set forth by three speakers on either side—Mr. J. E. Moon, Chairman of the Water Committee, Mr. C. F. Burnard, and Mr. F. Morrish supporting the bill; and Mr. R. N. Worth, Mr. J. T. Bond, and Mr. A. R. Debnam opposing. The vote showed an enormous majority against the measure, and a poll of the town was demanded. Both parties made strenuous efforts to 'educate' the voters by the circulation of leaflets and pamphlets, and by posting placards; while the Water Rights Association also called ward meetings, at which the chief points at issue were debated with great spirit. The poll was taken by voting papers, distributed at the houses of the voters, and collected therefrom, in March, 1890, and gave 6,849 votes against Harter to 2,659 for. The bill was then withdrawn, and its supporters, with the exception of the Mayor, resigned their seats on the Water Committee. The cost of the poll, as well as that incidental to the educational process on the Harter side, was wholly defrayed by the twenty-seven members of the Council who had supported the scheme. That of the opposition was met by public subscription.

Water Famine.

The water supply, often short in the height of summer, came to a complete standstill in January, 1881, when a frost and snow storm of almost unexampled severity blocked the Leat, and prevented any water reaching Plymouth. The distress was very great. All the manufactories using the

town water were stopped, and the population thrown wholly dependent upon wells, save for what little could be dipped from the town reservoirs. All the wells that could be opened were brought into use, public and private; water-carts were sent round; water was sold by the barrel. Eventually the Leat was cleared by military and civilian labour at a cost of some £700, and the 'water famine' ended.

The Fishing Feast.

Almost the only surviving relic of ancient usage connected with the Corporation is the Fishing Feast, held annually in August. The Mayor and Corporation then inspect the Leat, and at the Head Weir drink in water to 'The pious memory of Sir Francis Drake'; and in wine, 'May the descendants of him who brought us water never want wine,' which, seeing that Sir Francis left no descendants, is a harmless sort of wish that can do little good and certainly no harm.

It used to be thought this feast dated from Elizabethan days, but it cannot be traced earlier than the beginning of the eighteenth century; and the probability is that it originated during the recordership of Sir Francis Drake, 1697-1717. There was no such custom when Yonge wrote his *Plimouth Memoirs* in 1684; for he gives a full list of the high days of the borough, and of 'y^e Mayors' Feasts and other Treatments,' and therein it finds no place. Earlier than this there are only a few casual entries of payments to those who viewed the Leat on special occasions.

CHAPTER XVII.

LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND ART.

There learned arts do flourish in great honour,
And poets' wits are had in peerless price.—*Spenser.*

He was a scholar, and a ripe and good one ;
Exceeding wise, fair spoken, and persuading.—*Shakspeare.*

Old Plymouth, thou shalt still
Tell thine own story in the deathless fame
Of many sons whose names shall live revered
For genius, valour's high emprise, and worth
When nobler nothings moulder in the earth.—*Gandy.*

Literature.

ANY town might be proud of the roll of Plymouthians who have distinguished themselves in Science, Art, and Literature; and this chapter might with ease be expanded into a volume. The writer's *Three Towns' Bibliotheca*, in the *Transactions* of the Plymouth Institution, contains the titles of upwards of 2,800 books, pamphlets, and papers published in or relating to the Three Towns, or written by natives thereof, down to the year 1880. The Rev. J. I. Dredge has added materially to this list up to the end of the eighteenth century; and a full total to the present date would probably reach 4,000 entries.

If we may rely upon Camden, the first literary character of Plymouth was Ealphage the priest, who flourished in the reign of Rufus.

The first literary compositions of Plymouth men transmitted to us are, however, Sir John Hawkins's narrative of his disastrous voyage to San Juan de Ulloa in 1567-8, and John Sparke's account of Hawkins's second Guinea voyage in 1564 onward—preserved by Hakluyt. The first book particularly connected with the town is a treatise on the education of children, written by William Kempe, master

of the Grammar School, and dedicated to 'William Hawkins maior,' in the Armada year.

Next we have various matters associated with the murder of 'Old Page,' merchant, by his wife and her lover, at his house in Woolster Street, February 11th, 1591. Johnson and Dekker wrote a tragedy founded on the occurrence. This is lost; but a very scarce tract, giving an account of the crime, was reprinted in the second volume of the Shakspeare Society Papers, and some ballads are also extant. The titles of three of these latter are:

Lamentation of Mr. Page's wife, of Plimouth, who being enforced to wed against her will, did consent to his murder for the love of George Strangwidge, for which fact they suffered death at Barnstable, in Devon. The tune is Fortune my Foe.

Lamentation of George Strangwidge, who for consenting to the death of Mr. Page, of Plimouth, suffered death at Barnstable.

The complaint of Mrs. Page for causing her husband to be murdered for the love of George Strangwidge, who were executed together.¹

The story and the ballads were exceedingly popular; and the writers sympathised far more with the offenders than with their victim. Strangwidge is made to say—

Farewell, my love, whose loyal heart was seen,
I would thou hadst not half so constant been;
Farewell, my love, the pride of Plymouth town;
Farewell the flower whose beauty is cut down.

¹ Another broad-sheet ballad of the period is entitled, 'A warning for married women by the example of Mrs. Jane Renolds, a Westcountry woman, born neere unto Plymouth, who having plighted her troth to a seaman, was after married to a carpenter, and at Plymouth carried away by a spirit; the manner how shall be presently related.' Yet another of later date (1640) records the gallant defence made by the *Elizabeth Jane*, a 200 ton merchant-man of Plymouth, against three 'Turkish pyrats men of warre,' off the coast of Cornwall. All these are in the Roxburgh Collection.

Inasmuch as Mr. Halliwell devoted an entire volume to a dissertation on nursery rhymes, we may be allowed to appropriate a note to a couple of examples of Plymouthian domestic versification. We give the first in the vernacular—

Barber, barber, bo'sun,
Cut off his head an' roast 'un,
Put un in a bisky bag,
An' send un over to Osun.

A Devonport version substitutes Cawsan(d) for Oreston in the last line. The second runs—

It's five o'clock all over Dock,
The ships are gone to sea;
There's nobody home but Punch and Joan,
Having a cup of tea.

Doubtless in each of these cases there is some hidden, though no apparent, meaning. The nautical illusions do not indicate a very high antiquity.

And Mrs. Page declares of her lover—

Wronged he was through fond desire of gain ;
Wronged he was even through my parents' plain ;
If faith and troth a perfect pledge might be,
I had been wife unto no man but he.

Sir Richard Hawkins, son of the famed Sir John, wrote an account of his luckless voyage to the South Seas, under the title of 'The Observations of Sir Richard Hawkins, Knight, on his voiage into the South Sea, which he made in 1593.' The book was published in 1622, and dedicated to the Prince of Wales, afterwards Charles I. Hawkins remarks that the voyage had brought upon him 'nothing but losse and misery, whilst unto your Highness, your Heires, and Successors, it is most likely to be advantageous.' He had intended to write a second part.

A statesman of considerable ability, Sir Thomas Edmonds, was born at Plymouth in 1562, his father being the customer. He became Ambassador for James I. to Brussels and to France; and was subsequently Comptroller of the Household, Treasurer, and Steward of the Marshalsea. He distinguished himself by his opposition to the political views of the Catholic party; and many of his papers are of permanent interest.

A volume of sermons, 'The Excellency of Christ or the Rose of Sharon,' by Christopher Jelinger, minister of Stonehouse, published in 1641, preserves the name of William Russell, the first recorded bookseller of Plymouth.

John Quick, ejected from the living of Brixton, was born at Plymouth in 1636. After 1662 he was imprisoned at Plymouth, and finally became pastor of the church at Middleburg, in Zealand. He wrote largely, his principal work being a History of the Councils of the French Reformed Church.

Joseph Glanvill, divine and philosopher, was born at Plymouth in the same year as Quick; his father being a merchant. He became Rector of Bath, Chaplain to the King, and Prebendary of Worcester, and died in 1680. He was a voluminous writer on philosophical and theological subjects; but is chiefly known by his treatises concerning witchcraft and apparitions. Among his principal writings are 'Philosophia Pia; or, a Discourse of the Religious Temper and Tendencies of the Experimental Philosophy which is profest by the Royal Society'; 'Plus ultra; or the Progress and Advancement of Knowledge since the Days of Aristotle';²

² One Dr. Stubbes, of Warwick, wrote against this work, and Glanvill rejoined in another, 'wherein the malignity, hypocrisie, falsehood of his [Stubbes's] temper, pretences, reports, and the impertinency of his arguings and quotations in his animadversions on 'Plus Ultra,' are discovered.

'The Vanity of Dogmatizing'; 'Scepsis Scientifica; or Confest Ignorance the way to Science'; 'A Blow at Modern Sadducism'; and 'Saducismus Triumphatus; or, Full and Plain Evidence concerning Witches and Apparitions.'

George Hughes, the well-known vicar of St. Andrew, wrote several religious works, and his 'Dry Rod Blooming and Fruit-bearing' was declared by Baxter to be the best of its class. Several of his sermons are embodied in his 'Analytical Exposition of the Book of Genesis, and the first Twenty-three Chapters of Exodus.' Crane, also of the 'ejected,' a native of Plymouth, wrote 'a valuable treatise' on Divine Providence. Abraham Cheare, pastor of the Baptist Church, another Plymouthian, penned poetry as well as theology. Some of his writings were published after his death: in 'A Looking-glass for Children'; and 'Words in Season.' They are very quaint, and very earnest. Abednego Sellar, nonjuror, was also a Plymouth theologian.

Alexander Grosse, Vicar of Plympton St. Mary (see page 241), was a great favourite in Plymouth, and published sundry funeral sermons on Plymouth worthies.

In 1662, Francis Drake, nephew of the circumnavigator, wrote 'The World Encompassed,' a narrative of his uncle's adventures.

Taylor, 'the water poet,' visited Plymouth in 1649, and held some converse 'across the way' with Colonel Wm. Leg, then prisoner in the Guildhall. Thomas Ratcliff and William Weeks gave Taylor 'smoke and drink in Plymouth, for which I requite them with paper and ink in London.'

Early in the eighteenth century Jacob Bryant, the noted mythologist, was born. He left Plymouth when a child, and never revisited his native town. His classical attainments were great, and he wrote largely. His best known work is his disquisition on ancient mythology. This was published in 1774, under the title of 'A New System in an Analysis of Ancient Mythology, wherein an attempt is made to divest tradition of fable, and to reduce the truth to its original purity.' Most of his writings were on classical subjects, but he was one of the champions in the controversy respecting the authenticity of the Rowley poems; and he wrote several books in defence of revealed religion—upon the plagues of Egypt; the authenticity of Scripture; 'the passages in Scripture which the enemies of religion thought most obnoxious'; and upon the Logos.

Dr. Zachary Mudge, vicar of St. Andrew (1731-1769), born in Plymouth in 1694, 'was educated at Exeter, and

was at first a Dissenting minister at Bideford, but on conforming to the Church obtained preferment.' He published in 1739 a volume of sermons, which gained extensive circulation. Another work of his was an 'Essay towards a New English Version of the Book of Psalms.' Mudge was regarded by Northcote and Reynolds as a man of extraordinary talents. 'Even Burke bowed to his authority, and Sir Joshua thought him the wisest man he ever knew.' The opinions of Johnson and Reynolds prepossessed them in his favour, and 'they came to consider him a sort of miracle of virtue and wisdom.'³

Another famous Plymouth divine was Dr. Hawker, who was born at Exeter in 1752, and became vicar of Charles in 1784. He was a strong Calvinist, possessed exceptional pulpit powers, and a most voluminous writer. So great was his popularity that during his ministrations the accommodation of the church had to be largely extended by the addition of galleries. The influence of his teaching has not disappeared, although High Calvinistic doctrines are very far from being locally so popular as he left them. Among his books, which would form a library of themselves, are 'Hints to those who write against Antinomianism'; 'Meet Morsels to Hungry Souls in the Lord's Word for the Lord's People'; 'Lectures on the Person, Godhead, and Ministry of the Holy Spirit'; 'Evidence of Plenary Inspiration'; 'Recommendation of Private Prayer'; 'Misericordia; or, Companion to the Sorrows of the Heart'; 'Christian's Pocket Companion'; 'Youth's Catechism'; 'Specimens of Preaching'; 'Life of William Combes'; 'Life of Henry Tanner'; 'Letters to a Barrister on Evangelical Preaching'; 'Letter on the London Female Penitentiary'; 'The Commentary on the Bible'; the 'Poor Man's Commentary on the Old and New Testaments'; 'Morning and Evening Portions.'

Henry Moore, the last Presbyterian (Unitarian) minister of Liskeard, was born at Plymouth in 1732, and educated under Dr. Doddridge. He settled at Liskeard about 1787, and died there. He was a man of very amiable character, and possessed considerable taste and learning. A small volume of his poems was published after his death by Dr. Aikin.

Nathaniel Howard, schoolmaster at Tamerton, a native of Plymouth, was remarkable for his acquaintance with languages. Proof of his proficiency in Persian was given in a paper on Persian poetry contributed by him to the first

³ HAZLITT'S *Conversations of Northcote*.

volume of the *Transactions* of the Plymouth Institution. He published a translation of the 'Inferno,' and (1804) an original poem on Bickleigh Vale.

The greatest poet whom the South of Devon, since the days of Browne, has produced, was born at Plymouth in 1777, though all his life activity was connected with Devonport. N. T. Carrington found time amidst the wearisome duties of a most laborious vocation, that of a schoolmaster, to write several volumes which place him high in rank among English poets of the second class. After giving to the world a number of scattered pieces, he published in 1820 his 'Banks of Tamar.' In 1826 followed, with preface and notes by Mr. W. Burt, his most important and best known work, 'Dartmoor,' which went through two editions in twelve months. Lastly in 1830, the year of the author's death, appeared 'My Native Village.' Northcote thought Dartmoor better than its subject. The engravings were 'too fine by half'; and the author had 'shown his genius in creating beauties where there were none, and in exhibiting enthusiasm for rocks and quagmires!' So much for the taste of an R.A.

Dr. Bidlake, born at Plymouth in 1751, 'became master of the Grammar School, and incumbent of the chapelry at Stonehouse.' He was a man of very varied acquirements; 'music, painting, and poetry, divided his time with pursuits more strictly professional.' He wrote several works, including sermons and poems, and was a Bampton Lecturer. His 'Virginia' was published in 1800, and his 'Year' in 1813.

Samuel Rowe, author of the 'Panorama of Plymouth,' and of the 'Perambulation of Dartmoor,' still the most complete and important work upon the Forest,⁴ though not a native of Plymouth, was chiefly connected with it. Born at Brixton in 1793, he set up in business at Plymouth at the age of 19 as a stationer. Subsequently he went to College, and becoming ordained, was successively Curate of St. Andrew; St. Budeaux; St. Paul, Stonehouse; St. George, Stonehouse; and finally Vicar of Crediton. He died in 1853.

Dr. Kitto, the deaf author, is one of the most remarkable figures in the literary history of Plymouth. Kitto's parents were Cornish, and he was born in Stillman Street in December, 1804. His father was a mason,⁵ and Kitto was brought up

⁴ The Dartmoor Preservation Society, which has its head quarters at Plymouth, in 1890 published a most important volume of original documents connected with Dartmoor, reported on by Mr. Stuart Moore. Mr. W. Crossing has also made valuable contributions to Dartmoor literature; and Mr. E. Burnard has admirably illustrated Dartmoor scenery.

⁵ Kitto's uncle constructed the Embankment Works on the Laira.

to assist him. In February, 1817, whilst helping his father on the roof of a house he fell thirty-five feet to the ground, and when he recovered consciousness was found to have lost the sense of hearing. His family were in very humble circumstances, and he was put into the Workhouse. There he remained until 1821, when he was bound apprentice to a shoemaker named Bowden. Circumstances led to his indenture being cancelled, and to his return to the Workhouse. A paper written by him in 1823 came to the notice of the Hele trustees; and he was taken in hand by the Rev. Robert Lampen, Dr. Woollcombe, Col. Hawker, and Mr. G. Harvey; and put to board with a good friend, Mr. R. Burnard, clerk to the Workhouse. Some of his essays then appeared in print in the *Plymouth Herald*. After three or four years he sought to learn dentistry with Mr. Groves, of Exeter. Not liking the occupation, he became connected with the Church Missionary Society, and under its auspices went to Malta. Subsequently he joined his old friend Mr. Groves at Bagdad, where he remained for several years. He died in 1854 at Cannstadt. His writings are many, but his principal works are the 'Pictorial Bible' and the 'Encyclopædia of Biblical Literature.'

Some very quaint and eccentric works were issued by Mr. Robert Webb Stone Baron, who dubbed himself the poet corporate, and who was quite an authority upon matters municipal. Among them are 'Mayor-chosing Day at Plymouth, or the Lambertine of the Angels' (1824); 'Municipal Reform, or the Old Guiled all and the New Gilled all'; 'Our Charter Week'; 'Our Act Week'; 'Gnothi Seauton: the Holey Cullender superseded by the Holy Calendar, a Church Almanac, &c.' (1844); 'Mayors and Mayoralities, or the Annals of the Borough' (1846).

The first place among modern Plymouthians belongs to the late Lord Monkswell. Born in 1817, in 1852 he entered Parliament for Plymouth, for which his father, Mr. John Collier, had sat from 1832 to 1842. Mr. R. P. Collier, as he was then, became Solicitor-General in 1863, Attorney-General in 1868, a member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in 1871, and was raised to the peerage as Lord Monkswell in 1885, dying in 1886. He made his mark alike as a lawyer, a statesman, a man of letters, and an artist. In the first capacity he published authoritative treatises on railway and mining law; in the second he took a leading part in the reform which culminated in the establishment of the Probate Court, and in the repeal of

the paper duties; in the third he published admirable translations of Lucretius and Demosthenes; and as an amateur artist he was hardly equalled.

Among other deceased literary Plymouthians and their works should be mentioned: William Burt, solicitor, 1778–1826, editor of *Dock Telegraph*, secretary Plymouth Chamber of Commerce, author of the 'Commerce of the Port of Plymouth,' poems, and other works. Mortimer Collier, 1827–76, journalist, facile writer of society verse, author of several novels. Sophie Dixon, d. 1855, 'Castalian Hours,' 'Excursions to Dartmoor.' Edward Gandy, 'Caswallon and other Dramas'; 'Moods and Tenses.' Rev. R. S. Hawker, of Morwenstow, 1805–76, whose writings are widely known, author of the current version of 'Shall Trelawny Die.' Rev. Peter Holmes, sometime headmaster of the Grammar School, born at Bickleigh, but doing his life-work in Plymouth, d. 1878, author of many learned translations and articles, chiefly theological. Richard John King, d. 1879, 'Anschar,' the 'Forest of Dartmoor,' Murray's 'Cathedrals,' and the writer of numerous historical and antiquarian articles, largely western, of the highest value. Samuel Prideaux Tregelles, one of the most distinguished of modern Biblical critics; not a native of the town, but doing most of his work and spending the last years of his life there, d. 1875, author of a valued critical edition of the Greek New Testament. Percy B. St. John, 1821–1889, novelist and journalist, one of the most ready writers among Plymouth men.

Plymouth Journalism.

The first printing press in Plymouth was set up in 1696 by D. Jourdain; and the first newspaper issued in the town, though not in the county of Devon, appeared just a quarter of a century later, under the title of '*The Plymouth Weekly Journal, or General Post*'; containing an impartial account of all the most material occurrences, foreign and domestic,' 'printed by E. Kent, in Southside Street, near the New Key, where advertisements are taken in, and all other business relating to printing done as well and as cheap as in London, or any other place.' The *Journal* begun in September, 1721, and died in September, 1723. It sold for 1½d. Nearly sixty years passed before it had a successor. The *Plymouth Chronicle* commenced in May, 1780, and stopped in May, 1782. In March, 1808, another paper of the same name was started, which lasted just ten years. In August, 1819,

the *Plymouth and Devonport Weekly Journal* commenced. In 1863 it was merged into the *Western Daily Mercury*, established by its proprietor in 1860. The *Plymouth Gazette* lasted from August, 1819, until October, 1820. In the following month of the latter year, the *Plymouth, Devonport, and Stonehouse Herald* was established. In 1868-9 this paper was published for a short time as a daily. The *Plymouth, Devonport, and Stonehouse Advertiser* lasted from March, 1831, to March, 1832. The *Plymouth, Devonport, and Stonehouse News*, which commenced in September, 1836, ceased to appear in April, 1837. The *Plymouth Times* was started in February, 1842, and after vicissitudes died some thirty years since. The *South-Western Standard* only endured from September to November, 1844. The *Three Towns Mercury* was issued for awhile in 1856. In December, 1852, was started the *Plymouth Mail*, which in July, 1862, was amalgamated with the *Western Morning News*, the oldest daily paper west of Bristol, established in 1860. The *News* also absorbed the oldest Devonport paper, the *Telegraph*, established in 1808. The *Western Weekly News* originated in October, 1861. The *Western Daily Standard*, first published March, 1869, ceased to be in March, 1870. It was revived in September of the latter year as a weekly with a daily *Telegram*, but finally stopped in November. The *Western Globe* was born and died in 1873. The *Evening News* and *Evening Mercury* had a very ephemeral existence in 1877. The only newspapers now issued in Plymouth are the *News* and *Mercury* daily, the *Weekly News* and *Weekly Mercury* weekly.

Numerous magazines have been published in the town. None have had a very successful career. In 1770 appeared the *Plymouth Magazine*, which only reached six numbers; in 1772, the *Plymouth Magazine and Devonshire Miscellany*; in 1781, the *Devon and Cornwall Magazine*; in 1809, the *Selector*, edited by Bidlake, of which but three numbers were issued; in 1814, the *Plymouth Literary Magazine*; in 1815, the *Plymouth Journal*. In 1822 came the *Magnet*, which reached its third half-yearly volume, and on the discontinuance of which the *Devon and Cornwall Magazine* was commenced. The first number of the *Theatrical Spy* appeared in January, 1828; it continued several months. In 1830 the *Philo-Danmonium*, which Mr. Wightwick edited, was started; six parts were issued. In 1833 the *South Devon Monthly Museum*, which had a much longer career than any of its predecessors, and reached the seventh volume, was commenced by the Messrs. Hearder. In 1834 the *Christian*

Witness, a quarterly religious journal, appeared. In 1840 came the *West of England Magazine*, edited by the Rev. W. Beal. The *South Devon Literary Chronicle* was started in 1846 as a weekly magazine, and in the following year was issued monthly; it did not survive 1847. In January of the latter year was commenced the *Plymouth Health of Towns Advocate*, a monthly journal, devoted to the interests of sanitary work in Plymouth, and principally promoted by the Rev. W. J. Odgers; it lasted six months. In 1855 the *Plymouth and Devonport Penny Magazine*, and in 1857 the *Plymouth and Devonport Monthly Magazine*, appeared, but only for a short time. The like fate attended the *Temperance Intelligencer*, the first number of which was issued in 1861; the *Devon and Cornwall Magazine* (1862), *Clack*, a clever monthly magazine (1865), and the *Western Chronicle of Current Events* (1869). The *Devon and Cornwall Temperance Journal*, published by the Devon and Cornwall Temperance League, continued for some years from 1868. In 1870 the *Mannamead School Magazine* commenced. In 1871 the *Three Towns Methodist Messenger* was sent forth, and comic serials entitled the *Thunderbolt* and the *Lantern*. Neither of these had a long term of existence, but the *Thunderbolt* may be regarded as continuing in the *Western Figaro*, a comic illustrated weekly, established in 1877. The *Western Critic* started in 1871, but saw only six numbers. The *Devon and Cornwall Illustrated Weekly* and the *Western Counties' Herald* completed their span in 1874; and the following year for a brief space saw two local Tichborne organs—the *Western Magnet* and the *Voice of the People*. The *Men of the West* made an appearance in 1877. The *Ratepayer*, issued by the Rev. William Sharman in 1882, to call attention to matters of local politics, had three issues. The first number of the *Girls' High School Magazine* was issued in 1880, and that of the *Plymouthian* of the Boys' High School (Plymouth College) in 1883.

The *Church in the West*, a weekly Church paper, established in 1883, continues; but the *Christian Echo*, started to represent Protestant anti-clericalism, has ceased to be. Magazines representing art were issued in 1888—the *Western Art Student* by Mr. H. R. Babb, and the *Western Portfolio*, which continues, by Mr. Godfrey Evans. The *Western Antiquary*, edited by Mr. W. H. K. Wright, commenced in 1881. Smith's *Plymouth Almanac* has reached its thirty-third year; and Doidge's *Plymouth Annual* its twenty-third year. There are several 'localised' parish magazines.

Institutions.

In passing from literature to science, it will be convenient in the first place to trace the history of the literary and scientific institutions. Mr. Rooker, who wrote an excellent paper on the 'Literature and Literary Men of Plymouth,' mentions that at the time of the visit of Dr. Johnson in 1762 there was a literary club⁶ in Plymouth holding its meetings at the Pope's Head; and which, having originated in the casual meeting of gentlemen who were accustomed to bathe under the Hoe, was called the Otter Club. Another club, held at the Bunch of Grapes, Kinterbury Street, is memorable as having been connected with a veritable ghost story. The president (Dr. Mudge) was lying dangerously ill one club night, when suddenly what was taken for his ghost walked in, took the vacant chair, lifted an empty glass, and departed again. As soon as the terror-stricken members could muster courage to make enquiries at the president's residence hard by, they were still more horrified to learn that he had just died. It was not until the decease of his nurse, several years afterwards, that she confessed he had paid the visit to the club in *propria persona*—the ruling passion strong in death—whilst she was neglecting her charge.

The Proprietary and Cottonian Library 'originated chiefly in the literary zeal' of Mr. George Eastlake, in 1810. The foundation-stone of the library building was laid in 1812, a porcelain box made at the Pottery being deposited at the same time. The Library contains the Cottonian and Halliwell collections. The former, presented in 1850, consists of prints, sketches by celebrated masters, bronzes, carvings, works in art, and three portraits by Sir Joshua Reynolds. The building was extended for its accommodation at a cost of £1,500. The Halliwell collection of manuscripts was the gift of Mr. J. O. Halliwell-Phillipps, F.R.S., F.S.A. It comprises many rarities.

The Free Library was opened in August, 1876, mainly through the exertions of the late Mr. R. C. Serpell. It has a valuable local section, formed by the librarian, Mr. W. H. K. Wright. The Free Library Act had been adopted in 1871.

⁶ The clubs of Plymouth in the present day are chiefly social or political; the leading ones being the Royal Western Yacht Club, the Plymouth Club, and the clubs representing the great political parties in the State. They are all, however, more or less social. Then there is also the Plymouth Pedestrians Club, designed to afford healthy recreation and extend the knowledge of the neighbourhood.

The Library of the Law Society was originally founded in 1815.

The Mechanics' Institute was established in 1825, shortly after the formation of an institution at Devonport, intended to embrace the Three Towns. The first Institute building in Princess Square was opened by an introductory address from Dr. Cookworthy in December, 1827. These premises were removed and the present capacious edifice erected, in 1849.

The Plymouth Institution has been for well-nigh four score years the centre of Plymouthian literary and scientific life. Mr. Henry Woolcombe had the honour of being its founder. It originated in 1812 in a small society, the members of which used to meet alternately at each other's houses. Afterwards they assembled in a room in Woolster Street, then in the committee-room of the Public Library, then in the Fine Art Gallery, Frankfort Street. In 1818 the Athenæum was commenced, the foundation-stone being laid on the 1st of May in that year by Mr. Woolcombe. 'On the 4th of February, 1819,' the Rev. Robert Lampen opened the new building, with a discourse 'worthy of the occasion and of himself.' A museum originated subsequently—building being commenced in 1828, and finished in 1829. An attempt on the death of the Prince Consort to extend it as an Albert Memorial did not succeed. The project was revived, however, in the presidency of Mr. J. Brooking Rowe, and carried to completion in the ensuing presidency of Mr. R. N. Worth—the extensions made more than trebling the capacity of the old building. The local collections of birds, fishes, insects, fossils, rocks, and minerals are large and good, special interest attaching to the unique series from the local bone caves. The antiquities are likewise noteworthy.

The published *Transactions* of the Institution—the first volume of which appeared in 1830—contain many valuable local papers. The leading writers are: Natural History—Sir J. Lubbock, F.R.S.; Dr. W. E. Leach, F.R.S.; Dr. E. Moore, F.L.S.; Mr. J. Brooking Rowe, F.L.S., F.S.A.; Mr. J. Boswarva; Mr. J. J. E. Reading, M.E.S.; Mr. F. H. Balkwill; Mr. C. Spence Bate, F.R.S.; Mr. G. C. Bignell, F.E.S. Botany—Mr. I. W. N. Keys; Mr. T. R. A. Briggs, F.L.S.; Mr. D. D. Dobell; Mr. E. M. Holmes; Mr. F. Brent, F.S.A. Geology—Mr. John Prideaux; Dr. R. Oxland; Mr. W. Pengelly, F.R.S.; Mr. R. N. Worth, F.G.S.; Mr. J. C. Inglis, C.E. Antiquities and History—Rev. S. Rowe, Mr. C. Spence Bate, Mr. J. Hine, F.R.I.B.A., Mr. J. Brooking Rowe, Mr. G. Wareing Ormerod,

F.G.S., Mr. R. Burnard, Mr. F. Brent, Mr. E. G. Bennett, Mr. A. J. Jewers, F.S.A., Mr. C. Wade, Mr. H. B. Woodhouse, Mr. R. N. Worth, Mr. Fabyan Amery, Rev. G. Evans, Mr. R. Hansford Worth, C.E. Literature—Dr. Weymouth, Rev. W. S. L. Szyrma, Rev. Dr. Bannister, Mr. J. Shelly, Mr. E. Windeatt, Rev. Professor Chapman, LL.D., Lord Monkswell, Mr. R. N. Worth. Art—Mr. W. Eastlake, Mr. J. Hine. And on miscellaneous topics—Dr. Hearder, Mr. W. F. Collier, Dr. W. H. Pearse, Dr. Merrifield, F.R.A.S., Mr. D. Slater, Col. Hamilton Smith, F.R.S., Sir W. Snow Harris, F.R.S., Mr. J. M. Rendel, C.E., Mr. Nathaniel Howard, Rev. S. Beal.

Mr. Henry Woolcombe, the founder, indefatigably exerted himself for many years in preparing a history of Plymouth. His manuscripts, preserved at the Athenæum, form a rich storehouse of facts that, but for his industry and zeal, would in all probability have been lost.

The most important scientific institution associated with Plymouth has yet to be mentioned. The port was chosen as the station of the Marine Biological Association, formed in 1884; and a site having been given by the Government on the sea front of the Hoe, below the Citadel, the building was formally opened with an address from Professor Flower, F.R.S., in June, 1888. It contains on the ground-floor a large tank room; on the upper floor a laboratory with a number of working compartments; numerous accessory rooms and offices; and in the eastern wing a residence for the superintendent.

Science.

The physicians and medical men of Plymouth were its earliest scientific observers. Dr. James Yonge, F.R.S., who died in 1721, not only practised with great success, but wrote several philosophical and medical works, including 'Medicaster Medicatus,' 'Sidrophie Vapulans,' 'Currus Triumphalis,' 'Virtues of Oleum Terebinthinæ,' 'Observations on Chirurgy and Anatomy,' and the 'Natural Use of Cantharides,' besides contributing largely to the *Philosophical Transactions*. His MS. autobiography is at the Athenæum. Dr. Huxham, author of a celebrated treatise on fevers, practised and died in Plymouth. His work was translated into several foreign languages; and the adoption of its principles saving the life of the Queen of Portugal, brought him much honour. Dr. John Mudge, son of Zachary Mudge, the Vicar, won for himself an extended reputation by his skill, not only in his profession, but in mathematics and

optica. He wrote several medical works, including dissertations on smallpox, cough, disease of the lungs, and fractures. His brother Thomas was an eminent mechanician and horologist. Dr. Woolcombe (1773-1822) published several medical works, edited the last edition of Risdon, made large and valuable contributions to the last edition of Prince's 'Worthies'; and wrote upon the vital statistics of the town. Dr. Edward Moore dealt extensively with zoological subjects. Mr. C. N. Moore, who died in 1870, was the author of several works upon cancer. Mr. J. C. Bellamy, member of another well-known Plymouth family (1812-1854), published in 1839 the 'Natural History of South Devon'; in 1843, the 'Housekeeper's Guide to the Fish Market'; and in 1850, 'A Thousand Facts in the History of Devon and Cornwall, with special reference to Plymouth.'⁷

William Elford Leach, some time curator of the British Museum, was born at Plymouth in 1790. He was a 'naturalist of most indomitable enthusiasm, and very extraordinary acquirements.' Kirby said of his zoological labours that he handled everything, and adorned all that he touched. In 1816 he published a Systematic Catalogue of the Indigenous Mammals and Birds in the British Museum; and from 1814 to 1817, the *Zoological Miscellany*. Among his other works are 'Malacostrata Podophthalmata Britannica'; 'Molluscorum Britanniae Synopsis'; 'On the Genera and Species of Eproboscideous Insects'; and 'On the Arrangement of Ostrideous Insects.' He died of cholera, in Italy, in 1836.

The earliest geological work of importance in connection with the locality was published about the year 1820, by the Rev. R. Hennah, chaplain of the Garrison. It is entitled 'A Succinct Account of the Lime Rocks of Plymouth,' establishing the fossiliferous character of these deposits, and is illustrated with lithographs by a local artist of ability, long since dead, Mr. Worsley. Peculiar interest attaches to the limestone rocks of Plymouth, in consequence of the discovery therein from time to time of caverns con-

⁷ There have been several noteworthy tidal disturbances recorded in connection with Sutton Pool. Thus on the occasion of the earthquake at Lisbon a great 'bore' came into the harbour. So in 1781, at the time of the earthquake of Quito, an abnormal flux and reflux were noted. In 1798 a tidal wave rose and fell rapidly, two feet, three times in an hour. In 1795 there was such a 'bore' that vessels were driven from their anchors in the Sound. On the 30th June, 1811, between three o'clock and seven, the tide suddenly fell from eight feet to four feet, and rose again several times. The rise and fall in five minutes was fully eleven feet.

taining the remains of various extinct animals, those of Oreston being the first scientifically investigated.

Sir William Snow Harris, next to Dr. Leach the best known man of science Plymouth has produced, was born in 1791. His father was a draper, and after studying at Edinburgh University, he became assistant surgeon of the Lancashire militia. He turned his attention to the physical sciences, particularly electricity, and in 1828 read a paper at the Athenæum, the Duke of Clarence being present, on the application of lightning conductors to ships. In 1831 his papers on the elementary laws of electricity procured him the fellowship of the Royal Society. In 1835 he gained the Copley medal, and in 1839 his 'Enquiries concerning the Elementary Laws of Electricity,' published in the *Philosophical Transactions*, obtained the prize as the Bakerian lecture. In 1841 he was awarded a Government pension of £300; in 1845 had a vase presented to him by the Emperor of Russia; and in 1847 received the honour of knighthood. He made improvements in the compass, which were generally adopted; but is best known by his patented invention of tubular lightning conductors for ships. The inertia of the Government departments resisted their application for fifteen years; and when at length they were adopted he received no compensation until the House of Commons voted him £5,000. Afterwards came the pension and the knighthood. He died in 1867. Sir William was a musical amateur of very high qualifications.

One of the most remarkable members of the Plymouth Institution was Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton Smith. Born in Flanders in 1776, he entered the English army, and after a distinguished career, went on half-pay in 1820, shortly after which he settled in Plymouth. He became a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1824, and of the Linnæan in 1826. On the formation of the Devon and Cornwall Natural History Society (amalgamated in 1851 with the Plymouth Institution), he was elected president. Colonel Smith was a man of vast and miscellaneous erudition; his artistic powers were great, and his industry indefatigable. Among his published writings were the military part of Archdeacon Coxe's 'Life of Marlborough'; and a narrative of the retreat of the French from Moscow, written in French, and disseminated by the English Government in France. He was engaged with Sir Samuel Meyrick in the production of his great works, 'The Ancient Costume of the British Islands,' and a 'Critical Enquiry into the History of Ancient Armour.'

As a natural historian he wrote largely. The 'Ruminantia' in Griffiths's edition of Cuvier's 'Animal Kingdom,' were by him; and he wrote the volumes on 'Dogs,' 'Horses,' the 'Introduction to Mammalia'; and the 'Natural History of the Human Species,' in the Naturalists' Library. At his death in 1859 Colonel Smith left behind him more than twenty thick volumes of manuscript notes upon almost every conceivable topic, to a large extent illustrative of his collection of water-colour drawings, many thousands in number, all executed by himself, and embracing every variety of subject.

John Prideaux, another prominent member of the Plymouth Institution, and a native of the town, attained to considerable eminence as a chemist, and became professor of chemistry in the Cornish Mining School. Born in 1787, he died in 1859.

Jonathan Hearder, born at Plymouth in 1809, turned his attention so early to electrical and chemical topics that he became a public lecturer at the age of 17. At 21 he lost his sight, through the accidental explosion of silver fulminate. But this did not prevent the successful prosecution of his electrical studies and various practical investigations; while he continued to prove not only an acceptable lecturer, but a most successful public experimenter. He was one of the earliest to suggest the practical utilization of the electric light; and his inventions of electrical apparatus were numerous and important. He died in 1876.

Dr. Lethaby, medical officer of the city of London, who died in 1876, was also a Plymouthian.

Charles Spence Bate, F.R.S., F.L.S., a leading authority on the Crustacea, died in 1889, after living for many years in Plymouth, and being most actively engaged in all its scientific concerns. Mr. Bate's chief separate works, in addition to many papers, are a 'Catalogue of the Amphipodan Crustacea in the British Museum'; a 'History of the British Sessile-eyed Crustacea' (in conjunction with Mr. Westwood); and one of the 'Reports on the *Challenger* Crustacea.'

The important scientific work by another active member of the Plymouth Institution, happily still living, demands special notice. Mr. T. R. A. Briggs, F.L.S., is the leading authority on the Botany of the locality, and has published an admirable text-book—the 'Flora of Plymouth.'

Visits have been paid to Plymouth by the great scientific and allied societies. The British Association in 1841 and 1877; the Social Science Congress in 1872; the Pharma-

ceutical Congress in 1877; the British Archæological Association in 1883; the Geologists' Association in 1884; the Conference of Librarians of the Library Association in 1885. A party of Colonial and Indian visitors who came to England in connection with the Colonial Exhibition were entertained by the Mayor, Mr. W. H. Alger, in 1886.

As connected with science the fact may be mentioned that in July, 1774, an unfortunate inventor named Day went down in twenty-four fathoms of water between Drakes Island and Devils Point in a submarine vessel of his own construction. His intention was to remain under water twenty-four hours, but nothing of him or of his vessel has been seen for more than a hundred years.

Music and the Stage.

That music was appreciated in mediæval Plymouth we may gather from the Corporate payments on the Church choir, but more amusingly from the entry in 1586 that George Stallinge had 40s. for his (parish) clerkship, but £4 for 'playing on the waits.' The 'waits' were a municipal institution like the town drummer, and they had a tradition, which record does not warrant, that they were instituted by Drake—for they had 'tawny' uniforms provided for them as early as 1496. What with May-Day and Midsummer-Night observances, guild days and plays, there was plenty of amusement in the sixteenth-century community. The musical societies of modern Plymouth deservedly take high rank. The chief are the Plymouth Vocal Association, and the Private Choral and Orchestral Society, by whom the leading masterpieces of the great composers are produced with very marked success. Plymouth, in fact, was never more musical than now. One of the best known of English present-day contraltos, Madame Marian McKenzie, is a native of Plymouth.

Plymouth has contributed to the stage in the person of Maria Foote, afterwards the Countess of Harrington, born in 1798, while her father, who had been an officer of the army, was lessee of the Plymouth Theatre. She made her *début* at Covent Garden in 1817, and at once became the favourite of the town in genteel comedy, and in such parts as *Rosalind*, *Imogen*, and *Beatrice*. The sister town of Devonport claims that sterling actor of the historic school, Samuel Phelps, born in 1806, and originally apprenticed to a printer. For many years the Plymouth Theatre Royal

was under the management of John Riley Newcombe, who at the age of eighty displayed the activity and energy of fifty, and when he died was the oldest theatrical manager in England. A yet more remarkable veteran, James Doel, in his time one of the best low comedians of the old school, still treads the stage at his annual benefit. He was for years the manager of the once famous Theatre Royal, Devonport.

Art.

Plymouth has won great repute in matters artistic. It has given birth to three Royal Academicians and to one President of the Royal Academy, whilst another, Sir Joshua Reynolds, first practised his art within the town, of which he may almost be considered a native. At least Plympton, Sir Joshua's birth-place, is now a suburb of Plymouth. The town was likewise the home of the greatest water-colour artist of the West.

Mr. G. Pycroft in his *Art in Devon* gives the first place to Devon as an 'art producing' county; and the first place in the kingdom to Plymouth—'Of all English provincial cities Plymouth with its neighbourhood stands first, as the parent of six painters of the highest order, whose works have been held worthy of a place in the National Gallery; viz., Sir Joshua Reynolds, Prout, Eastlake, Haydon, Northcote, and Solomon Hart, and also of Rogers and Johns, the landscape painters.'

The first artist, if he were really entitled to the name, mentioned in connection with Plymouth was Wm. Stayner, who in 1497 had 1s. for painting the town arms on a book. Then we have one Robert Sprye, who in the reign of Elizabeth drew a number of plans for the town; painted 'the picture of the Turke on Mayedaye'; and generally turned his hand to whatever 'limning' was required. There must have been special aptitude for this work in the Spryes, for we find them engaged in the same line for the Corporation for three generations.

In 1616-17 we have the entry (but unfortunately the name of the artist is not mentioned),

Item pd for drawinge of S^r Frances Drake's picture
and other charges towards that lijs^s

This is the painting, still in the possession of the Corporation, which hangs in the Mayor's parlour. The artistic merit is very small, and the picture is plainly a copy; but there is some reason to think it may have been by a

local hand; and it has exceptional interest therefore as presumably the oldest example of Plymouth art.

We do not know who was the town sculptor at this date, and who carved the arms in the 'new cundytte' in 1602—possibly those built into the wall at the corner of Mill Lane; but it was John Somerton who in 1670 cut the arms now built in with the other remains of the Old Town Conduit in the Tavistock Road; and in 1650 there was a 'stone cutter' named William Gaire.

In 1660 there was a certain William Gefferie who did artistic work, and painted the King's arms on the New Shambles. Still it does not seem that local art was represented in the following entry in 1683-4.

Itm paid for the pictures of the Kings most excellent
Matie his Roy^{ty} Highnesse James Duke of York
and John Earle of Bath now remaining in the
Guildhall 16 2 0

The portrait of Charles is yet among the 'art treasures' of the Corporation. There was, however, a Plymouth artist at this date named Philip Pearse, who in 1683 painted a portrait of Charles I., put up in St. Andrew Church, and various coats of arms. And it is not long subsequently that the names of two other Plymouth painters are duly recorded, the first in 1696-7:

Itm pd Mr John Hellier the Lymner for drawing the
Kings picture at large with a gilt carved frame
and for repairinge other pictures in the Guildhall
ffourteene pounds.

The portrait of Queen Anne, still in existence, was painted by Nathaniel Northcott, jun., in 1703-4, for £6 8s., including the gilt frame and varnishing other pictures.

Hellier, who afterwards became Alderman and Mayor, also painted George I. in 1715 for £7 5s.; but in 1737 a picture of George II. was imported. Pearse died in 1724, and the painted panel to his memory in St. Andrew Church may have been in part his own anticipatory work.

James Northcote, R.A., pupil and biographer of Sir Joshua Reynolds, the first Plymouthian painter of note, was born in 1746, and died in 1831. His father was a watchmaker; but from the occurrence of the name of Nathaniel Northcott above, art was probably hereditary in the family. He went to London when he was twenty-five years of age to study under Reynolds, subsequently spending five years in Italy. At first he was chiefly engaged in portrait painting, but by

degrees turned his attention to historical subjects. His two best paintings are the 'Murder of the Princes in the Tower,' and 'Hubert and Arthur.' Many of the drawings for Boydell's 'Shakspeare Gallery' were made by him. Northcote was a writer as well as a painter. In 1813 he published 'Memoirs of Sir Joshua Reynolds, with an Analysis of his Discourses'; and in 1828 an illustrated collection of 'One Hundred Fables, Original and Select,' a second series appearing in 1833. In his 'Life of Titian,' he is said to have had the assistance of Hazlitt, who after his decease published his 'Conversations.'

Ambrose Bowden Johns, though his fame was chiefly local, and he was never appreciated during his lifetime as he deserved, stood in reality in the front rank of English landscape painters, and by some eminent judges was termed the English Claude. Some idea of his powers may be gathered from the fact that a 'Sunrise' of his was reproduced by Turner's own engraver, under the idea that it was the work of that greatest of English artists; and that two of his works were sold as Turner's. He was apprenticed to Haydon, father of the artist, and his artistic taste was first developed by being sent to Port Eliot to arrange some books in the library. There Johns saw paintings of merit for the first time, and thence his artistic life dates. He was born in Plymouth in 1776, and died in 1858.

Samuel Prout, the first distinguished water-colour artist of the West, was born in Plymouth in 1783, and was an early companion of Haydon, but preferred to that artist's historical subjects the 'ivy-mantled bridges, mossy water-mills, and rock-built cottages, which characterise the lovely scenery of Devon.' Before he had reached his twentieth year he had attracted the notice of Britton, the antiquary, then engaged on the 'Beauties of England and Wales.' Him he accompanied as draughtsman into Cornwall. In 1802 he went to London, where his abilities soon won recognition and success. One of the most important memorials of his skill and industry is the lithographed series of reproductions of sketches made by him in Flanders, Germany, France, Switzerland, Italy, &c. Few artists have had higher praise from Mr. Ruskin. He died in 1852.

Benjamin Robert Haydon, most distinguished and most unfortunate, was born at Plymouth, 1786. His father carried on a large printing and bookselling business. Haydon was a pupil of Bidlake; and was first taught to draw by an Italian named Fenzi, foreman of his father's bookbinding

department, who appears to have given the historical cast to his view of art. Haydon received further aid from Johns and Prout. He was sent to London in 1804 with £20 in his pocket; and his first work, 'Joseph and Mary resting on the road to Egypt,' was sent to the Academy in 1807, and at once purchased by Mr. Hope, of Deepdene. In 1810 he sought admission to the Royal Academy, but was rejected. The Imperial Academy of St. Petersburg and the Italian Academy were more ready to recognise his genius; and in 1814 he received the freedom of his native town 'as a testimony of respect for his extraordinary merit as a historical painter, and particularly for the production of his recent picture, "The Judgment of Solomon," a 'work of such superior excellence as to reflect honour on his birth-place, distinction on his name, lustre on the art, and reputation on the country.' His 'Dentatus' and 'Solomon' took prizes in historical competitions at the British Gallery. Several of Haydon's works were very large; and though some of his paintings were readily purchased at good prices ('Jerusalem' brought £1700, and the 'Judgment of Solomon' £600), various causes combined to throw him into difficulties, until, worn out by want of sleep, and harassed by the dread of impending insolvency, his great aims unattained, he committed suicide in 1846. Among his pupils were Landseer, Lance, and Eastlake. His art lectures were highly successful. England owes him a deep debt of gratitude for his labours in the establishment of Schools of Design. His great painting of 'The Raising of Lazarus,' exhibited in 1823, long in the National Gallery, is now in the Plymouth Guildhall.

The most prominent Plymouth artist was Sir Charles Lock Eastlake, P.R.A., F.R.S., and at the time of his death Director of the National Gallery. Sir Charles was born in November, 1793, his father being, as his nephew Mr. William Eastlake became, Law Agent to the Admiralty for the port. His early education was received from Dr. Bidlake. He next went to the Plympton Grammar School, memorable for its connection with his great predecessor in the Presidential chair, Sir Joshua. From Plympton he removed to the Charterhouse, and whilst there, in 1807, announced to his father that he had resolved to become a painter. He had shown artistic ability at a much earlier period, and had been one of the first pupils of Prout. When he finally determined upon devoting himself to art he was placed under the care of Haydon. He was soon thoroughly introduced to the artistic world, and we find him writing a letter to his father

in reference to the visit of Turner to the West. During the Peace of Amiens he visited Paris; and in 1815, while Bonaparte was a prisoner on board the *Bellerophon* in the Sound, made his celebrated portrait of the great captive, now in the possession of Lord Clinton. Not long afterwards Eastlake went to Rome, where, and in other parts of the Continent, he spent much of his life. He was elected associate of the Royal Academy in 1827. In 1841 he was appointed Secretary of the Fine Arts Commission, in which capacity he laboured much and well. In 1847 appeared his 'Materials of the History of Oil Painting.' In 1850 he was chosen President of the Royal Academy, and received the customary honour of knighthood. In 1855 he became Director of the National Gallery. He died December, 1865, whilst at Florence, and after being interred there his remains were brought to England, and buried at Kensal Green. Some of his essays were published by Lady Eastlake after his death, with a memoir, and a list of his principal works, which from 1812 to 1855 number 153.

Philip Hutchins Rogers, a marine and landscape painter of considerable power, was born at Plymouth in 1794, and like Haydon studied under Bidlake. At the doctor's expense he was sent to London, and maintained there several years. Mr. Rogers met with considerable success in Germany, where he died in 1853.

T. H. Williams, who had been an apprentice to the elder Haydon, commenced in 1801, in company with Mr. H. I. Johns, an illustrated work in numbers, 'Picturesque Excursions in Devonshire and Cornwall.' He published other works of a similar character, and did some spirited etchings.

The second water-colour artist of the West of England, though not a native of Plymouth, was identified with it all his artist life. Samuel Cook was born at Camelford in 1806, the child of a poor woman, whose mother kept a bakehouse. His only education was learning to read and write. At a very early age he displayed a passion for drawing, his first tablet being the slate step of his school. When between eight and nine years of age he was bound apprentice to Messrs. Pearse, woollen manufacturers; but the instinct of his art was too strong to allow him to remain in that occupation. He did sign-painting and graining, obtaining the name of Limner Cook; and by degrees his masters were brought over to consent to his devoting more of his time to this work, 'seeing that he would never be fit for anything else.' When his time was out, at the age of twenty-one, he

walked to Plymouth, taking two portraits on the way. At Plymouth he became an assistant to Mr. Winsford, painter and glazier, at a salary of eight shillings a week, painting occasionally on his own account signs, theatrical scenes, and peep-shows. At length he set up for himself, having acquired skill and repute as a decorative painter, and before long his wonderful artistic powers were recognized. Early friends of his were Colonel Hamilton Smith, Lady Morley, and Mr. Wightwick; and he received the patronage of the Duke of Devonshire and of the Edgcumbe family. About ten years before his death, which occurred in June, 1860, he became a member of the New Water-Colour Society.

Alexander Solomon Hart, R.A., was born at Plymouth in 1806. His early indications of talent being encouraged by Northcote, he devoted himself to the study of Art under the most adverse conditions; and in 1830 made his mark by the painting of 'The Polish Synagogue' in the National Gallery. His works were mainly historical, and the subjects of several were suggested by his Jewish faith. He became A.R.A. in 1835, and R.A. in 1839. In 1857 he was chosen Professor of Painting in the Academy; and in 1865 was appointed Librarian. He died in 1881. His diploma picture, 'Lady Jane Grey at the place of Execution,' was given to his native town by him; and hangs in the Council Chamber.

Nicholas Condry (1799-1851), a local artist of great merit, originally in the army, excelled in marine pieces and interiors. His skill in the latter is seen in the illustrations to the Rev. J. V. Arundell's account of Cothele. Condry's son, Nicholas Matthews Condry (1816-51), was likewise an artist, but confined himself to marine subjects, in which he was highly successful.

Ball, another local artist, has only left behind him one work of importance, an altar-piece, 'The Crucifixion,' in St. Andrew Chapel. Like Haydon, he committed suicide.

Lord Monkswell's artistic abilities have already found mention. Among other deceased Plymouth artists may be named—Payne, who did some careful water-colour early in the century, Bath, C. Brittan (animal), F. Lane (portrait), and J. L. Colley. Talfourd and W. Gibbons were also long resident in the town.

Plymouth has been an Art Centre, in a public sense, for nearly fourscore years. The first exhibition of pictures was in November 1815, when 167 were hung. Some years later the Plymouth Society of Artists and Amateurs was formed. The members used to meet at each other's houses in turn

and draw, the sketches being presented to the host of the evening. It died out for a while, but was resuscitated in 1848, and continued another ten years. After a further interval another Society was formed, which met regularly for study from the life; and this in the end developed into the Plymouth Art Club, by which exhibitions have been held for several years at the Athenæum.

An annual exhibition of pictures has been held at Messrs. Harris and Sons' Fine Art Galleries since 1872.

The rapid spread of amateur photography led to the formation in 1888 of the Devon and Cornwall Camera Club, which held its first exhibition in the present year. Plymouth and its vicinity stand very high in regard to camera work.

Mr. William Jacobson, who was a member of the original Society of Artists and Amateurs, drew up the following list of 'Artists of Plymouth and neighbourhood by birth or years of residence: Sir Joshua Reynolds, Haydon, T. S. Robins, Norman, Northcote, Sir Charles Eastlake, Ball, Bath, Brierley, Johns, King, Ponsford, Dillon, Condy, Colley, Harris, Brockedon, Miss Hamlyn, Mrs. Shaw, Worsley, Luny, Foulston, Owen, Giles, Goldsack, Lane, S. Whiteford, Opie, S. Cook, P. Mitchell, Penson, Brittan, Cole, Varley. Amateur Artists, &c.: Countess of Morley, Nelson, Jacobson, Sir W. S. Harris, Miss Jane Whipple, Sir George Whitmore, Colonel Hamilton Smith, William Eastlake, Miss Eastlake, Sir Robert Collier, A. B. Collier, Weale.' This list, however, does not include some of the more prominent members of the Society, as Mr. Scanlan, Mr. Wightwick, Mr. Holmes, and Mr. C. C. Whiteford—the last survivor; while Mr. Arthur Collier has long been ranked as a professional artist of note. And it does include some names whose claim to the title of artist is doubtful, though possessing artistic tastes.

To living artists, Plymouthian by birth or by connection, we shall only refer briefly. They include Mrs. A. Norman, Miss F. Randle, Miss James, Mrs. A. B. Smith, Admiral Beachey, R.H.A., Hon. John Collier, Messrs. C. Aldridge, H. Allport, S. Allport, H. R. Babb, J. Barrett, O. Brierley, F. Browning, A. Cole, A. B. Collier, T. Dingle, sen., T. Dingle, jun., J. Darton, W. Darton, Godfrey Evans, J. T. Fouracre, H. A. Gribble (architect of the Brompton Oratory), R. Hoskin, G. Jenkins, S. Kerswell, H. A. Luscombe, H. Martin, Philip Mitchell, R.L., H. Murch, E. Opie, James Penson, W. H. Pike, E. A. Fellowes Prynne, J. Radford, A. Shelly, A. B. Smith, J. Whipple, W. Williams, Harry Williams, and Sydney Whiteford.

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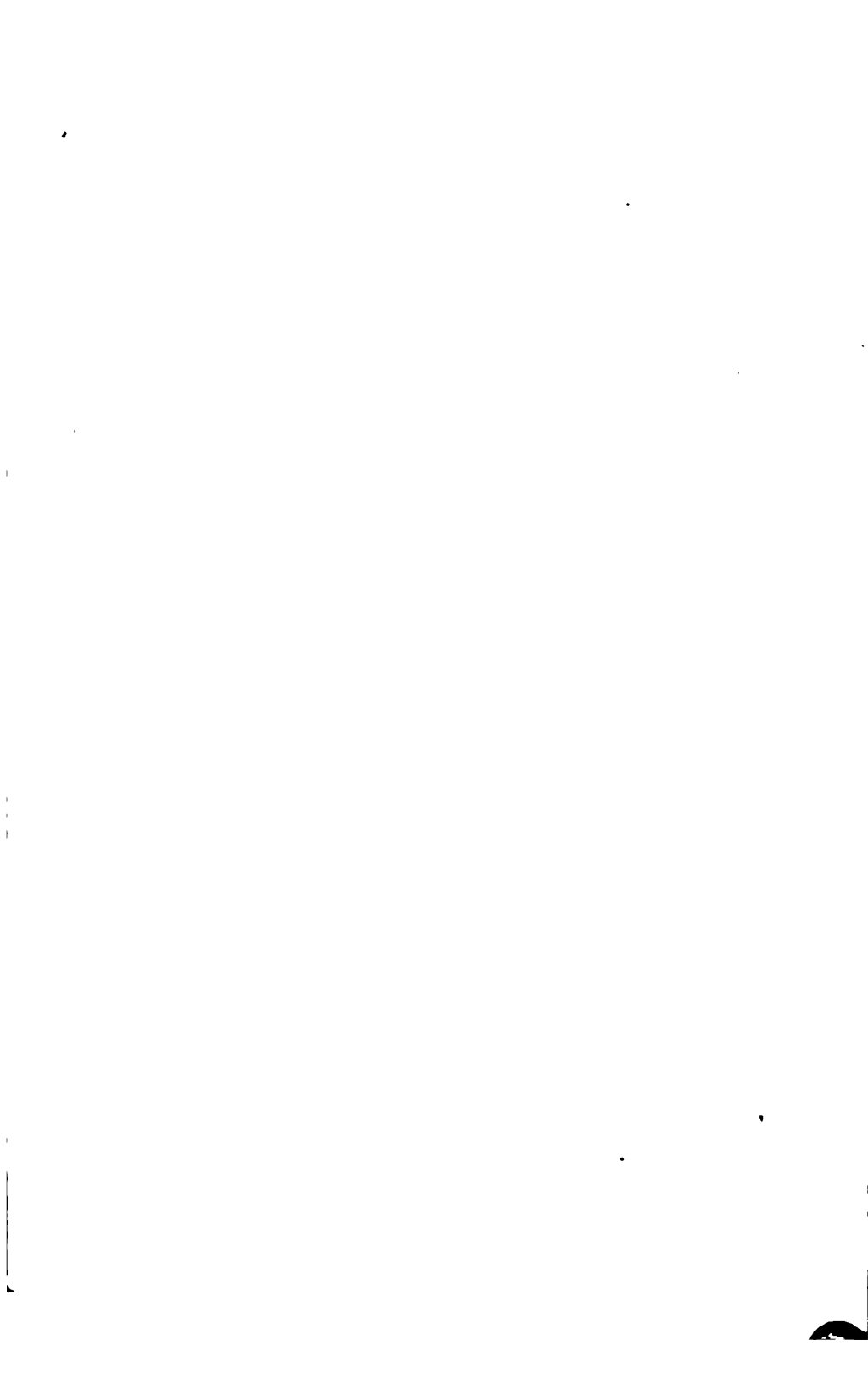
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